

SIXTH EDITION

# First Peoples

A DOCUMENTARY SURVEY OF AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORY



Colin G. Calloway



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## HOW TO ANALYZE PRIMARY SOURCES

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In their search for an improved understanding of the past, historians look for new evidence—written documents or visual artifacts. When they encounter a written or visual primary source, historians ask certain key questions. You should ask these questions too. Sometimes historians can't be certain about the answer, but they always ask the question.

### Analyzing a written document

- Who wrote the document? Is it a specific person or someone whose identity you can merely infer from the context of the document (for example, a parent writing to a child, a traveler writing home)?
- When and where was it written?
- Why was the document written? Is there a clear purpose, or are multiple interpretations possible?
- Who was, or who might have been, its intended audience?
- What point of view does it reflect?
- What can the document tell us about the individual who produced it and the society from which he or she came?

### Analyzing a visual source

- Who made the image or artifact, and how was it made?
- When and where was the image or artifact made?
- Who paid for or commissioned it? How can you tell?
- For what audience might it have been intended? Where might it have originally been displayed or used?
- What message or messages is it trying to convey?
- How could it be interpreted differently depending on who viewed or used it?
- What can this visual source tell us about the individual who produced it and the society from which he or she came?

# FIRST PEOPLES



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## *A Documentary Survey of American Indian History*

Sixth Edition

**Colin G. Calloway**

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*For Marcia, Graeme, and Megan, as always*

# PREFACE

MANY PEOPLE for many years considered Native American history to have little or no relevance to the history of the United States. The first peoples to inhabit this continent were routinely ignored, dismissed, or relegated to the sidelines in history texts. If Native people appeared at all in American history books, it was at first contact with the English (Pocahontas) or during the “Indian Wars” in the West (Sitting Bull and Geronimo). Scholars increasingly recognize that one cannot understand the relatively short history of the United States without acknowledging the very long history, cultural diversity, and enduring presence of America’s indigenous peoples, who shaped this continent and the histories of European colonists and their descendants. In short, American history must include American Indians.

*First Peoples* provides both an overview of Native American history and an opportunity for students to tackle historical evidence firsthand. The narrative and the documents together tell a more complete and more richly textured story of Indian peoples and their place in U.S. history than is usually presented in history books. Consequently, this sixth edition follows the same approach and pursues the same goals as the previous editions. Each chapter includes a narrative section, followed by primary documents and



then a picture essay. By combining historical background with textual and visual evidence, the book provides students with enough context to begin asking questions of the documents and pictures. The structure of the book enables instructors to go beyond giving an outline of events, laws, leaders, and battles and provides them with materials for exploring other issues and examining how Indian history has been written and remembered. The documents give students the opportunity to try to reconstruct the past through the words of people — Indians and non-Indians — who lived in a different time, saw the world in different ways, and had their own reasons for acting as they did.

## FEATURES OF THIS EDITION

The text for the sixth edition has been thoroughly reviewed and, where necessary, revised or updated to take account of developments in Indian country and recent scholarship in Indian history. The new edition restructures several chapters to help students trace central themes and storylines. It also explores the recent shift in U.S. Indian policy resulting from the transition to the Trump administration. The critical intersection of natural resources and Indian sovereignty is revealed in recent court cases and protests surrounding the extension of the Keystone and Dakota Access Pipelines and the reduction of protected lands, such as Bears Ears National Monument, and in the ways indigenous populations are organizing internationally to defend their rights.

The sixth edition includes new, expanded pedagogy to help foster better student understanding. Each chapter begins with a single Focus Question to guide students as they work their way through the narrative. Conclusions and Chapter Reviews have also been added to each chapter, along with lists of key terms, to help students identify important actors, events, and concepts before they move on to the document projects.

Eight new documents are featured, seven of them from a Native perspective: a speech by a Seneca chief defying the French; a recollection of the spread of smallpox to the Blackfeet; a speech by the charismatic pan-Indian leader Tecumseh; an assessment of the Indian Reorganization Act from a member of the Confederated Salish-Kootenai Tribe working for the Office of Indian Affairs; testimony in support of the reauthorizing of the Violence Against Women Act; a U.N. Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues statement on the Dakota Access Pipeline; a declaration against the Dakota Access Pipeline made by the Standing Rock Sioux Tribal chairman; and the International Indian Treaty Council's Declaration of Continuing Independence. For increased readability, several of the documents retained from the fifth edition have been carefully shortened.

The pairing of documents, introduced in the previous edition to present students with varied historical perspectives, continues in the sixth edition. In [Chapter 3](#), two newly paired accounts reveal the different aspects of colonial conflict as it pertained to the

Senecas and the experiences of war captives. [Chapter 8](#) explores the differing views of the Indian Reorganization Act, allowing students to compare the impressions of the program's architect, John Collier, with that of a fellow BIA employee and Confederated Salish-Kootenai tribal member. The documents in [Chapter 10](#) explore the intersection of tribal sovereignty, natural resources, and international indigenous rights. Two new documents examine the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe's fight to protect their sacred water. The last pairing of the book reveals the long struggle for internationally recognized indigenous rights, tracing efforts from the 1974 Declaration of Continuing Independence by the International Indian Treaty Council to the 2007 U.N. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

As with the previous editions, the book is generously illustrated to provide copious visual evidence and add another dimension to the narrative. Over 140 images appear throughout the text, 20 percent of them new to this edition. The picture essays in [Chapters 2](#) and [10](#) include new images as well. Bedford/St. Martin's has made all of the images and the text's map program available for download, in full color where available, from the online catalog at [macmillanlearning.com/calloway/catalog](http://macmillanlearning.com/calloway/catalog).

In addition to the timelines that appear at the beginning of each chapter for students' quick reference, this edition continues to feature Focus Questions to encourage active reading and critical analysis. The discussion-provoking Questions for Consideration



appear at the end of each set of documents and follow each picture essay. The Suggested Readings at the end of each chapter have been updated to include the latest scholarly works. Students have the option to purchase a low-cost e-Book of the sixth edition of *First Peoples*. For a list of our publishing partners' sites, see [macmillanlearning.com/ebookpartners](http://macmillanlearning.com/ebookpartners). As with previous editions, instructors can choose to package *First Peoples* with titles from the Bedford Series in History and Culture and with trade books from other Macmillan imprints.

For a complete list of titles, visit [bedfordstmartins.com/history/series](http://bedfordstmartins.com/history/series) and [macmillanlearning.com/tradeup](http://macmillanlearning.com/tradeup). Instructors looking for digital packaging options can package *First Peoples* with the Bedford Document Collections for Native American History, a source collection that provides a flexible and affordable online repository of discovery-oriented primary-source projects that you can easily customize and link to from your course management system or website. Native American history projects include “Pontiac’s War” by Eric Hinderaker, “Building a Creek Nation: Reading the Letters of Alexander McGillivray” by Kathleen DuVal, “Debating Federal Indian Removal Policy in the 1830s” by John P. Bowes, “Sand Creek: Battle or Massacre?” by Elliott West, and “The Laguna Pueblo Baseball Game Controversy of the 1920s” by Flannery Burke. For more information, visit [macmillanlearning.com/bdcnativeamerican/catalog](http://macmillanlearning.com/bdcnativeamerican/catalog).

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As always, I have benefited from daily interactions with Native students at Dartmouth and with my colleagues in Native American Studies: Melanie Benson-Taylor, Maurice Crandall, N. Bruce Duthu, Sergei Kan, Vera B. Palmer, Nicholas Reo, and Dale Turner. As in previous editions, Bruce Duthu reviewed and helped tweak my chapters dealing with contemporary issues. In addition, I am fortunate at Dartmouth to have fine colleagues in the Department of History, the Baker and Rauner libraries, and the Hood Museum of Art.

The staff at Bedford/St. Martin's maintained their usual exemplary standards with this publication. The efforts of Michael Rosenberg, senior program director; William Lombardo, senior executive program manager; Mary Posman Starowicz, developmental editor; and Louis Bruno, content project manager,

were integral to the completion of this edition, and Naomi Kornhauser's and Robin Fadool's visual research yielded excellent new images. My thanks to Arthur Amiotte for his kind permission to use his artwork on the cover.

I am grateful to all of the above for their help with this new and expanded edition of *First Peoples*. There have been many changes over six editions, but the dedication never changes: to Marcia, Graeme, and Meg, with love and thanks.



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# FIRST PEOPLES

# Introduction: American Indians in American History



## PERSPECTIVES ON THE PAST

IN 1870 CHARLES WINDOLPH emigrated from Prussia to the United States to avoid being drafted into the Franco-Prussian War. But for Windolph, America did not live up to its promise as a land of opportunity. Unable to find work in New York, Windolph joined the army — the very fate he had left home to avoid. Six years later, on the night of June 25, 1876, he found himself pinned down with other survivors of Major Marcus Reno's battalion of the Seventh Cavalry, on a hill overlooking the Little Bighorn River. That day, Windolph and his comrades had attacked the south end of the great Lakota (western Sioux) and Cheyenne village that had assembled in the valley of the Little Bighorn under the leadership of Sitting Bull. Rallying to defend their homes and families, Indian warriors had swept out of the village, routed Reno's command, and sent the survivors scrambling back up the ridge where they dug in for a

siege. Only the assault by George Armstrong Custer at the other end of the village saved Windolph and his comrades from being overwhelmed; most of the Indian warriors had hurried off to the north to attack Custer.

That night, as Charles Windolph looked down into the valley, his mind plagued with terrible scenes from the day's disaster and agonizing questions about what had happened to Custer's men, he heard the Indians drumming and singing in what he imagined were "wild victory dances." "We felt terribly alone on that dangerous hilltop," Windolph recalled later. "We were a million miles from nowhere. And death was all around us." He expected to be killed come morning.

But Windolph's peril was more imagined than real. The "wild victory dances" he thought he was hearing were in fact the mourning songs of Lakota and Cheyenne women who had lost husbands, brothers, and sons in the fighting. A Cheyenne warrior named Wooden Leg also recalled that night in his later years. "There was no dancing or celebrating in any of the camps," he said. "Too many people were in mourning. Too many Cheyenne and Sioux women had gashed their arms and legs to show their grief."

Late the next day, the Indians dismantled their lodges and moved off toward the Big Horn Mountains. On the morning of the 27th, an army relief column arrived. Charles Windolph did not die on Reno

Hill. He died in 1950, at the age of ninety-eight, the last American soldier to survive the Battle of the Little Bighorn.<sup>1</sup>

Windolph's experience vividly illustrates some important points about living through and reconstructing historical events, and about the need to use a variety of sources in retelling the past. Windolph's understanding of what was going on down in the Indian village was dead wrong, and any historian who repeated it without question would be equally wrong. Only the Indian people in the village knew what was really happening there and only by hearing from them can we know whether Windolph was really in any danger. But Windolph's terror was also real, and we need his testimony to help us appreciate the depth of his feelings and to remind us that fear, prejudice, and ignorance often shape one group's perceptions of another. Windolph and Wooden Leg remember the same night, and the same events, very differently. Each one gives a vivid account of his own experience, but we need them both to get the full story. In short, Indian sources are vital to understanding Indian history, but they can also foster a fuller understanding of non-Indians' history; non-Indian sources, used carefully, can be important for understanding Native American relations with non-Indians and throw light on Indian experiences.

## AMERICA'S MASTER NARRATIVE

History is not, as someone once said, “just one damn thing after another.” Unless it is badly taught or written, it is not a dry record of events; it is about how people experience, study, and interpret the past. Each generation reviews and rewrites history in the light of its own experiences and understandings, aspirations, and anxieties. Different societies, different groups within society, and even different individuals will often disagree about the meaning of events, the ways in which events happened, and even, sometimes, whether events happened at all. There is no single history that tells the whole story; there can be many different *histories*, telling many different stories, and many different ways of remembering, recording, and recounting the past.<sup>2</sup>

American history, however, was for a long time written and taught as a single story, a narrative of nation building and unending progress that united the diverse participants in the country’s past in a single American “experience.” It was a national success story, celebrating the human triumphs made possible in a society based on the principles of liberty and equality. American historians tended to ignore or dismiss people whose experiences and interpretations of the past did not conform to the master narrative. The experiences of American Indians during the years of nation building seemed to tell a story of decline and suffering rather than of “progress” and “the pursuit of happiness.” As a result, notes historian Frederick E. Hoxie, the authors of U.S. history textbooks had “great difficulty shaping the Native American experience to fit

the upbeat format of their books.”<sup>3</sup> The Indians’ story was not the American story; best to leave it out.

When the Indians’ story was told at all, it was usually portrayed as one of futile resistance to the march of civilization. As in the movies, “Indian history” was little more than a chronicle of hostility to Euro-American settlers. The image of savage warriors attacking hardy pioneers became firmly fixed in popular conceptions of the past: in the *New York Times Magazine* as recently as 1996, journalist Melissa Block said that when she learned she was about to lose a breast to cancer, “[t]he first thing I thought of was ambushed wagon trains, debreasted pioneer women lying in their dying campfires.”<sup>4</sup> When Indians were not killing settlers, their “history” was usually a narrative of the federal government’s efforts to solve the “Indian problem.” In many classrooms and in most history books, Indian people were either conspicuous by their absence or treated in such stereotypical and distorted terms so as to rob them of their humanity.

Times change and history — the stories we tell about the past and how we understand them — changes too. Fifty years ago, few colleges or universities offered courses in American Indian history or Native American studies. But in the late 1960s and early 1970s, unrest at home and anxiety about America’s war in Vietnam caused many people to question long-accepted views about American society and its relation to Native peoples. Political pressure from students and community activists resulted in new college courses,



and scholars began to reexamine the Native American past. For a long time, books about Native American history dealt mainly with “Indian wars,” and Indian people figured variously as savage, heroic, or tragic enemies. Even when scholars began to look in more depth at American Indian history, they tended to focus on “Indian policies” adopted by colonial governments and the United States. Indian history was written from non-Indian sources and perspectives. Although such studies of military encounters and government policies contained important information and often provided a foundation for future studies, they did not include Indian people as full participants in their own histories, or accord them much of a role in shaping the history of America. Eventually scholars, both Native and non-Native, began to write histories that tried to do both. It was not easy, and historians who had been trained to rely on written documentation found they had to consider other sources of information and other ways of understanding the past. These *ethnohistorians* endeavored to combine historical research with an understanding of anthropological principles, asking new questions of their sources and incorporating oral history into their research to gain a better sense of how Indian people perceived, experienced, and shaped their own histories. In doing so, they began to change how historians looked at American history.

History books, films, and television today are likely to portray Indians in a much more positive and romantic light: they might depict Indian people living in harmony with nature and with each

other before Europeans arrive, and then fighting courageously to defend their lands and way of life against racist and aggressive invaders. No longer seen as savage foes of civilization, Indians are often portrayed as tragic victims of Euro-American expansion. Unfortunately, their basic role in American history has changed little. They continue to be depicted in one-dimensional terms and enter the mainstream narrative of American history only to fight and be defeated.

## INDIAN HISTORY: A SHARED PAST

Renditions of U.S. history that portray Indian people only as warriors or victims may serve to justify past actions or present agendas, but they do not tell a story that includes all participants as real people with human qualities and failings. They either assign blame for or excuse the past, allowing us to feel good or guilty about what happened, but they do little to help us understand *how* it happened. Understanding the past involves looking at history from the viewpoints of the many people who made it over several centuries rather than from a single modern stance seeking to celebrate or condemn the actions of people who lived in very different times. Indians must be included as a central strand in the history of the United States — after all, the nation was built on Indian land — and their historical experiences require looking beyond stereotypes, old and new, and rethinking some basic assumptions.

The history of the millions of Indian people who have inhabited North America, and of the several million who still do, is important in itself, but it also provides alternative perspectives on the history of the United States. It reminds us that America has an ancient history that stretches back millennia before the United States was born; that one people's triumph often means another's tragedy; that building a new nation often entails destruction or displacement of other, older nations; and that the expansion of one civilization often brings chaos and suffering to another. It demands that we recognize invasion, racism, and acts of genocide, along with pioneering, liberty, and equality, as part of America's history, and that Native peoples' struggles to protect their resources and rights continue today. It is a story of conquest and colonization, but it is also a story of resilience, innovation, and survival.

Native American history is more than a mirror image of U.S. history; it is also part of a shared past. Including Indian people as participants in that history requires us to acknowledge that American history began long *before* Columbus reached the continent in 1492 and that Indian history did not end when Indians stopped fighting. Instead of viewing American history as the story of a westward-moving frontier — a line with Indians on one side, Europeans or Americans on the other — it might be more appropriate to think of it as a kaleidoscope, with each nation and community at the center of its own universe and with numerous Europeans, Africans, and Indians continually shifting positions. European invasions changed forever the world Indian peoples

inhabited ([Map I.1](#)). The biological disasters that befell Indian America after 1492 had tremendous repercussions in Indian communities, as well as creating the notion that America was vacant land awaiting European settlement. The policies of European powers and the United States affected Indian lives and limited Indian options. But Indian people also made their own histories and helped shape the story of this country. They responded to invasion in a variety of ways and coexisted with the newcomers as often as they fought against them. They fought to survive as Indians long after the so-called Indian wars were over and they continue to exert influence on the legal, political, economic, cultural, and spiritual climate of the United States. They also — from first contact to the present — married Europeans and later Africans, producing families and populations of mixed ancestry and multiple heritages.



Calloway, *First Peoples*, 6e, © 2019 Bedford/St. Martin's.

#### ♦ Map I.1 Approximate Tribal Locations at First Sustained Contact with Europeans

Many maps that purport to show America in 1492 place Indian tribes in their modern locations, conveying the impression that these communities have remained unchanged in composition and place. In reality, groups formed, separated, amalgamated, and moved throughout history. Many so-called tribes did not exist in 1492; others were evolving, and many communities that did exist subsequently disappeared as their members died or joined other groups. By the time they came into contact with Europeans, many tribes had incorporated other peoples, and Indian villages commonly included visitors, traders, spouses,

refugees, and others from different tribes. European contact produced additional disruption, dislocation, and social reorganization.

## WORKING WITH SOURCES

The shared past is a complicated place. Whether we study American history, Native American history, or any other area or era, we need to draw on multiple perspectives and listen to many voices to get a well-rounded and richly textured picture. I grew up hearing about the Second World War. My parents met while serving in the British Royal Air Force, aunts and uncles served in various capacities across the globe, and everyone remembered the impact of the war on their lives. There were many stories, and I learned things I never could have read in books. But only when I began to read written accounts and histories of the war did I get a sense of the conflict as a whole, and its different meanings for the different countries involved, even as I read things that contradicted what I had heard as a child. My understanding of that enormous event was enriched by both sets of sources; it would have been incomplete without either of them. Likewise, written documents and scholars' books tell us much about Native American history, but other sources of information and different understandings are preserved and sometimes protected in family histories and community memories.

Scholars working to reconstruct American Indian history cannot just rely on "American" sources. Information on Indian peoples in

colonial America is often found in Dutch, French, and Spanish, as well as English, records. In addition, students of Indian history must also consider sources other than the written word, sources they are not accustomed to “reading,” and which they are often ill equipped to understand. Native American pictographs, winter counts or calendars recorded on buffalo robes, events depicted on pages torn from account books and known as ledger art, and oral traditions that rely on stories recounted to an audience may strike us as strange, lacking in “hard evidence,” or “inaccessible.” As with any other historical sources, including written documents, we need to learn how to “read” these texts, to understand their purposes and conventions, and to interpret them. Archaeologists working in the Southwest have found that Native teachings and oral traditions can help them to understand the hard physical evidence they recover from the earth, and that so-called myth and science can be complementary rather than competing sources of knowledge.<sup>5</sup> Likewise, we as historians must become “literate” in reading these sources so that we can better appreciate them as repositories of knowledge and history and begin to incorporate them into a more fully grounded reconstruction of the past.

Most historians are trained to trust the printed word and many distrust oral sources of history as “unreliable.” Samuel Purchas, writing in the early seventeenth century, said that literacy made history possible. “By speech we utter our minds once, at the present, to the present, as present occasions move . . . us: but by writing Man seems immortall.” French commandant Nicolas Perrot

spent much of his life among the Indians of the Great Lakes, but his faith in the authority of the printed word prevented him from appreciating Native ways of recounting and of preserving their histories. “Among them there is no knowledge of letters or the art of writing,” he wrote, “and all their history of ancient times proves to be only confused and fabulous notions, which are so simple, so gross, and so ridiculous, that they only deserve to be brought to light in order to show the ignorance and rudeness of these people.”<sup>6</sup> Even Lewis and Clark, who depended on Indian information for guidance and survival during their epic journey to the Pacific and back in 1804–6, shared similar prejudices. In October 1804, William Clark noted in his journal that an Indian chief on the upper Missouri told him “a number of their Traditions about Turtles, Snakes, &c and the power of a perticular rock or Cave on the next river which informs of everr[y] thing,” but Clark paid little attention: “none of those I think worth while mentioning,” he wrote.<sup>7</sup>

Indians in colonial America were not so slow to recognize the power of European ways of recording the past, especially the printed words employed in treaties. Nevertheless, Native peoples continued to attribute great power to spoken words. Living in an oral tradition, they stood in what Kiowa writer N. Scott Momaday describes as “a different relation to language.” Momaday, himself a master of the written as well as the spoken word, suspects that writing, because it allows us to store vast quantities of words indefinitely, “encourages us to take words for granted.” But in an oral tradition, words “are rare and therefore dear. They are jealously



preserved in the ear and in the mind. . . . They matter, and they must not be taken for granted; they must be taken seriously and they must be remembered.” In Native cultures, ritually uttered words possessed magical powers. “By means of words can one quiet the raging weather, bring forth the harvest, ward off evil, rid the body of sickness and pain, subdue an enemy, capture the heart of a lover, live in the proper way, and venture beyond death.” For Momaday there is “nothing more powerful” than words, but he has “come to know that much of the power and magic and beauty of words consist not in meaning but in sound,” an element that is preserved in an oral tradition and deemphasized in a written one.<sup>8</sup> Other Indian writers echo his sentiments. “Where I come from,” says Laguna writer Leslie Marmon Silko, “the words most highly valued are those spoken from the heart, unpremeditated and unrehearsed. Among the Pueblo people, a written speech or statement is highly suspect because the true feelings of the speaker remain hidden as she reads words that are detached from the occasion and the audience.”<sup>9</sup>

Writing can be as fallible as oral history as a way of remembering the past. Written documents are valuable, but they are not always to be trusted. They do not convey the “truth” of what happened; they convey only what their authors thought, wanted to think, or wanted others to think happened. The repercussions of colonialism were felt far beyond zones of direct contact, with the result that by the time Europeans turned up and wrote “firsthand” accounts of Native people, they often described societies that had already

experienced change and disruption. Like the oral traditions of Native peoples, their accounts were created by individuals and influenced by the times and culture that produced them. The archives where historians work are themselves, often, products of colonial rule.<sup>10</sup> And the documents that historians use may be simply the ones that survived by chance: how many hundreds more, telling perhaps a different story, have been destroyed by fire, flood, malice, or mice?

Daniel Richter, who spent years working in colonial records to reconstruct a history of the Iroquois, acknowledges and explains the limitations and frustrations of trying to recapture the lives of people long since dead:

As a Euro-American of the late twentieth century, I do not pretend to have plumbed the mind of seventeenth-century native Americans, for most of the mental world of the men and women who populate these pages is irrevocably lost. Neither historians who study documents produced by the colonizers, nor anthropologists who make inferences from their knowledge of later culture patterns, nor contemporary Iroquois who are heirs to a rich oral tradition but who live in profoundly changed material circumstances can do more than partially recover it. . . . In more ways than one, we must all remain outsiders to a long-gone Iroquois world because of the inadequacies of the source material available.<sup>11</sup>

As Richter recognizes, the views of a seventeenth-century Jesuit priest about Iroquoian people were shaped by his own experiences, values, and prejudices as a Frenchman in a world that was alien to him. The views of a twenty-first century Iroquois about seventeenth-century missionaries and Indians must surely be shaped by his or her sense of history, views of Native and non-Native society, and experiences in the modern world. But the views of both — the seventeenth-century priest and the contemporary Iroquois — are valuable, even essential, in attempting to reconstruct as complete a picture as possible of the Native American past.

The distinctions between oral and written cultures can be exaggerated. One of the obstacles faced by historians of Native America is dispelling the myth that Indians were “people without history” because they produced no written records or histories of their own. Of course, Indian people have as much history as anyone else. They had their own ways of recording it, and oral cultures typically preserve memories of the past in traditions, songs, and stories passed from generation to generation instead of in newspapers, letters, and journals. Nevertheless, a dearth of documents written by Native people does constitute one of the challenges in doing Indian history. Some Indians did read and write, though, and literacy assumed a significant if limited role in Native societies alongside other European imports. Indians who were educated at colonial colleges or American boarding schools wrote, sometimes well, and some wrote often. For example, Mohegan

preacher Samson Occom (see [“Indian Diplomats in Eighteenth-Century London,” pages 180–85](#)) studied Hebrew, Greek, and Latin as well as English and wrote what is generally believed to be the first autobiography by a Native American. He also wrote diaries, letters, ethnographies, sermons and hymns, and petitions to colonial assemblies, using writing as a weapon to defend himself against colonial repression.<sup>12</sup> Indians often used literacy as a means of resistance. As with all historical documents, one must consider the circumstances, motivations, and restrictions of the writer. Some letters conceal more than they reveal; for example, Indian students were expected to adopt a subordinate tone in their writing and to express appropriate gratitude for their education, and they often shielded their individual humanity and their quiet resistance behind the veil of their writing. Dakota physician and author Ohiyesa, better known as Charles Eastman, was often extremely deferential to his white teachers and benefactors; nonetheless, like Luther Standing Bear (see [“What a School Could Have Been Established,” pages 416–20](#)), Eastman used his pen to defend Indian rights and values and to critique the non-Indian society that presumed to call Native people savage (see also [“The Two Worlds of Ohiyesa and Charles Eastman,” pages 392–93](#)).

Not all educated Indians attained the degree of literacy shown by Occom, Eastman, and Standing Bear, but many acquired an appreciation of the “power of print” and understood that literacy could serve Indian people as a weapon in the war for cultural and political survival. After the Cherokees acquired a written language

in the 1820s, written Cherokee spread quickly; according to a census in 1835, 18 percent of Cherokees could read English and 43 percent could read Cherokee. As assaults on their land and sovereignty increased, the Cherokees used writing, printed documents, and their newspaper, *The Cherokee Phoenix*, in a campaign to publicize their civilization, rights, and sufferings, and Cherokee women resorted to written petitions to register their opposition to removal (see [“Cherokee Women Oppose Removal,” pages 282–86](#)). Pequot writer William Apess (see [pages 272–73](#)), Paiute activist Sarah Winnemucca (see [pages 374–77](#)), Yavapai Apache physician Carlos Montezuma ([“What Indians Must Do,” pages 412–14](#)), and others were not afraid to use their pens to “talk back” to colonizers, oppressors, and bureaucrats who stifled Indian life.<sup>13</sup>

Contrary to commonly held opinion, Indian people are not mute in the written records of the past. They spoke often and at length in meetings with Europeans, and Europeans recorded their words. But the fact that Indian words made it into print should not give those words instant authority or authenticity, any more than the writings of European people should enjoy such status without question. The Iroquois were master diplomats in colonial America, and the treaty councils in which they spoke are rich and essential sources for understanding Iroquois history and colonial Indian relations. Those speeches also have serious limitations: “all were recorded by Europeans rather than Iroquois,” notes Richter; “all were translated by amateur linguists who lost volumes of the meaning conveyed in

the original, a few were deliberately altered to further colonizers' designs, and none preserves the body language and social context that were central to the native orators' messages." Indian speeches that made it into Europeans' records were often imperfectly translated, hurriedly transcribed, and then rewritten, edited, and editorialized.<sup>14</sup> At the same time, many European records of Indian speeches are fairly accurate — after all, as historian Nancy Shoemaker reminds us, they contain some pretty forthright denunciations of European behavior: "Assuming the inauthenticity of Indian speeches simply because they appear in European records relegates to the shadows the grievances that Indian speakers so persistently tried to bring to light."<sup>15</sup>

Just as some historians insist that Native oral traditions are unreliable, so some Native Americans insist that only Indian people grounded in their tribal culture and oral traditions can understand or attempt to tell Indian history. They argue that historical records are inevitably biased and inaccurate and that Western concepts of history and time are irrelevant to understanding Native American experiences and worldviews. Certainly, many non-Indian observers, like Charles Windolph on his hill, totally misunderstood what they saw; non-Indian writers have often misrepresented Native American life, and some understandings of tribal life will remain forever closed to outsiders. But although the documents written by observers and the histories written by Euro-American academics may be flawed, they are not always worthless. As Canadian historians Jennifer S. H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert note in their

anthology, *Reading Beyond Words*, “the encounter between Native and non-Native people has been a long and complex engagement of mutual dialogue, communication, and miscommunication. Given the intensity of the engagement, even the most confidently Eurocentric of texts cannot help but provide glimpses of Native actions, traces of Native voices.”<sup>16</sup> A Jesuit priest may not have understood, or even liked, the people among whom he lived, but he was there, sometimes for most of his life. He was able to recount things that happened and affected people’s lives even if he was unable to understand how those people thought or felt about those events.

Documents are invaluable to historians, but they must be used carefully, scrutinized, examined for bias, and checked against other sources. The fact that they are in print does not guarantee their reliability. After all, most documents were produced for particular purposes, not to add to the historical record; if they were produced specifically to inform historians, they are probably even more suspect. “There is no such thing as an objective, innocent, primary document,” wrote the French historiographer Jacques le Goff. “In the end, there is no documentary truth. Every document is a lie. It is up to historians not to feign innocence.”<sup>17</sup> But as anthropologist Marshall Sahlins warns, neither can they adopt cynicism and assume “that an author who may be suspected of lying on the grounds of interest or ideology therefore *is* lying — not even a Christian missionary.”<sup>18</sup> Historians may aspire to tell what really happened in the past but in reality, the biases, gaps, and *possible*

distortions in the sources, combined with the historian's own subjectivity, sympathies, and biases, mean that anyone attempting to write Indian history had better "admit in advance to fallibility."<sup>19</sup> The sources historians use "present us with complex subjectivities, multiple ways of knowing the world." The different voices in the sources "can be listened for, articulated, balanced with one another; but only through silencing or suppression can they be melded into a single voice or unquestioned truth."<sup>20</sup>

Rather than attempt to tell what really happened through a single voice, this book offers a historical overview, in this case written from the perspective of a British student of American Indian history living in the United States, and a selection of documents that present multiple perspectives on the past. The documents have been chosen and edited to illustrate key themes, highlight significant events, and provide broad coverage, but they represent only a small sampling of the many different sources available to scholars and students of Indian history. (Likewise, the references and suggested readings located at the end of each chapter offer a plethora of resources, but again, they represent a fraction of the historical material available.) The documents in this text should not be read just to gather information, find "the facts," or learn the truth about "what really happened." They represent different experiences, perspectives, and agendas. Often, one can learn more by reading critically between the lines than by accepting documents at face value.



The book also includes historic images in a series of picture essays and in-text illustrations. Pictures, like written documents, can help us to understand the past, but they too must be used critically and carefully. They illustrate history and help bring it to life, but they also interpret the past, often in subtle ways that might escape those not accustomed to reading and analyzing images. What was the artist's purpose in creating the picture? Where was the picture displayed and for what audience? Is the painting based on firsthand observation, accurate information, pure imagination, or a mixture of all three? Is the photograph a candid shot or is it staged? Are the images most valuable for what they tell us about the subjects and the events they portray, or for what they reveal about the assumptions, aspirations, and agenda of the artists who created them and their intended audiences? As with written documents, each picture "must be evaluated on its own merits," with knowledge acquired from other sources. The late John Ewers, a scholar of Plains Indian history and culture and art of the West, warned that it "is dangerous to appraise the individual works on the basis of the general reputation of the artist who created them."<sup>21</sup> What's more, warns another writer, sometimes each element in a picture must be evaluated separately, since pictures often contain "a mixture of observed facts, added fiction, and borrowed material." It is often said that a picture is worth a thousand words, but if it is to be used as a historical source, "it may require a thousand words of documentary evidence to show that it is based on actual observation by a credible witness, that it is accurately drawn . . . and that no well-meaning person has tried to 'improve' it."<sup>22</sup> "Works

of art are, of course, historical documents,” notes Plains art scholar Janet Berlo, “but . . . they are not *merely* historical documents.”<sup>23</sup>

The past is a complex story, made up of many interwoven lives and experiences. American history without Indians is mythology — it never happened. The last 500 years of American Indian history likewise include increasing numbers of non-Indian participants in a range of roles. As with the different views of the Battle of the Little Bighorn, we need to take into account many stories and sources if we are to have a history that includes all people and if we are to understand the past not as *history* but as a **shared** story.

## A NOTE ON NAME USAGE AND GEOGRAPHIC FOCUS

Neither *Indian* nor *Native American* is entirely satisfactory as a description of the indigenous peoples — the first peoples — of North America. The very term *Indian* is a European conception, or rather misconception, about the first Americans. When Columbus landed in the Caribbean he mistakenly believed he had found a westward route around the world to the East Indies. He called the people he met “los Indios,” and the name stuck. Many people today prefer *Native American*, but that term can mean anyone born in America and indigenous people lived on this continent long before it was called America. The term can also cause confusion if used in references to American *Indian* policy. *Indigenous* has multiple

definitions and applications internationally. Both *Indian* and *Native American* serve as collective terms in the absence of any more suitable designation that does not require explanation or create confusion. I use the terms interchangeably, giving preference to *Indian* as stylistically less problematic and because most of the Indian people I have met, especially in the West, employ the term. My preference is to use the term *Indian people*, with *Indian* as an adjective for *people*, rather than on its own as a category.

The names that Indian groups applied to themselves usually translate into “the people,” “the real people,” or something similar. However, many of the names that have been used historically and that continue to be used to designate Indian tribes — *Iroquois*, *Huron*, *Sioux* — are names that were applied to them by enemies and carry pejorative connotations. *Sioux*, for example, is a French corruption of an Algonquian word meaning “snakes” or “adders,” that is, “enemies.” Some Native people find these terms offensive; others continue to use them. I use the tribal names that seem to be most easily recognizable to readers, and do so in recognition, and with apologies, that some of these terms are inappropriate. I use the term *Lakota* when referring only to the western branch of the *Sioux* people; I use *Sioux* when referring to that nation in general or to several groups of the nation. The names *Chippewa* and *Ojibwa* are used historically to refer to groups of essentially the same people; this is still often the case. To use both, or to use one and exclude the other, is confusing, however, and I employ the name that most of these people use to refer to themselves: *Anishinaabeg*

(noun) and *Anishinaabe* (adjective), meaning “original people,” except in cases where individuals or communities self-describe as Chippewa or Ojibwa. I use *Pueblos* when referring to the Indian groups living along the Rio Grande and *pueblos* (lowercase) when referring to the towns they inhabited.

Before contact and colonialism, Native America was the entire continent. As competing European and later American powers divided up the continent, separate settler nations emerged: Canada, the United States, and Mexico. This book focuses on the historical experiences of the Indian peoples in what is now the United States. Limitations of space preclude sustained attention to the histories of Native peoples and the Indian policies of Canada and Mexico. However, American Indian lives and experiences were not and are not confined or defined within the relatively recent borders of the United States. Their histories were affected by French colonial activities to the north and Spanish colonial activities to the south, and today they share with indigenous peoples around the world a common struggle to protect their rights, resources, cultures, and futures. As you read this study of Native America, be mindful always of the myriad untold stories the continent holds as well as the many recorded stories that are not included here and of the multiple contexts and meanings of the stories — you will be a better historian for it.

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## CHAPTER 1

# American History before Columbus



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### FOCUS QUESTION

How does understanding the ancient indigenous history of the continent change our understanding of American history?

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**c. 75,000–8000 B.C.**

Ice Age; nomadic hunters from Asia believed to have begun crossing the Bering land bridge into Alaska

**c. 12,000–8000 B.C.**

Paleo-Indians hunt big game on the Great Plains

**c. 10,500 B.C.**

Evidence of human presence at Monte Verde, Chile

**c. 9500 B.C.**

Clovis spear point developed

**c. 5000 B.C.**

Squash cultivated by Indians in present-day Illinois

**c. 3500–1500 B.C.**

Beginnings of agriculture in the Southwest

**c. 3400–3000 B.C.**

Mound complex built at Watson Brake, Louisiana

**c. 1000 B.C.**

Poverty Point Mounds built

**c. 800–100 B.C.**

Adena culture in Eastern Woodlands

**c. 300 B.C.–A.D. 650**

Corn cultivated by Indians in the middle of North America

**c. A.D. 1–1300**

Fremont culture in the Great Basin

**c. 100–300**

Hopewellian culture in Eastern Woodlands

**c. 450–1450**

Hohokam culture in the Southwest

**c. 200–500**

Pottery making widespread among southwestern cultures

**c. 500–800**

Corn agriculture spreads throughout eastern North America

**c. 700**

Cahokia established

**c. 700–1100**

Eastern Plains people begin to cultivate corn and beans

**c. 700–1550**

Mississippian chiefdoms flourish throughout the Southeast

**c. 800–1400**

Hohokam culture develops irrigation canals

**c. 850–1150**

Rise and Fall of Pueblo Bonito

**c. 1000**

Corn emerges as the major food crop in the Eastern Woodlands

Bows and arrows in use throughout the Great Plains

Drought in the American Southwest

**c. 1064**

Sunset Crater volcano erupts in the Southwest, affecting climate and settlement patterns

**c. 1070**

Great Serpent Mound in Ohio built

**c. 1100**

Chaco Canyon in northwest New Mexico at height  
Mesa Verde built in southern Colorado

**c. 1100–1300**

Ancestral Pueblo culture at its peak in the Four Corners region  
of Utah, Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico

**c. 1200–1400**

Ancestors of Navajos and Apaches separate from northern  
Athabascans and migrate to the Southwest

**1276–1299**

Drought in the Southwest

**c. 1300**

Floods, an earthquake, and increasing social unrest send  
Mississippian culture at Cahokia into decline  
Droughts and enemy raids prompt abandonment of Ancestral  
Pueblo towns in the Southwest

**Pre-1400**

Iroquois Great League of Peace formed

# DETERMINING WHAT CAME BEFORE

FOR INDIAN PEOPLE, history did not begin when Christopher Columbus landed in San Salvador in October 1492; it began when their ancestors fell from the sky (Iroquois), emerged from under the earth (Pueblo, Navajo, Mandan), were transformed from ash trees into people (New England Algonquian), entered the world through a hollow log (Kiowa) — or entered North America via the Bering Strait from Siberia (archaeologists). (See [“A Navajo Emergence Story and an Iroquois Creation Story,” pages 44–48.](#)) Countless generations of Indian people settled the land and developed ways of living on it, built communities, and maintained relationships with their spirit world. What Columbus “discovered” was not a “new world” but another old world, rich in diverse peoples, histories, communities, and cultures.

Peter Kalm, a Swedish botanist traveling in North America in the mid-eighteenth century, wrote, “The history of the country can be traced no further than from the arrival of the Europeans, for everything that happened before that period is more like fiction or a dream than anything that really happened.”<sup>1</sup> For many years, American historians treated the Native American history of the continent prior to European colonization with similar disregard. As recently as thirty years ago, a team of eminent historians declared

in a widely used U.S. history textbook that, while civilizations developed elsewhere over millennia, “the continents we now know as the Americas stood empty of mankind and its works.” The story of America, to these historians, was “the story of the creation of a civilization where none existed.”<sup>2</sup> Still today, textbooks hundreds of pages long generally devote few pages to “America before Columbus,” treating it as a prelude to the colonial and national history of the United States. However, the history of the United States as a political entity is relatively recent and brief. The history of North America as a geographic space and a homeland is ancient, enduring, and by definition, predominantly Native American. Precontact indigenous civilizations were not just a prelude to “real” American history and, far from being “empty,” the pre-Columbian Americas were teeming with people — as many as lived in Europe at the time, if not more — who spoke hundreds of different languages, shaped their environments and organized their societies in a variety of ways, lived in huge cities as well as small villages, developed local economies and long-distance exchange networks, and already had histories dating back thousands of years.<sup>3</sup> North America’s longer and larger continental history cannot “fit” into a smaller and shorter U.S. history — that is the tail wagging the dog. The United States has figured in that history for less than 250 years.

American Indian history is part of global history. Most American historians now accept, and many teach, that America became part of a wider world after 1500, and that the United States took its place in a community of nations after 1776. But if America became part of

a wider world after 1500, where was it before 1500? Was it not part of the world because Europeans had not yet made contact with it? Adding Indian America to the map of global history reorients perspectives, generates new narratives, and encourages new interpretations and comparative studies. People in the Americas experienced similar patterns of change as people elsewhere in the world — the rise and fall of empires, climate change, and environmental stress; like Europeans, Asians, and Africans, they waged war, practiced international diplomacies, developed systems of slavery, and demonstrated the capacity of humans to do terrible things to other humans. A continent-wide Indian history stretching back in deep time conveys a sense of the cycles of history, and of the fragility of nations. It also furnishes examples of international relations built on something other than colonialism and imperialism, economies based on values other than individual possession of property, and societies that survived without conquest and competitive consumption of resources.

Without written documents to guide them, historians face a daunting challenge in trying to understand the thousands of years of history that predate Columbus. They have to turn to other people and sources, and rely on oral traditions. They also must seek evidence extracted archaeologically from the ground, rather than from archives. In this realm, knowledge of America's ancient past is growing all the time. Archaeologists employ ever more sophisticated and more culturally sensitive tools and methods of research such as federal- and state-mandated cultural resource

management (CRM) projects, new scientific instruments and laboratory testing, a better understanding of past climate change and its impact on human societies, and greater collaborative efforts between research institutions and Indian tribes. These tools and methods — combined with a growing number of Native archaeologists and better, if belated, appreciation by non-Indian scholars of how indigenous oral traditions can inform and enrich academic scholarship — all mean that our knowledge of ancient North America becomes deeper and more detailed every year.<sup>4</sup>

## Precontact Population

Basing their estimates on numbers recorded by explorers, traders, and colonists who often arrived after diseases had hit Indian America, scholars used to believe that the Native population of North America numbered no more than 1 million in 1492. Modern scholars employing more sophisticated techniques of demographic calculation have dramatically increased their estimates of pre-Columbian populations. Their figures still vary widely, from as low as 2 million to as many as 18 million people for the area north of Mexico. Most estimates fall between these extremes. The total population of North and South America may have constituted as much as one-fifth of the population of the world at that time. Whatever the actual figures, much of America was well populated by 1492.



Revisions of Native American population sizes explode many stereotypes about the nature of Indian society on the eve of European invasion. They also discredit old theories that rationalized dispossession and conquest on the premise that America was virgin wilderness and that the few Indians living there “wandered” the land but made no good use of it. Heavier concentrations of population suggest more sophisticated social structures, political systems, and economic activities than most Europeans imagined; they also mean that the idea of America as a pristine landscape before 1492 is a European fiction. In different times and places, Indian peoples had modified the extent and composition of forests, created and expanded grasslands, built towns and earthworks, trails and roads, irrigation canals and ditches. They sometimes placed pressure on food sources and occasionally degraded the environment. The notion of America as an untouched land may stem from the observations of seventeenth-century Europeans, made after imported epidemics had caused massive decline in Native populations and before European immigrant populations increased significantly.<sup>5</sup>

## Creation Stories and Migration Theories

Estimates of how long Indians have lived in America also vary. There is firm archaeological evidence of human presence in North

America more than 12,000 years ago, and some estimates push habitation back as far as 40,000 years. The creation stories and oral traditions of most Indian tribes tell how their people had always lived in the land that Europeans called America but that they knew as Ndakinna (Abenaki), Anishinaabewaki (Anishinaabe), or Dinétah (Navajo). European theories have suggested that American Indians were one of the lost tribes of Israel; that they are descendants of a legendary Welsh prince named Madoc and his followers who arrived in the twelfth century; or that they are descended from early voyagers from Polynesia, Phoenicia, the Middle East, or Japan.

Most non-Indian historians and archaeologists believe that Indian peoples migrated to America from Asia via the Bering Strait, and they cite genetic, dental, and even linguistic evidence linking Native populations of the Americas to the peoples of Asia. The **Bering Strait theory** holds that the Ice Age of c. 75,000–8000 B.C. lowered ocean levels worldwide and exposed a land bridge of perhaps a thousand miles across what is now the Bering Strait between Siberia and Alaska. Nomadic hunters made their way across this land bridge over hundreds, perhaps thousands, of years, following migrating game. Finding rich hunting territories and more hospitable climates, they edged their way onward along corridors that opened up as the ice shield receded. The newcomers continued to arrive and scatter as some groups pushed on down to the tip of South America. During the Archaic period (c. 8000–1000 B.C.), small bands moved into almost every area of the continent. But migration via land from Asia offers only one explanation of the peopling of

America: maritime people would have been more likely to make the trip by sea, expanding back the time when migration may have taken place. Native traditions say the ancestors have always been here.

Key archaeological evidence of early settlement has been found at many North American sites ([Map 1.1](#)). In 1925, at Folsom, New Mexico, archaeologists found worked flint alongside the bones of a bison species that had been extinct for about 8,000 years. Seven years later, at Clovis, New Mexico, archaeologists discovered weapon points that were even older than the Folsom artifacts. Since then, similar Clovis points, as this type of stone weapon is known, have been found from Mexico to Nova Scotia. The oldest Clovis spear points — about 11,500 years old — were for a long time considered the benchmark for the beginning of human habitation in the Americas. But the Meadowcroft Rock Shelter in Pennsylvania may have been occupied as long as 20,000 years ago, and some archaeologists say humans could have lived in North America much earlier. The evidence is inconclusive, and many scholars remain skeptical. The most widely accepted estimates for the earliest human occupation of America range between 12,000 and 14,000 years ago, but new evidence and clues emerge each year.



Calloway, *First Peoples*, 6e, © 2019 Bedford/St. Martin's.

#### ♦ Map 1.1 Native North America before Columbus: Selected Peoples and Key Sites

Indian peoples sometimes shifted location over time, and different societies developed, changed, and disappeared, but environmental conditions determined broad areas of cultural similarity in Native North America. People exchanged foods, materials, influences, and ideas within and across regions.

Archaeologists working in Daisy Cave on San Miguel Island off the coast of California uncovered stone cutting tools used about

10,500 years ago, and researchers have dated skeletal remains from the area to be about 11,000 years old. After long debate, many archaeologists reached consensus that humans inhabited southern Chile 12,500 years ago. Bone and stone tools found at the Monte Verde site in southern Chile have been dated as more than a thousand years older than the oldest Clovis points in North America. “Nothing at Monte Verde was more evocative of its former inhabitants than a single footprint beside a hearth,” reported the *New York Times*. “A child had stood there by the fire 12,500 years ago and left a lasting impression in the soft clay.”<sup>6</sup> If the people living in Chile migrated south via ice-free corridors through the glaciers that engulfed North America between 13,000 and 20,000 years ago, they must have spread with remarkable speed to the southern end of America. If they did not travel south overland, as previously supposed, they must have come by a different route, perhaps by sea along the western coast. “This is not to say that none came by land,” writes archaeologist Stephen Lekson; “of course they did. But others came by sea, faster and farther.”<sup>7</sup> Archaeologists in 2016 found evidence of a 14,000-year old settlement on the coast of British Columbia, strengthening the argument that people arrived during the last Ice Age via the Pacific, or that they were here even earlier.

In 2008, scientists using radiocarbon dating and DNA analysis concluded that fossilized feces found in a cave in Oregon are one thousand years older than any previously discovered human remains, indicating human habitation of North America more than

14,000 years ago. Then archaeologists working at the Buttermilk Creek site in Texas found flint knife blades, chisels, and other artifacts lying in a soil layer almost 16,000 years old. Archaeologists working at Serra Da Capivara National Park in northeastern Brazil, the site of ancient rock paintings, believe that they have found stone tools used by humans who were living there as long as 22,000 years ago. Some scholars argue that Ice Age mariners from areas of France and Spain also made it to America more than 20,000 years ago, bringing their stone tool technology.<sup>8</sup> All of these discoveries have made us even less certain than before about how and when humans first settled America, but such new evidence and interpretations suggest that “people were thriving from Alaska to Chile” when the Ice Age still rendered large parts of Europe uninhabitable<sup>9</sup> — quite the reverse of an “empty” North American continent.

## Debates over Native Origins

Many Native people refute the idea that their ancestors came to America via the Bering Strait and insist that they are truly indigenous people, not just the first immigrants to America. The Miami chief Little Turtle (c. 1752–1812) offered a different interpretation of the Bering Strait theory. On a visit to the eastern United States, Little Turtle is reported to have met Thomas Jefferson and a group of French scientists who were debating the

origins of the American Indians. They pointed out the similarities between American Indians and people from Siberia, which they believed proved that Indians came from Asia. Little Turtle considered the evidence but came to a different conclusion: the Asian people must have migrated from *America*.<sup>10</sup> The late Lakota writer and scholar Vine Deloria Jr. took a more militant position. He dismissed the idea that Indians came to America via the Bering Strait as something that “exists and existed only in the minds of scientists,” and asserted that “immense political implications” make it difficult for people to let go of this theory. Portraying the indigenous inhabitants of the continent as “latecomers who had barely unpacked before Columbus came knocking on the door” allowed Europeans to brush aside Indian claims to aboriginal occupancy based on having “always been here.” Lakota author Joseph Marshall III offers another perspective that might help readers to reconcile opposing beliefs about the peopling of America and to understand Native peoples’ insistence that they have always been here, in the face of what may seem to be weighty evidence pointing to Asian origins and Bering Strait migration. The original stories among many Native peoples in North America “do not bother with when,” Marshall explains.

Instead, many such stories deal with the obvious fact that we are here and have always been here. When a moment or an event happened so long ago that it has ceased to exist in collective memory, it then begins to exist — as my grandfather liked to say — on the other side of memory. In such an instance,

*always* becomes a relative factor. And what emerges as a far more important factor is *first*.<sup>[11](#)</sup>

However, as scientists continue to assemble their own versions of the Native origin story, questions of who was where when spark heated debate among the interested communities. In 1996 the skeleton of an adult male aged between forty and fifty-five years was discovered on the banks of the Columbia River near Kennewick, Washington. The skeleton showed evidence of violence, including a stone projectile point lodged in the left hip, and was dated as between eight and nine thousand years old. When physical archaeologists reported that the skeleton exhibited Caucasoid features, suggesting that the man was European rather than Native American, “**Kennewick Man**” became the center of a storm of controversy. Five tribes — the Yakama, Colville, Nez Perce, Wanapum, and Umatilla — demanded that the remains be returned to them for reburial, but in August 2002 a U.S. district court found that scientists must be allowed access to the skeletal remains.<sup>[12](#)</sup> In 2006 *Time* magazine ran an article reporting that Kennewick Man was likely younger than scientists first thought and suggested that “the bones have more secrets to reveal,” such as what he ate and where he came from. “If scientists treat those bones with respect and Native American groups acknowledge the importance of unlocking their secrets, the mystery of how and when the New World was populated may finally be laid to rest,” the article concluded.<sup>[13](#)</sup>



For many Native people, however, how the “New World” was populated is no mystery, and the new “findings” did not justify the continued abuse of human remains. “After the scientists probed and prodded this individual, we thought they would return the remains to us so we could have a burial for the bones,” said Yakama Tribal Council member LaRena Sohapp. Instead, it seemed the bones would be subjected to more investigation. She called it “disgraceful.” The five Northwest tribes continued to fight in court for reburial. In 2015 new DNA evidence indicated the Kennewick remains were closer to modern Native Americans than to any other modern population and in 2016 Congress passed a bill permitting the repatriation of the remains to the tribes. In early 2017 more than 200 members of five Columbia Plateau tribes and bands gathered to lay the remains of Kennewick Man, finally, to rest.<sup>14</sup> The debate over the origins of America’s first peoples continues.

# GLIMPSES OF PRECONTACT SOCIETIES

It is too easy to dismiss scholars' skepticism and insistence on meeting scientific criteria as stemming from political or racist motivations. And few scholars today would argue that precontact (the time before interaction with Europeans) America was "empty" before the Europeans arrived. Instead, America was "a pre-European cultural landscape, one that represented the trial and error as well as the achievement of countless human generations."<sup>15</sup> Indian peoples in different times and regions pursued varied activities. They built irrigation systems that allowed them to farm in the deserts. They cultivated new strains of crops and built settled and populous communities based on corn, beans, and squash. They improved hunting and fishing techniques and crafted more efficient weapons and tools. They exchanged commodities and ideas across far-reaching trade networks. They fought wars, established protocols of diplomacy and peacemaking, and learned to communicate with speakers of many different languages. They developed various forms of architecture suited to particular environments, different seasons, and shifting social, political, and economic purposes. While medieval Christians were erecting Gothic cathedrals in Europe, Indians in the Mississippi basin were constructing temple mounds around open plazas, creating ritual

spaces, and demonstrating the power of their chiefdoms. Throughout America, people built societies held together by kin, clan, and tradition. They created rich forms of art, music, dance, and oral literature and developed ceremonies and religious rituals that helped keep their world in balance.

## West Coast Affluence

People were harvesting the rich marine resources of the California coast ten thousand years ago. As the climate stabilized and came to resemble that of today, the coastal regions of California supported large populations of hunter-gatherers who lived in permanent communities ([Map 1.2](#)). The inhabitants cultivated only one crop — tobacco — but harvested an abundant variety of natural foods. Women gathered acorns and ground them into bread meal; men fished the rivers and ocean shores and hunted deer and smaller mammals. The **Chumash Indians** of the Santa Barbara region lived well from the ocean and the land, following an annual cycle of subsistence that allowed them to harvest and store marine mammals, fish, shellfish, acorns, pine nuts, and other wild plants. Chumash traders were part of an extensive regional exchange network, and Chumash villages sometimes housed a thousand people. The sophisticated and diversified hunter-gatherer lifestyle in California supported a population of 300,000 people, speaking perhaps as many as one hundred languages, before Europeans

arrived. California was a land of cultural diversity. Population was least dense and most mobile in the Mojave Desert, while being much more heavily concentrated and more sedentary in fertile coastal valleys, on the banks of the San Joaquin River, and along the shores of Tulare Lake. Networks of alliance and exchange linked peoples across different regions. In many areas, acorns were the staff of life. Fifteen different types of oak trees grow in California, and it is estimated that Native Californians harvested as many as 600,000 tons of acorns a year at the time Europeans first arrived. Gathering, pounding, and processing acorns was labor intensive but produced plentiful supplies of nutritious food, which could be stored. Everyone assisted with the harvesting, but the women did the processing while men returned to hunting and fishing.

Bountiful acorn harvests supported large populations. By the time Spanish explorer Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo reached present-day Santa Barbara in 1542, some 15,000 Chumash people inhabited the coast and islands of the region, many in permanent villages of several hundred people. They developed hunting and gathering to a high level and paddled the sea in canoes (first constructed from bundles of tule reeds for inshore fishing) and later in more substantial and maneuverable planked vessels known as *tomols*. When Spanish missionaries and explorers arrived in the coastal region of southern California in 1769, Chumash chiefs received them with lavish feasts.<sup>16</sup>



Information from Robert F. Heizer, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*. Vol. 8: California (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978), ix.

♦ **Map 1.2 Native Peoples of California at Time of First European Contact, c. 1542**

Then, as now, California was a region of tremendous cultural and linguistic diversity.

On the Northwest Pacific Coast, from northern California to Alaska, people built a maritime way of life and developed a deep relationship with the ocean.<sup>17</sup> Seagoing peoples were harvesting rich marine resources five thousand years ago. Men fished with harpoons and nets from canoes, and villages accumulated reserves of dried fish and sea-mammal meat. People built large villages of communal rectangular plank houses in sheltered coves and, in time, created prosperous and stratified societies. Craftsmen developed specialized woodworking tools and skills, producing seagoing canoes and ceremonial carvings. At Ozette on the Olympic Peninsula of present-day Washington State, Makah Indians occupied an ideal site for sea-mammal hunting. The village was inhabited for at least two thousand years before a massive springtime mudslide engulfed it — probably around 1700 — preserving its contents like a North American Pompeii.

## Columbia Plateau Fishers

On the Columbia Plateau, between the Cascade Mountains on the west and the Rocky Mountains on the east, salmon were central to Indian life and culture. Huge and fast-flowing rivers like the Fraser, the Columbia, and the Snake provided a regular harvest for people inhabiting their banks. At **The Dalles**, a site at the upstream end of the Long Narrows where the Columbia River rushed for miles through a rocky channel, Indian people harvested salmon runs

more than seven thousand years ago. Men caught the salmon with harpoons, dip nets, weirs, and traps; women butchered, dried, and stored the catch. Fish were dried or smoked on racks and packed in baskets for eating or for trading, and fishing stations became sites of social and ceremonial activity. Described as “the finest salmon fishery in the world” and located where Chinookan-speaking peoples from downriver met Sahaptian-speakers from upstream, The Dalles became one of the largest trade fairs in western North America, linked to trade routes that extended south to California, east to Yellowstone, and, ultimately, all the way across the continent.<sup>18</sup>



*bauhaus1000/DigitalVision Vectors/Getty Images.*

♦ **Indian people fishing at Salmon Falls, Oregon**

This image shows Native Americans fishing for salmon on the Columbia River as they had done for centuries. Men used spears, traps, and dipnets to catch the



fish; women dried and stored the catch. Fishing sites became centers of social and ceremonial activity when the salmon were running.

Rituals accompanied the start of the spring salmon runs, and only after the ceremonies were completed was the fishing season open. People threw salmon bones back into the water to allow the spirit of the salmon to return to the sea, thus ensuring that the cycle of abundance would continue. Taboos limited women's contact with salmon and water, especially during menstruation when their blood had the power to offend the salmon and jeopardize the run.<sup>19</sup> Earthquakes and landslides occasionally blocked salmon runs on the Columbia River, and changes in water temperature and mineral content could discourage the fish from returning to their spawning grounds — events explained and retold in Native stories handed down across generations.

## Great Basin Foragers

In 2013 archaeologists studying rock art at the dried-up Winnemucca Lake in the Nevada desert determined that the carvings were between 10,500 and 14,800 years old — the oldest rock art in North America by several thousand years. This art was found within the region known as the **Great Basin**, an area of some 400,000 square miles between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada that embraces tremendous environmental and



topographical diversity, and where ancient inhabitants exploited a broad range of food sources to survive. They knew how to live in a hard land: between ten and twelve thousand years ago, lakes in the region shrank, rivers dried up, and the lush vegetation retreated to higher elevations and to the north. Temperatures rose until about 4000 or 3000 B.C., and hot, arid conditions continued to characterize the region into historic times. Then, between about A.D. 900 and 1400, a series of droughts struck the American West. The diverse environments of the Great Basin underwent constant change, and populations moved regularly to take advantage of unevenly distributed and often precarious resources. For instance, on the shores of Pyramid Lake and Walker River in Nevada, people lived in sedentary communities for most of the year, supplementing a staple diet of fish with game and plants. In other areas, people harvested wild plants and small game, a subsistence strategy that required intimate knowledge of the land and its animals, regular movement to take advantage of seasonal diversity and changing conditions, and careful exploitation of the environment. Amid these adaptations, however, hunting and gathering endured for ten thousand years.<sup>[20](#)</sup>

Trade, too, was a part of Great Basin life: shells from the Pacific coast and obsidian — volcanic glass — from southern Idaho, which may have been present in the Great Basin as early as seven thousand years ago, were traded over vast areas along with food, hides, and other perishable items. Surviving and subsisting in this harsh and changing environment demanded innovation, adaptation,

and advance planning. Successful hunter-gatherers did not live hand-to-mouth or move aimlessly across the landscape, as many people assume. “Ancient residents of the Great Basin were travelers in an endless cycle, always thinking about their next move to another spot, where they would find the things they needed to survive.”<sup>21</sup> In summer, they prepared for winter; they stored caches of food in anticipation of future need, and they cached hunting gear, duck decoys, traps for snaring rodents, baskets and basket-making tools, fishing gear, and other equipment in places they knew they would return to. Rediscovered, such caches have given archaeologists glimpses into seasonally mobile hunting-and-gathering lifestyles that persisted for more than eight thousand years until Euro-Americans arrived.

About two thousand years ago, horticultural communities began to emerge in Utah, eastern Nevada, western Colorado, and southern Idaho, growing corn, making pottery, and living relatively sedentary lives. Called “Fremont Culture” by archaeologists and anthropologists, this way of life proved short-lived in Great Basin terms — a mere 1,300 years.

## First Buffalo Hunters of the Plains

Life in ancient America was varied and changing, but nowhere did Indians wearing feather headdresses hunt buffalo from horseback;

the horse-and-buffalo culture of the Plains Indians developed much later, a by-product of contact with Europeans. The way of life that popular stereotypes depict as typical of all Indians at all times never existed in most of North America and was not even typical of the Great Plains until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Between about 12,000 and 8000 B.C., Native American peoples of the Great Plains hunted on foot for big game — mammoths, mastodons, and bison. Over time, these people, known as **Paleo-Indians**, worked increasingly lethal projectiles, such as Clovis points flaked on both sides, to produce stone spear points bound into split wooden shafts. Experiments by Wyoming archaeologist George Frison demonstrated that hunters using Clovis point spears could inflict mortal wounds on animals as large as African elephants.<sup>22</sup> As Paleo-Indians refined their hunting tool kits, they also developed more effective methods of hunting large game, such as buffalo drives and corrals. These communal hunting techniques required greater degrees of social organization. At Head-Smashed-In buffalo jump in Alberta — the largest, oldest, and best-preserved buffalo drive site in the western Plains — Indians hunted and slaughtered buffalo for more than seven thousand years. Many species of large animals became extinct — mastodons, mammoths, giant beaver and bear, saber-toothed cats, and American lions, camels, and horses; the demise of the large Ice Age mammals was a worldwide phenomenon, most likely the result of climatic change rather than relentless human predators. By 8500 B.C. most Paleo-Indians were hunting bison. Bows and arrows — a major innovation

in hunting and warfare — spread south from the Arctic and were in use throughout the Plains by A.D. 1000.

When the first Spaniards ventured onto the “vast and beautiful” southern Plains in the 1520s, they saw huge herds of buffalo. They noted that the Indians of the region “live upon them and distribute an incredible number of hides into the interior.”<sup>23</sup> Nomadic hunters traded with farming groups on the edges of the Great Plains, but they did not yet travel by horseback. The Plains hunters had improvised other ways to transport their belongings and goods. In 1541 Spaniards on the southern Plains encountered peoples who traded each winter with the Pueblos<sup>o</sup> in the Rio Grande valley and who “go about like nomads with their tents and with packs of dogs harnessed with little pads, pack-saddles and girths.”<sup>24</sup>



*Courtesy of Abell-Hanger Foundation and of the Permian Basin Petroleum Museum, Library, and Hall of Fame in Midland, Texas, where this painting is on display.*

♦ Pecos Pueblo around 1500

One of the easternmost Pueblo communities, Pecos functioned as a trade center and rendezvous point between the farming peoples of the Rio Grande valley and the hunting peoples of the Great Plains long before the Spanish arrived. This 1973 painting by Tom Lovell depicts a harvest-time trade fair at Pecos. The inhabitants of the pueblo trade corn, squash, pottery, and other items to visiting Plains Apaches, who have transported the products of their buffalo hunt on dogsleds. Later, Spanish seizures of Pueblo food surpluses disrupted these long-standing trade relationships, while access to Spanish horses increased the Apaches' mobility and military power. Horses also enabled the Indians to transport larger tipis. Dogs would have been hard-pressed to transport tipis of the size depicted in this picture.

[2](#) The name Pueblo comes from the Spanish term for a town and was applied by early Spaniards to the people they met living in multistory adobe towns in New Mexico and Arizona. At the time of first contacts with Europeans, the Pueblo Indians lived in many communities and belonged to eight different language groups. Then, as now, most Pueblo communities — Taos, San Juan, Cochiti, Ácoma — nestled in the Rio Grande valley, but the Zunis of western New Mexico and the Hopis of Arizona are also regarded as Pueblo Indians.

## First Farmers of the Southwest

For virtually the entire span of human life on Earth, people have survived as hunters and gatherers, living on wild plants and animals. Then, beginning about ten thousand years ago, many hunters became farmers at various places around the world. Within the relatively short period of about five thousand years, people began cultivating domesticated plants in Southeast and Southwest Asia, China, South America, Mesoamerica, and parts of North America. As long as seven thousand years ago, Indian farmers in Mesoamerica crossbred wild grasses and created maize, or **corn**, which has become a staple food throughout much of the world;

over time, corn cultivation spread north into what is now the United States. The transition to agriculture involved more than simply developing a new food source; it entailed a changed relationship with the environment. Ultimately it produced new social structures and organizations,<sup>°</sup> as people cleared lands, cultivated and stored foods, adopted new technologies for farming, and lived in more populous and sedentary communities.<sup>25</sup>



© Historical Picture Archive/CORBIS/Corbis via Getty Images.

♦ “Their Sitting at Meat”

A Coastal Algonquian man and woman eat a meal that includes corn. The Flemish engraver Theodor de Bry provided some of the earliest depictions of Native Americans and their ways of life, many of them based on the watercolor paintings of the English colonist John White. This image was published in Thomas Hariot’s book *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1588).

The ancient inhabitants of the southwestern United States developed agri-culturally based societies approximately three

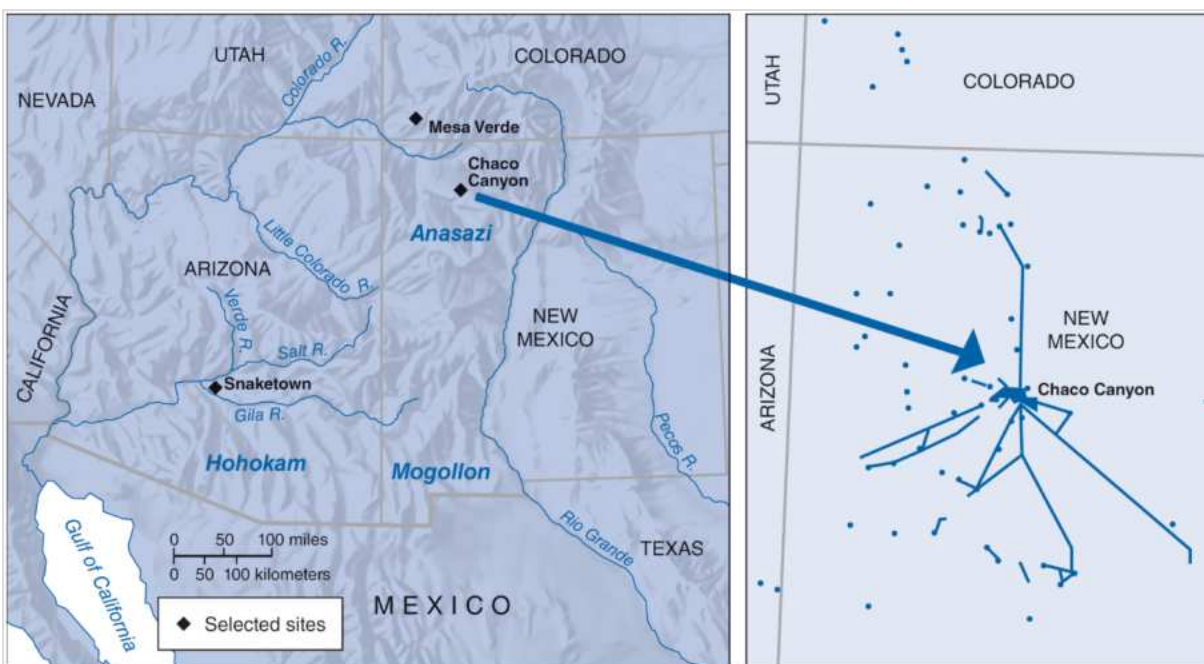
thousand years ago. About two thousand years ago in the highlands of the Arizona–New Mexico border and in northwest Mexico, Mogollon people grew corn and squash. They first lived in pit house villages but later built multi-apartment structures above ground. Southwestern peoples began making clay pots by about A.D. 200, and pottery was widespread by A.D. 500, improving methods for preparing and storing food. Mogollon potters were making distinctive black-on-white Mimbres-style pottery more than a thousand years ago, although their culture went into decline after about 1100.

For a thousand years, from about 450 to 1450, the people archaeologists call the **Hohokam** lived in the Sonoran Desert in southern Arizona. Ancestors of the Akimel O’odham, or Pimas, and the Tohono O’odham, or Papagos, the Hohokam not only subsisted in a harsh environment but also made the desert agriculturally productive. They built sophisticated irrigation systems to tap sources of precious water and created a network of nearly three hundred miles of canals that transported water from the Gila and Salt rivers, engineering feats that required expending huge amounts of coordinated labor. Freed from dependence on the unpredictable Gila River, the Hohokam people grew corn, beans, squash, and cotton. They also devised ways of modifying soil texture and chemical properties to increase agricultural productivity.<sup>26</sup> They were able to store crops and traded extensively across the Southwest, and they developed larger and more permanent communities. They built villages of adobe houses, earthen platform

mounds, and ball courts. Snaketown, near present-day Phoenix, had three to six hundred inhabitants and was continuously occupied for twelve hundred years. Droughts, floods, and increased soil salinity may explain the decline of Hohokam culture by the 1400s.<sup>[27](#)</sup> Hohokam territory is now largely covered by the city of Phoenix.

In the Four Corners region of the Southwest where the present states of Utah, Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico meet, **Ancestral Pueblo** culture emerged around A.D. 900 and reached its height between 1100 and 1300, about the time of the Crusades in Europe ([Map 1.3](#)). The Ancestral Pueblos — often called Anasazi, although the name is not preferred by modern Pueblos — grew and stored corn, wove and decorated baskets, made pottery, studied the stars, and were master architects. In **Chaco Canyon**, in New Mexico's San Juan River basin, they constructed a dozen towns and perhaps two hundred outlying villages. D-shaped Pueblo Bonito, one of many such structures in the canyon, contained hundreds of rooms and could have housed hundreds of people;<sup>o</sup> it has been described as “the largest apartment building in North America until New York City surpassed it in the nineteenth century.” But it also contained thirty-six kivas (underground ceremonial chambers), and many scholars now believe that it functioned as a ritual center rather than a population center, with relatively few permanent residents. Chacoan farmers inhabited a world where rain was scarce, where their “lives revolved around agriculture and religion, where the performance of ritual, of dance and chant, was as important as tilling the soil.”<sup>[28](#)</sup>





Information from Tracy Wellman in Brian M. Fagan, *Ancient North America* (New York: Thames and Hudson, Inc.).

### ◆ Map 1.3 Southwest Civilizations and Chaco Canyon as Trade Center, c. 900–1200

Structures like the cliff dwellings at the town of Pueblo Bonito and Mesa Verde (see [pages 58](#) and [59](#)) show that the ancient Southwest was a region of remarkable activity and lasting achievement. Pueblo Bonito sat in Chaco Canyon, itself the center of a series of communities in the San Juan River basin and a focus of trade in which turquoise was exchanged for goods from as far away as Mexico, California, and the Rocky Mountains. The dots on the detail map (right) locate some of the outlying settlements. The lines show straight ancient roads, some stretching four hundred miles, that have been documented by either ground or aerial surveys.

With more than four hundred miles of straight roads spoking out from it, Chaco Canyon was a center of trade linked to many outlying settlements in the San Juan Basin. But the purpose of the roads remains something of a mystery. Many of them seem to lead nowhere and they may have had symbolic meaning, connecting Chaco to other communities or to sacred places, rather than facilitating the movement of people and goods.<sup>29</sup> The people of Chaco Canyon imported corn and exchanged turquoise with distant

peoples, obtaining seashells from the Gulf of California, exotic birds and feathers from Central America, and minerals and ores from the Rocky Mountains. Recent chemical analyses of organic residues in fragments of pottery from Pueblo Bonito reveal theobromine, a biomarker for cacao. This earliest evidence of cacao drinking in North America — possibly for ritual purposes — indicates that Chacoan people were exchanging with cacao cultivators in Mesoamerica between A.D. 1000 and 1125; people may have been drinking chocolate in North America for a thousand years.<sup>30</sup>

Most Ancestral Pueblo villages housed a few families and were located on mesa tops, but people also built impressive cliff dwellings, especially in times of drought and competition for resources. At Mesa Verde in southwestern Colorado, people occupied more than two hundred rooms in a multitiered fortress-like cliff dwelling that provided defense against enemies. (See [Pueblo Bonito and Mesa Verde images, pages 58–59](#).)<sup>31</sup> The lifestyle of the Ancestral Pueblos began to change in the mid-eleventh century, however, when natural disaster and climatic change altered their lives and locations. In 1064 or spring 1065, Sunset Crater volcano, near present-day Flagstaff, Arizona, erupted, filling the sky with fire and smoke and causing dramatic shifts in patterns of settlement. Beginning in the twelfth century, a severe and prolonged cycle of droughts hit the American Southwest. A major drought that began around 1139 and lasted fifty years seems to have caused many people to abandon Chaco Canyon, and there appears

to have been another huge drought between 1276 and 1299 that further damaged the settlement. Soil erosion, crop failure, and increased competition for farming lands intensified social tensions and generated new levels of violence.<sup>32</sup> Ancestral Pueblo people began to disperse into smaller, less stable settlements. Many people migrated south from the Mesa Verde region. Some joined the Zunis and Hopis in western New Mexico and eastern Arizona. The rest moved east and mingled with Pueblo communities that had developed in the Rio Grande valley, causing a dramatic population upsurge in that area. Some scholars believe that a new religion — what they call the Kachina phenomenon — drew people eastward to the Rio Grande. In a period of drought, southwestern farming peoples may well have placed more faith in kachinas, the spirits that brought rain.

According to one account, Pueblo people had a rather different explanation. They said that the Ancient Pueblo people “kept a great black snake in the kiva, who had power over their life.” They fed him the fruits of the hunt — deer, rabbits, antelope, bison, and birds — and he gave them corn, squash, berries, yucca, cactus, and all they needed to wear. Then one night he left them. They followed his track until it disappeared in the water of a big river, the Rio Grande. So they gathered up their things and moved to the river, “where they found another town already living. There they took up their lives again amidst the gods of that place.”<sup>33</sup> Some Navajo and Hopi teachings attribute the decline of the Ancestral Pueblos and the drought that drove them away to societal decay, even to hubris

that angered the gods, and they see the rise and fall of these ancient societies as a warning for the future.<sup>34</sup> The depopulation of the Ancestral Pueblos' settlements is one of the great mysteries of American archaeology, and scholars continue to debate its causes and timing, finding new evidence and attaching varying weight to climate change, environmental degradation, social problems, and conflict.<sup>35</sup>

Whatever the causes, over the next 150 years, a period known as the **Great Migration**, Ancestral Pueblo people abandoned their sophisticated towns and moved away to be amalgamated with other established peoples. No new Chacoan buildings were constructed after 1150, and by 1300 the canyon was abandoned. Great cliff dwellings that had once echoed with the sounds of human activity became empty and silent. At about the same time, other movements of peoples altered the human landscape. Nomadic Athapaskan peoples, ancestors of the Apaches and Navajos, who had migrated from far northwestern Canada, began to arrive in the Southwest.<sup>36</sup> Looking back over the centuries, the abandonments and migrations may appear sudden and suggest dramatic and catastrophic causes, but relocating to more hospitable environments in response to changing climate conditions was also a regular part of life in the Southwest.<sup>37</sup>

Long before Europeans arrived in America, Ancestral Pueblo civilization had emerged in the Southwest, flourished for centuries, and declined. The Pueblo cultures and communities the Spanish

invaders encountered in the Southwest in the sixteenth century were descendants of ancient civilizations that stretched back thousands of years. People had migrated, scattered, and regrouped and were able to survive and often flourish in a challenging and sometimes harsh environment. The Hopis, for example, succeeded in growing crops on the arid lands of northern Arizona by farming near major rivers and streams or through the use of canal irrigation; in archaeologist Stephen Lekson's words, the Hopis "wrote the book" on desert agriculture.<sup>38</sup> When a Spanish expedition reached the Hopi town of Walpi in 1582:

More than one thousand souls came, laden with very fine earthen jars containing water, and with rabbits, cooked venison, tortillas, atole (corn flour gruel), and beans, cooked calabashes, and quantities of corn and pinole, so that, although our friends were many and we insisted our friends should not bring so much, heaps of food were left over.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>°</sup> Contrary to assumptions that a transition from hunting to farming constituted "progress," there is evidence that hunting-and-gathering lifestyles in areas of abundant resources provided a more nutritious diet with less work than did agriculture. In rich and temperate areas like California and the Eastern Woodlands, plant, animal, and fish resources were so abundant that people were able to live in sedentary communities before agriculture became important. For many Indian peoples, the transition to agriculture was an option, not a necessity.

<sup>°</sup> Chaco Canyon's population may have exceeded ten thousand, but such estimates have to be revised downward if, as some scholars have asserted, Pueblo Bonito and other "great houses" were monumental ritual centers or elite residences rather than the homes of Chacoan people.

# Farmers and Mound Builders of the Eastern Woodlands

Indian women may have begun domesticating indigenous seed plants such as sunflowers, squash, and marsh elder that thrived in the floodplains of the eastern United States as many as four thousand years ago.<sup>40</sup> Some Indians in present-day Illinois were growing squash by 5000 B.C. Corn was present in Tennessee about 350 B.C., in the Ohio valley by 300 B.C., and in the Illinois valley by A.D. 650.

Corn does not grow without human care and cultivation; Indian farmers selected the seeds of plants that did best in their environments and developed new strains for particular soils, climates, and growing seasons. Corn provided people with food they could store. By about A.D. 1000 corn had become the major field crop in the Eastern Woodlands and the core of society and economy. It was a staple of life that also reflected the rhythmic cycle of life. Indian peoples developed a system of agriculture based on corn, beans, and squash — the “sacred three sisters” of the Iroquois — supplemented with a variety of other crops.<sup>41</sup>

“The only reason we have corn today is that for thousands of years humans have selected seeds and planted them,” says Jane Mt. Pleasant, an Iroquois agronomist who studies Native methods of cultivation and crop yields.<sup>42</sup> When Frenchman Jacques Cartier

visited the Iroquoian town of Hochelaga (modern Montreal) in 1536, he found it inhabited by several thousand people and surrounded by extensive cornfields. The Hochelagans brought the French fish and loaves of corn bread, “throwing so much of it into our longboats that it seemed to rain bread.”<sup>43</sup> Huron Indians north of Lake Ontario tried to grow enough corn each year so that they had a two- or three-year surplus to guard against crop failure and enough left over to trade to other tribes. Huron cornfields were so large that a visiting Frenchman got lost in them.<sup>44</sup>

More stable food sources and growing populations produced changes in living patterns and made possible the construction of large towns and impressive structures. Over a period of about 4,000 years, Indian peoples in the Eastern Woodlands constructed tens of thousands of large earthen mounds. They built mounds for burials, mounds for ceremonial and ritual events, flat-topped pyramid-shaped mounds on which sat temples and other important buildings, and effigy mounds in the shape of birds, reptiles, and animals. Archaeologists have discovered a complex of eleven mounds near the town of Watson Brake in northeast Louisiana that was built between 5,000 and 5,400 years ago. It is the earliest mound-building complex yet found in America, predating other known sites by almost 2,000 years.<sup>45</sup> More than 3,000 years ago at Poverty Point in the Mississippi valley in Louisiana, between 2,000 and 5,000 people inhabited or assembled periodically at a town of elaborate earthworks constructed in a semicircle surrounding an open plaza, with a huge ceremonial mound (640 by 710 feet) in the

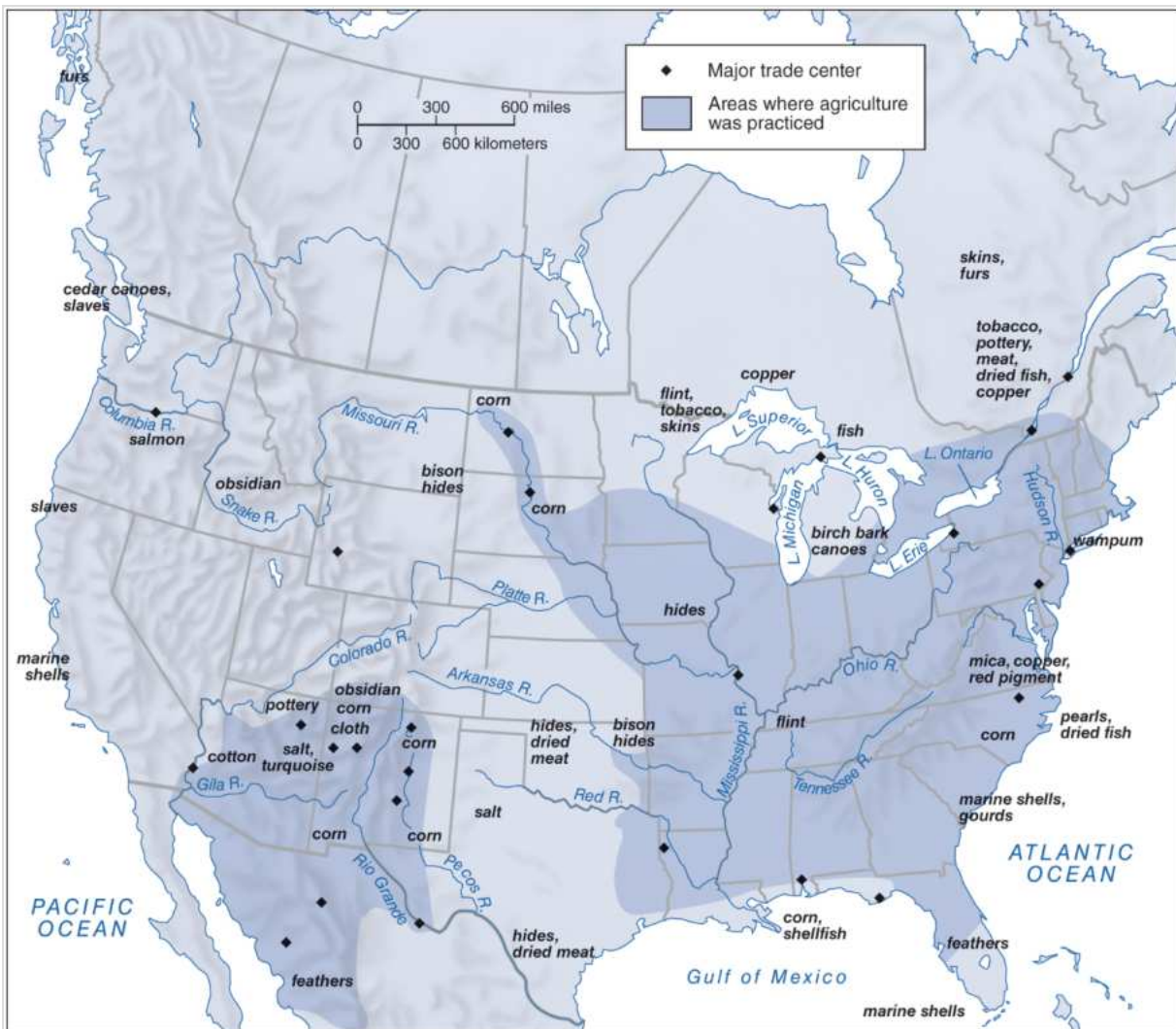
shape of a falcon. The earthworks contained “nearly 1 million cubic yards of dirt and required perhaps 5 million man-hours of sustained, coordinated effort” by people who dug with stone tools and transported the earth in woven baskets. The site received its name in the nineteenth century because it was considered a poor location for a modern plantation, but in its heyday around 1500 B.C. it was “the largest, most prosperous locality in North America,” standing at a crossroads of commerce for the whole lower Mississippi valley.<sup>46</sup> It is now listed by UNESCO as a World Heritage site (see [Map 1.1, “Native North America before Columbus: Selected Peoples and Key Sites”](#)).

Trade for raw materials for ceremonial use, burial goods, and personal adornment connected peoples as distant as Florida and the Missouri valley. The Poverty Point people seem to have exported stone and clay items and transported heavy, bulky goods by dugout canoe; their imports ranged from copper from the Great Lakes, flint from the Ohio valley, and chert (flaked stone) from the Tennessee valley and the Ozarks to steatite (soapstone) from the Appalachians and galena (a lead sulphide ore usually ground into a powder and used to make white body paint) from the upper Mississippi valley and southern Missouri.

More than two thousand years ago in the Ohio valley, people of the Adena culture built mounds that held their honored dead. The **Hopewellian culture** that emerged from the Adena around the first century flourished for some four hundred years. Hopewellian



people built more elaborate burial mounds and earthen architecture and developed greater ceremonial complexity than the Adena. Their culture spread through extensive exchange networks, and they obtained valuable raw materials from vast distances: grizzly bears' teeth from the Rockies, obsidian for spear points and blades from Yellowstone, silver from Ontario, copper from the Great Lakes, mica and copper from the southern Appalachians, galena from the upper Mississippi, quartz from Arkansas, and pottery, marine shells, turtle shells, and shark and alligator teeth from the Gulf of Mexico ([Map 1.4](#)). Hopewellian craftsmen and artists fashioned the raw materials into tools and intricate ornaments. Many of the items were deposited with the dead in mortuary mounds; others were traded to outside communities.



Information from *The Settling of North America: The Atlas of the Great Migrations into North America from the Ice Age to Ellis Island and Beyond* by Helen Hornbeck Tanner, Janice Reiff, and John H. Long, eds.

#### ◆ Map 1.4 Agriculture and Trade in Native America, c. 1450

Europeans often pictured Indians as nomadic hunters living in isolation. In reality, long before European contact, much of Indian America was farming country crisscrossed by well-traveled networks of trade and communication. For centuries, Indian people had been developing and farming corn. Hunting people regularly developed reciprocal economic relations with farming people. Prized items were traded over vast distances, usually along river systems, from community to community or by wide-ranging individual traders.

The Hopewellian culture went into decline around A.D. 300 and seems to have disappeared by about 550. But the spread of corn

agriculture throughout eastern North America between 500 and 800 brought population increases and the emergence of more complex societies. For example, the Great Serpent Mound, a one-quarter-mile-long, three-foot-high serpentine effigy in southwestern Ohio (and the largest serpentine effigy in the world), was once thought to have been built by Adena or Hopewellian people, but many archaeologists now believe that most of the mound was constructed by people descended from Hopewell called the Fort Ancient culture (c. 1000–1650). Some of the work has been dated to around 1070.

Beginning in the lower Mississippi valley around A.D. 700 and displaying evidence of Mesoamerican influences, Mississippian cultures spread north to the Great Lakes and east to Florida and the Carolinas, reaching their height between 1100 and 1300.

**Mississippian** societies were typically stable, agriculturally based settlements, close to floodplains, with relatively large populations and complex ceremonial and political structures. Powerful chiefs from elite families collected tribute, mobilized labor, distributed food among their followers, waged war against neighboring chiefdoms, were buried with large quantities of elaborate goods, and appear to have been worshipped as deities. Mississippian towns contained temples, public buildings, and elite residences built atop earthen mounds that surrounded open plazas where ceremonies were conducted and ball games were played.

The Mississippian town of **Cahokia** was a thriving urban market center. Founded around 700 near the confluence of the Missouri,

Mississippi, and Illinois rivers and occupied for about seven hundred years, Cahokia at its height was the contemporary of Chaco and had a population of between ten thousand and thirty thousand, or about the population of medieval London.<sup>47</sup> (See [Cahokia Mounds image, page 60](#).) Looming large over the Illinois prairie, Cahokia was the biggest settlement to have existed north of the Rio Grande before the end of the eighteenth century, when it was surpassed by New York and Philadelphia. Trade routes linked Cahokia to distant regions of the continent, bringing shells from the Atlantic coast, copper from Lake Superior, obsidian from the Rocky Mountains, and mica from the southern Appalachians.



Georg Gerster/Science Source.

♦ **Great Serpent Mound, Adams County, Ohio**

Aerial view of the Great Serpent Mound, crawling along a bluff in Adams County, Ohio. The world's largest serpent effigy, the mound is 1,254 feet long. The oval at top right may

represent the snake's head or eye, or an egg it is about to swallow.

Archaeologists excavating the Cahokia site in the late twentieth century found a planned city that included pyramid mounds of packed earth arranged around huge open plazas, temples and astronomical observatories, and thousands of thatched-roof houses. They also uncovered evidence of a society in which elite rulers claiming divine descent controlled the distribution of food and were buried with shell beads, copper, and the bodies of sacrificial victims. In one mound, the archaeologists unearthed two corpses, one lying below the other on top of a two-inch-thick layer of twenty thousand beads, the remains of a beaded cloak or cape in the shape of a falcon or thunderbird. Around the two bodies lay the remains of fifty-three mostly young women who had been ritually sacrificed. (Studies of dentalia and diet suggest they were local girls, although they may have been slaves taken in raids.) Nowhere else in North America has such stunning evidence been found of mass human sacrifice and mortuary practices honoring dead rulers. The monumental architecture and the public killing of slaves demonstrate “the paramount importance of human labor” at Cahokia and the chiefs’ ability “to coordinate, control, and sacrifice it.”<sup>48</sup>



(Left): Nursing-mother-effigy bottle, Cahokia Culture, Mississippian Period, 1200–1400 (ceramic)/American School/DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS/St. Louis Museum of Science & Natural History, Missouri, US/Bridgeman Images.  
(Right): Werner Forman/Universal Images Group/Getty Images.

#### ♦ Two Faces of Cahokia

Sculptured figurines and effigy pots in human shape may have had both religious significance and trade value in Mississippian culture, symbolizing life, fertility, power, and people's place in the universe. These two effigies reveal different, and yet complementary, aspects of Cahokian life. One, a bottle effigy from Cahokia, depicts a mother nursing a child. The other, a pipe carved from soapstone and discovered at Spiro in Oklahoma, although thought by scholars to have been traded from Cahokia, depicts a warrior beheading a crouching victim or with a bound captive at his feet.

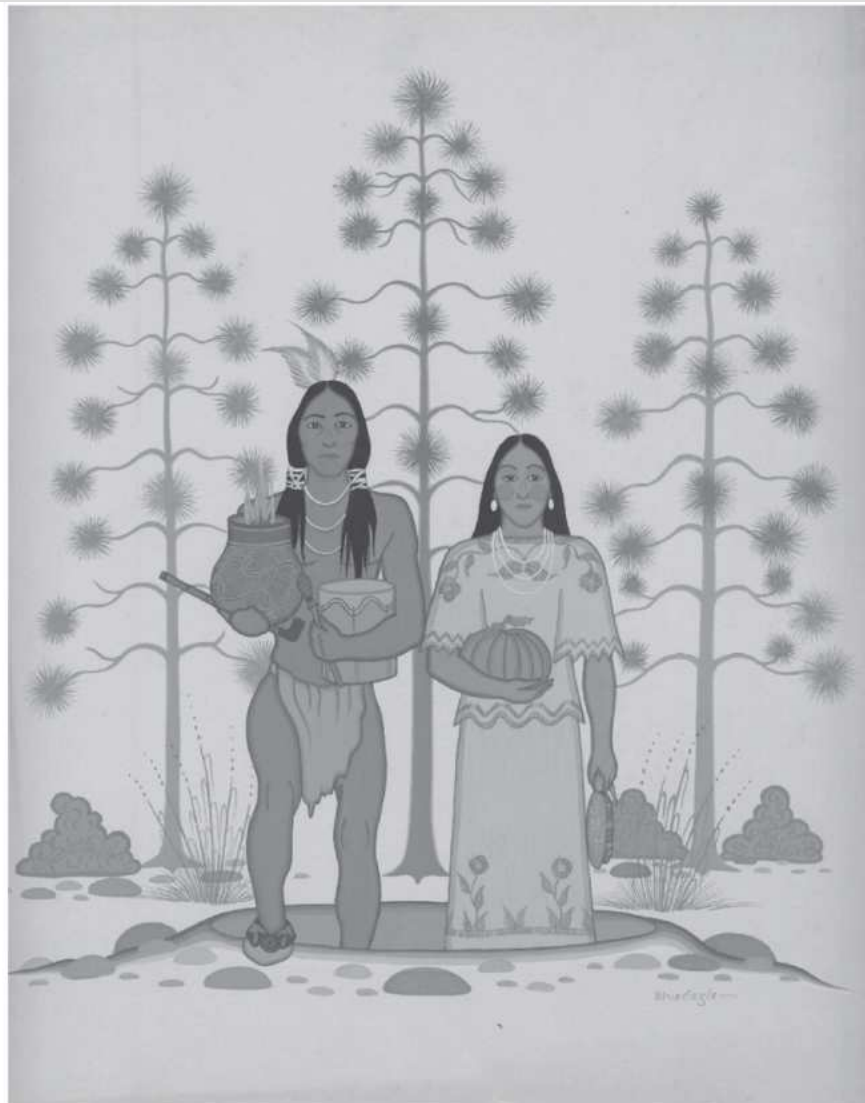
The growing population of Cahokia seems to have exhausted the resources needed to support it. Centuries of felling trees for fuel and building materials and to clear land for agriculture produced deforestation, soil erosion, and floods. An earthquake struck in the thirteenth century. Climate change likely reduced growing seasons.



Food shortages probably produced unrest within Cahokian society as well as competition for diminishing resources with other societies; archaeological evidence suggests increasing pressure from enemies. The once-thriving metropolis lay abandoned half a century before Columbus, but the remains of Cahokia's spectacular mounds can still be seen even after five hundred-plus years of erosion — "[t]he great pyramid at Cahokia is greater in extent than that at Gizeh, in Egypt."<sup>49</sup> The Cahokia mounds offer impressive testimony to a civilization that developed before Europe entered its Middle Ages, flourished longer than the United States has existed as a nation, and declined before Europeans set foot in America.<sup>50</sup>

Focusing on indigenous urban centers like Chaco and Cahokia that rose and fell before European invasion diverts attention from other kinds of societies that did not disappear and whose power and presence both predated and survived European invasion. Peoples living on the eastern edges of the Plains also began cultivating corn and beans, as warmer climatic conditions between about A.D. 700 and 1100 fostered westward expansion of the tall-grass prairie. By the end of the first millennium, eastern Plains peoples were living in earth-lodge villages, growing corn and beans as well as hunting and gathering. In the twelfth century, other farming peoples moved into the middle Missouri valley, although agriculture on the Plains became more precarious by the mid-thirteenth century as the climate grew colder and drier. Caddoan creation stories say that the people emerged from underground, carrying corn. Living in what is now East Texas, Louisiana, and parts of southern Arkansas and

Oklahoma, Caddoan people by about A.D. 1000 developed a thriving culture and economy. They had trade contacts with Cahokia, but developed their own ways of life, living in dispersed rather than compact towns. Caddoan trade networks and population grew while Cahokia's collapsed, with Caddo population peaking between 1500 and 1600.<sup>[51](#)</sup>



*Northwestern State University of Louisiana, Watson Memorial Library, Cammie G. Henry Research Center.*



In many tribal creation stories, the people emerged from below ground. In the Caddo Creation as depicted by Creek-Pawnee artist Acee Blue Eagle (1907–1959), the people carry corn and other plants to sustain them in their new world.

Recent research at a Wichita town site called Etzanoa near Arkansas City, Kansas, appears to confirm early Spanish reports of a settlement of some twenty thousand inhabitants before European disease struck in the seventeenth century.

Not everyone in the East became farmers. Many of Florida's first peoples never adopted agriculture. As did Indians in California, they inhabited an environment rich in natural resources and sustained their lifeways by hunting, fishing, and gathering — subsistence strategies that amply satisfied their needs and required less time, labor, and organization than farming. About 350,000 people lived in Florida at the time of European contact.<sup>[52](#)</sup>

## Emerging Tribes and Confederacies

The influences of the Mississippian cultures were still very visible when the Spaniards invaded the Southeast in the sixteenth century. Chiefdoms and temple mound towns were common. Moundville in Alabama, Etowah in Georgia, and Spiro in the Arkansas valley of eastern Oklahoma were mound centers of population, trade, and artistic and ceremonial life. At the time of the Spaniards' arrival in northern Florida, the Apalachee and Timucua Indians lived in

permanent settlements, planted two crops annually, and rotated their fields to keep the soil fertile; the Spaniards sustained their campaigns by seizing the Natives' corn supplies.<sup>53</sup> But following contact with the Spaniards in the sixteenth century, the great Mississippian chiefdoms that ruled in the South collapsed in the wake of escalating warfare, epidemics, and slave raiding. The Natchez in the lower Mississippi valley continued to display significant elements of Mississippian culture until they were effectively destroyed by the French in 1731, but elsewhere the historic peoples of the Southeast — Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, and various tribes of Creeks — emerged from the ruins of Mississippian societies.<sup>54</sup> Cherokee traditions tell that their ancestors originated in the southern Appalachians, in what is today the western Carolinas and eastern Georgia and Tennessee, and that from time immemorial Cherokee men hunted and Cherokee women farmed, planting and harvesting corn, beans, and squash in the fertile valleys of the Appalachians. The Cherokees called themselves *Ani-Yun Wiya*, the Real People.

In the North, over the course of several centuries, the Iroquoian-speaking Hurons, Petuns, and Neutrals moved from scattered settlements to fortified villages. Eventually, they formed loose confederacies numbering thousands of people. Sometime before direct contact with Europeans, the Iroquoian-speaking peoples of upstate New York, the Haudenosaunee, ended intertribal conflict and organized a **Great League of Peace**. Europeans called it the League of the Five Nations (the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas,

Cayugas, and Senecas), and, after the Tuscaroras migrated from the South and joined in 1722, the Six Nations.

No one knows exactly when the league was formed. In 1900 a committee of Six Nations chiefs estimated that it “took place about the year 1390,” and some Iroquois assert that it was even earlier. One article argues that the league was founded on the afternoon of August 31, 1142! Other scholars maintain that oral tradition and archaeological evidence for endemic warfare indicate that the league could not have formed before about 1450, and suggest that the confederation was probably not complete until about 1525.<sup>55</sup> Whatever the date, Iroquois people already referred to their league as ancient by the time they first met Europeans. “We, the five Iroquois Nations, compose but one cabin,” a Mohawk envoy declared in 1654. “We maintain but one fire; and we have, from time immemorial, dwelt under one and the same roof.”<sup>56</sup>

The league that united the Iroquois in peace was forged in a time of violence. Before its formation, the traditions say, Iroquois people lived in a state of constant warfare: “Everywhere there was peril and everywhere mourning. . . . Feuds with outer nations, feuds with brother nations, feuds of sister towns and feuds of families and of clans made every warrior a stealthy man who liked to kill. . . . A man’s life was valued as nothing.”<sup>57</sup> Warriors fought to avenge the deaths of relatives in an endless cycle of killing and retribution.

An Onondaga chieftain, who became known to posterity as Hayenwatha or Hiawatha, lost three daughters. Some traditions attributed their deaths to the evil powers of Atotarho or Tadodaho, an Onondaga shaman twisted in body and mind, with snakes twined in his hair. The “mourning war” culture of the Iroquois demanded that Hiawatha assuage his grief and appease the spirits of his loved ones by taking the life of an enemy; instead, he chose to break the cycle of vengeance and violence and create a new world order for the Iroquois. The stories tell how, wandering the forests in his grief, Hiawatha met a Huron called Deganawidah (sometimes Dekanahwideh) who came from north of Lake Ontario. In some versions of the tradition, Deganawidah was a Huron; in others, an adopted Mohawk; in others, he was a healing spirit who had assumed human form. Whatever his identity, he became known as the Peacemaker. He eased Hiawatha’s grief with words of condolence and beads of wampum, symbolically wiping his tears and restoring his reason. The rituals became part of the protocol of the Iroquois League and of their diplomatic dealings with outsiders: healing words, not bloody deeds, assuaged grief and redressed wrongs. Deganawidah and Hiawatha composed the laws of a great peace that would restore order and preserve harmony in Iroquois country. Recording each law on a string of wampum so that future generations would remember and observe them, the two set out to carry their message to the warring tribes.

They traveled from village to village, teaching the laws of peace and persuading people to replace war and weapons with words and

wampum. The Mohawks agreed, then the Oneidas, Cayugas, and Senecas. The fierce Tadodaho resisted, but Hiawatha is said to have combed the snakes from his hair to ease his torment. Finally, Tadodaho accepted the pact. Onondaga became the site of the league's central council fire and Tadodaho the fire's guardian.

The Five Nations agreed to stop fighting among themselves and unite in common defense. The individual tribes retained control of their own affairs at the local level but acted through the Grand Council at Onondaga in matters of common concern. The league reflected the traditional Iroquois longhouse, sheltering many families, each with their own fire but who from time to time gathered around a central fire and functioned as one family. Like a longhouse, the league could be expanded to incorporate new members, as when the Tuscaroras joined. The Mohawks, who defended the eastern borders of the Iroquois homeland, were designated the Keepers of the Eastern Door; the Senecas were Keepers of the Western Door; the Onondagas in the center were Keepers of the Council Fire. Iroquois people likened their league to a bundle of arrows, symbolizing the strength they achieved in unity: single arrows could be snapped easily, but a bundle was difficult to break. The Five Nations saw their league as a great tree providing shelter to other peoples who would follow its roots of peace and take their place in its shade. They adopted so many captives and took in so many refugees that by the seventeenth century, French observers estimated there were more non-Iroquois than Iroquois in Iroquois country.

Fifty council chiefs or sachems were chosen by clan mothers from the member tribes. The names of the original chiefs passed as titles from generation to generation, as new chiefs succeeded the older ones in the council. The Mohawks had/have nine sachems, the Oneidas nine, the Onondagas fourteen, the Cayugas ten, and the Senecas eight. League sachems had to be thick-skinned — “seven thumbs thick,” said Deganawidah — and above criticism and petty jealousies. “Tadodaho represents the mind which promotes peace and the welfare of all people,” said Chief Leon Shenandoah, who held the title of Tadodaho from 1967 until his death in 1996. “He must be kind to the people and express love for their welfare, and he must never hurt anybody.”<sup>58</sup> The league sachems met, and still meet, at Onondaga, near Syracuse, New York. “They hold every year a general assembly,” wrote a Jesuit observer in 1668. “There all the Deputies from the different Nations are present, to make their complaints and receive the necessary satisfaction in mutual gifts, — by means of which they maintain a good understanding with one another.”<sup>59</sup> The sachems were divided into two moieties or “sides” — the elder moiety included the Mohawks, Onondagas, and Senecas; the younger, the Oneidas and Cayugas. The two moieties exchanged the ceremonial words of condolence prescribed by Deganawidah to wipe away the grief of those who had lost chiefs and to renew the league. The Mohawks and the Senecas passed matters for discussion back and forth to the Oneidas and the Cayugas, with the Onondagas and Tadodaho, the Firekeeper, presiding and mediating, until consensus was reached or the matter was dropped. The sachems possessed no power of coercion: the chiefs had to be “of

one mind.” People who could not abide by the general consensus were free to go their own way so long as their actions did not threaten the league as a whole.

The individual tribes retained autonomy over questions of more local interest, and daily life revolved around the village and the longhouse. Iroquoian villages consisted of elm and bark longhouses, sometimes exceeding a hundred feet, that sheltered families related by clan through the female line. Iroquoian women tended the homes; cultivated and harvested the extensive cornfields that surrounded their villages; gathered berries, fruits, and nuts; made clothing and pottery; and cared for children. Iroquoian men prepared the fields for planting, but the main foci of their activities — war, trade, and diplomacy — lay outside the villages.



Indian Sugar Camp, 1853 (colour litho)/Eastman, Captain Seth (1808–75) (after)/NEWBERRY LIBRARY/Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois, USA/Bridgeman Images.

#### ♦ *Indian Sugar Camp*

This nineteenth-century painting by Seth Eastman (1808–75) depicts Great Lakes Indian women collecting sap from maple trees and boiling it to produce sugar. Sugar making was a female activity, and the sugar camp was primarily a female space.

Many Iroquois people and some non-Iroquois scholars believe that the League of the Iroquois served as a model for the Constitution of the United States. In 1987 the U.S. Senate passed a resolution acknowledging “the historical debt” that the United States owed to the Iroquois “for their demonstration of enlightened, democratic principles of government and their example of a free association of independent Indian nations.” The Iroquois model was



there for the colonists to emulate — in 1744 the Onondaga orator Canasatego urged them to follow the model of “union and amity” established by “our wise Forefathers,” and Benjamin Franklin asked why, if the Six Nations could create “such an Union,” could not a dozen or so colonies do likewise?<sup>60</sup> Whether or not the founding fathers looked to the Iroquois League in creating their constitution remains a contested issue, but there is no question that the league played a dominant role in the history of northeastern North America before the American Revolution. Iroquois power and foreign policies shaped colonial, intertribal, and international relations. Despite the devastating impact of the colonial and revolutionary wars, the league continues to function to this day and is one of the oldest political bodies in North America.

The Iroquois fought, traded, and communicated with Algonquian-speaking peoples who surrounded the Iroquoian homeland in New York and Ontario: Ottawas, Algonquins, and Montagnais to the north; Mahicans, Abenakis, and Wampanoags to the east in New England; Delawares and Nanticokes to the south; and Shawnees, Potawatomis, Anishinaabeg,<sup>61</sup> Illinois, and Foxes to the west. Algonquians lived in semipermanent villages of wigwams and longhouses and followed a mobile lifestyle, “commuting” from one resource locale to another. They practiced varying methods of farming, hunting, fishing, and gathering and harvesting food according to the seasons, and building on ties of kinship and custom, they developed and maintained networks of exchange with other communities. While populations in the interior focused on

the great river and exchange systems in the heart of the continent, coastal Algonquians in New England, like the maritime peoples of the Pacific Northwest, looked to the ocean. After Europeans arrived, coastal Algonquians contested the sea as well as the land.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>61</sup> The names Anishinaabeg (noun) and Anishinaabe (adjective) refer to the peoples variously termed Ojibwas or Chippewas, but can also include Odawa (Ottawa), Potawatomi, and other Great Lakes peoples.

# SEABORNE STRANGERS

Native traditions from throughout North America tell of ancient prophecies predicting the coming of Europeans. We may suspect these as the products of hindsight or of rumors running along trade networks, but they became an important part of historical memory. Some tribes said that the arrival of Europeans was foretold in dreams; in many East Coast traditions, the strangers arrived on what appeared to be floating islands or giant white seabirds. The prophecies generally carried a sense of foreboding and omens of hard times. Later, other dreams prophesied disaster in the West. “There is a time coming,” the Cheyenne prophet Sweet Medicine warned his people, “when many things will change. Strangers called Earth Men will appear among you. Their skins are light-colored and their ways are powerful.” Sweet Medicine urged the Cheyennes to keep their own ways, but he predicted that “at last you will not remember. . . . You will take after the Earth Men’s ways and forget good things by which you have lived and in the end become worse than crazy.”<sup>62</sup> Another prophecy, said to have been made by a Spokane Indian just before American missionaries penetrated the Columbia Plateau region of present-day Idaho, Oregon, and Washington, warned the people that “soon there will come from the rising sun a different kind of man from any you have yet seen, who

will bring with them a book and will teach you everything.” After that, said the prophet, “the world will fall to pieces.”<sup>63</sup>

The history of Indian peoples in North America stretches back thousands of years, but the last five hundred have been the story of how their world fell to pieces, and of how those who survived tried to rebuild it.

# CONCLUSION

The first Europeans who came to America did not enter a void; they entered a Native American world where alliances, rivalries, commerce, and artistic and cultural exchanges had been going on for centuries, where civilizations had risen and fallen. Great centers had reached their height in the Mississippi valley and the Southwest around A.D. 1100, and populations in the Southwest seem to have peaked around 1300. Then drought, floods, internal rifts, and escalating conflicts took their toll. Chaco and Cahokia were already ancient history by the time Europeans arrived. Other communities and cultures continued to develop and change, spanning the divide historians have created between pre- and postcontact. They continued to build and maintain networks of kinship, trade, and alliance, and continued to shape America long after the first Europeans arrived. In a sense, those Europeans entered Indian America “through the back door” and arrived late. They saw only the edges of a vast world that Native American peoples had created, and they detected only hints of its deep and storied past.

# CHAPTER 1 REVIEW

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## KEY TERMS

Bering Strait theory

“Kennewick Man”

Chumash Indians

The Dalles

Great Basin

Paleo-Indians

Corn

Hohokam

Ancestral Pueblo

Chaco Canyon

Great Migration

Hopewellian culture

Mississippian

## Cahokia

## Great League of Peace

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### REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What are some of the proposed theories about how Native people populated the North American continent?
2. Before the arrival of European explorers and settlers, what sorts of Native American societies existed from coast to coast? How did their diverse environments influence their social structures?
3. Most of North America's history happened long before Columbus's arrival in 1492. How did early American societies change in the centuries before Columbus? In particular, how did the spread of corn agriculture change life in North America?
4. How do Cahokia and the Great League of the Iroquois alter our perceptions about Native American social and political organization?

# DOCUMENTS

## A Navajo Emergence Story and an Iroquois Creation Story



HISTORIANS OFTEN DO NOT KNOW quite what to make of stories and consequently dismiss them as myths, not appropriate or useful as historical evidence. But oral transmission of stories is common to all human societies and is “probably the oldest form of history making.” They may not always provide an accurate record of what happened, but stories do offer insights into the lives of the people who told and heard them, and into how they recalled the past and understood change. They interweave dramatic events with practical human experience and are often moral tales, containing and preserving the values of the society. Anthropologist Julie Cruikshank, who worked for years with tribal elders in Yukon Territory, learned that “narratives about a boy who went to live in the world of salmon, about a girl who married a bear, . . . or about women who went to live with stars provided pivotal philosophical, literary, and social frameworks essential for guiding young and not-so-young people, framing ways of thinking about how to live life



appropriately.” These narratives “erased any distinction between ‘story’ and ‘history.’ ” Although often told to children, such narratives are not just for children. They frequently contain a society’s deepest-held values and core beliefs.<sup>64</sup>

That is particularly true of stories that tell how a people came into being. The late Lakota scholar Vine Deloria Jr. explained that the idea of the people usually began “somewhere in the primordial mists,” at a time when the people were gathered together “but did not yet see themselves as a distinct people.” Then, “a holy man had a dream or a vision; quasi-mythological figures of cosmic importance revealed themselves, or in some other manner the people were instructed. They were given ceremonies and rituals that enabled them to find their place on the continent.”<sup>65</sup> “Through the stories we hear who we are,” writes Laguna Pueblo author Leslie Marmon Silko. But, she adds, origin stories “are not to be taken as literally as the anthropologists might wish.” Rather, the journey into the world was “an interior process of the imagination,” a growing awareness that human beings were different from other forms of life and yet inseparable from them.<sup>66</sup> Like the legends of any people, Native American origin stories embody communal experience, communal wisdom, and guides for proper conduct. They explain how the world came to be and why things are the way they are. They define people’s place in the world and tie them to the landscape and history of their homeland, with lessons they must not forget. On the basis of his experiences among the Western Apaches, the late anthropologist Keith Basso explained:

For Indian men and women, the past lies embedded in features of the earth — in canyons and lakes, mountains and arroyos, rocks and vacant fields — which together endow their lands with multiple forms of significance that reach into their lives and shape the ways they think. Knowledge of places is therefore closely linked to knowledge of the self, to grasping one's position in the larger scheme of things, including one's own community, and to securing a confident sense of who one is as a person.<sup>67</sup>

The Navajo Indians, one of the largest Indian tribes in North America with more than 300,000 people today, emerged into written history in the 1620s when Spaniards began to distinguish from the Apaches a people whom they called “Apaches del Navajo.” Long before that — some scholars say as many as five hundred years earlier, others no more than a hundred — the ancestors of the historic Apaches and Navajos migrated from northern Canada and traveled south. The people who became the Navajos (or the Diné, in their own language) settled in the Colorado Plateau country of what is now northeastern Arizona, northwestern New Mexico, and southeastern Utah ([Map 1.5](#)). There they raided and traded with Pueblos and Spaniards and adopted cultural elements from both of them. In time, they evolved from a nomadic hunting people into a more settled farming and herding society.

Sifting through early documents, scholars can piece together increasing “sightings” of the Navajos as they emerge from the

distant past into “recorded history,” where sources are richer and easier to analyze. Still, many Indian peoples have a much clearer sense of their ancient past than recorded history captures for scholars.



Calloway, *First Peoples*, 6e, © 2019 Bedford/St. Martin's.

#### ◆ Map 1.5 The Navajo World

Whether they migrated from the far north of Canada or emerged from lower worlds, the Navajos made their home in the Southwest, in an area bordered by sacred mountain ranges representing the four directions, recognized as sources of knowledge and named for their minerals or the colors they represent: Sisnaajini (shell white; Blanca Peak); Tsoodzil (turquoise; blue; Mount Taylor); Dook'oostiid (abalone; yellow; San Francisco Peaks); and Dibé nitsaa (black jet or obsidian; Hesperus Peak). It was also a world surrounded by other peoples with whom, over time, the Navajos experienced both contact and conflict.

Navajo origin stories also tell how people emerged into this world from several lower worlds. There are many versions of these creation and emergence stories, but they share common themes and messages. In some versions, the first world was black, the second blue, the third yellow, and the fourth or present world bright or glittering. First Man and First Woman exist alongside, and talk with, insects and animals — “people” of nonhuman form. But in each of the worlds they fight, squabble, and behave badly. Each time, the people flee to a higher world, where they meet new people. In one version, the fourth world is covered with water, but eventually the waters recede. Finally, the people emerge into the present world.

Dinétah, the Navajo homeland, takes shape, bounded by four sacred mountains: Abalone Shell Mountain (San Francisco Peaks) in the west, Dawn or White Shell Mountain (Blanca Peak) in the east, Blue Bead or Turquoise Mountain (Mount Taylor) in the south, and Obsidian Mountain (Hesperus Peak) to the north (see [Map 1.5, “The Navajo World”](#)). About the time Dinétah takes form, the sun, the moon and stars, night and day, and the four seasons of the year appear. With the four sacred mountains in each of the four directions, the four seasons, men and women living in harmony, and humans living together with the animals and plants, the Navajos had moved from lower worlds of chaos and strife into a higher world of beauty and harmony. The stories establish proper relations with other peoples and with other living things. Antisocial behavior and conflict produce misfortune. Aberrant sexual behavior

is destructive; good relationships between the sexes, between First Man and First Woman, are crucial to creation and to social harmony. The stories of recurrent movement emphasize the need to restore balance to produce healing; they make clear the Navajos' responsibility for maintaining order and harmony through good living and ritual. The creation story is part of a dynamic Navajo oral tradition. One scholar who studied it in depth found it to be not a single story so much as a "boundless, sprawling narrative with a life of its own." It could change from telling to telling, "depending upon the singer, the audience, the particular storytelling event, and a very complicated set of ceremonial conditions having to do with illness, departure, return, celebration, or any one of a number of other social occasions."<sup>68</sup> Any written text can do only partial justice to the poetic and social richness of the storytelling event.

The version of the Navajo creation story reprinted here was told to Aileen O'Bryan in November 1928 at Mesa Verde National Park. The storyteller was a Navajo chief named Sandoval or Hastin Tlo'tsi hee (Old Man Buffalo Grass) whose words were translated by his nephew Sam Ahkeah. "You look at me and you see only an ugly old man," Sandoval told O'Bryan, "but within I am filled with great beauty. I sit as on a mountaintop and I look into the future. I see my people and your people living together. In time to come my people will have forgotten their early way of life unless they learn it from white men's books. So you must write down what I tell you; and you must have it made into a book that coming generations may know this truth." O'Bryan recorded the story "without interpolation, and

presented it, in so far as is possible, in the old man's words."<sup>69</sup> It is reprinted together with the notes Sandoval provided.

When the French, Dutch, and English began to penetrate present-day upstate New York in the early seventeenth century, they encountered the Haudenosaunee or "People of the Longhouse." Five Iroquoian nations — the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas — occupied the region from the Hudson valley in the east to Lake Erie in the west and cooperated in a league that preserved peace among its members and exerted tremendous influence upon its neighbors ([Map 1.6](#)). Iroquois traditions recall how this remarkable political system was formed in the mythic past (see [pages 38–41](#)), but, like the Navajos in the Southwest, the Iroquois in the Northeast also have a rich tradition of stories recounting the creation of the world and their place in it. Many indigenous peoples share a tradition that they entered this world from a lower world, but the Iroquois and many other peoples in the Northeast share a tradition that the world was created on the back of a giant sea turtle (many still refer to North America as Turtle Island) and that their ancestors fell from the sky. The Iroquois origin story was passed from generation to generation by word of mouth and there are now more than forty recorded versions, the first taken down as early as 1632.<sup>70</sup> The versions vary in detail and emphasis but they share the central story line and essential themes, conveying the importance of women in Iroquois society, the duality of good and evil, and the need for balance in the world, in society, and in individual lives. Most accounts of the creation story were

recorded by anthropologists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and those are the ones most commonly related, but the account reprinted here is one of the earliest to be written down, recorded by John Norton around 1816.



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#### ◆ Map 1.6 The Five Nations of the Iroquois

The Iroquois saw their league as an extended longhouse, stretching from the Mohawk Valley to Lake Erie. Each member tribe occupied a position and performed a role, and the longhouse could be extended to include other people who sought its shelter. The Tuscaroras joined the league as the sixth nation around 1722 after moving north from the Carolinas.

John Norton (Teyoninhokarawen) was the son of Scottish and Cherokee parents and an adopted Mohawk. He played a prominent role in his people's affairs in the early nineteenth century, traveled widely among the Indian nations of the eastern woodlands, and also

visited England. He had a special interest in the mythology of the Iroquois, and he gave a condensed version of the story recounted here to an audience at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1805.

## **HASTIN TLO'TSI HEE *The Beginning***

### THE FIRST WORLD

These stories were told to Sandoval, Hastin Tlo'tsi hee, by his grandmother, Esdzan Hosh kige. Her ancestor was Esdzan at a', the medicine woman who had the Calendar Stone in her keeping. Here are the stories of the Four Worlds that had no sun, and of the Fifth, the world we live in, which some call the Changeable World.

The First World, Ni'hodilqil,<sup>o</sup> was black as black wool. It had four corners, and over these appeared four clouds. These four clouds contained within themselves the elements of the First World. They were in color, black, white, blue, and yellow.

The Black Cloud represented the Female Being or Substance. For as a child sleeps when being nursed, so life slept in the darkness of the Female Being. The White Cloud represented the Male Being or Substance. He was the Dawn, the Light-Which-Awakens, of the First World.

In the East, at the place where the Black Cloud and the White Cloud met, First Man, Atse'hastqin, was formed; and with him was formed the white corn, perfect in shape, with kernels covering the



whole ear. Dohonot i'ni is the name of this first seed corn,<sup>o</sup> and it is also the name of the place where the Black Cloud and the White Cloud met.

The First World was small in size, a floating island in mist or water. On it there grew one tree, a pine tree, which was later brought to the present world for firewood.

Man was not, however, in his present form. The conception was of a male and a female being who were to become man and woman. The creatures of the First World are thought of as the Mist People; they had no definite form, but were to change to men, beasts, birds, and reptiles of this world.<sup>o</sup>

Now on the western side of the First World, in a place that later was to become the Land of Sunset, there appeared the Blue Cloud, and opposite it there appeared the Yellow Cloud. Where they came together First Woman was formed, and with her the yellow corn. This ear of corn was also perfect. With First Woman there came the white shell and the turquoise and the yucca.<sup>o</sup>

First Man stood on the eastern side of the First World. He represented the Dawn and was the Life Giver. First Woman stood opposite in the West. She represented Darkness and Death.

First Man burned a crystal for a fire. The crystal belonged to the male and was the symbol of the mind and of clear seeing. When First Man burned it, it was the mind's awakening. First Woman

burned her turquoise for a fire. They saw each other's lights in the distance. When the Black Cloud and the White Cloud rose higher in the sky First Man set out to find the turquoise light. He went twice without success, and again a third time; then he broke a forked branch from his tree, and, looking through the fork, he marked the place where the light burned. And the fourth time he walked to it and found smoke coming from a home.

"Here is the home I could not find," First Man said.

First Woman answered: "Oh, it is you. I saw you walking around and I wondered why you did not come."

Again the same thing happened when the Blue Cloud and the Yellow Cloud rose higher in the sky. First Woman saw a light and she went out to find it. Three times she was unsuccessful, but the fourth time she saw the smoke and she found the home of First Man.

"I wondered what this thing could be," she said.

"I saw you walking and I wondered why you did not come to me," First Man answered.

First Woman saw that First Man had a crystal for a fire, and she saw that it was stronger than her turquoise fire. And as she was thinking, First Man spoke to her. "Why do you not come with your fire and we will live together." The woman agreed to this. So instead

of the man going to the woman, as is the custom now, the woman went to the man.

About this time there came another person, the Great-Coyote-Who-Was-Formed-in-the-Water,<sup>o</sup> and he was in the form of a male being. He told the two that he had been hatched from an egg. He knew all that was under the water and all that was in the skies. First Man placed this person ahead of himself in all things. The three began to plan what was to come to pass; and while they were thus occupied another being came to them. He also had the form of a man, but he wore a hairy coat, lined with white fur, that fell to his knees and was belted in at the waist. His name was Atse'hashke', First Angry or Coyote.<sup>o</sup> He said to the three: "You believe that you were the first persons. You are mistaken. I was living when you were formed."

Then four beings came together. They were yellow in color and were called the tsst'sna or wasp people. They knew the secret of shooting evil and could harm others. They were very powerful.

This made eight people.

Four more beings came. They were small in size and wore red shirts and had little black eyes. They were the naazo'zi or spider ants. They knew how to sting, and were a great people.

After these came a whole crowd of beings. Dark colored they were, with thick lips and dark, protruding eyes. They were the

wolazhi'ni, the black ants. They also knew the secret of shooting evil and were powerful; but they killed each other steadily.

By this time there were many people. Then came a multitude of little creatures. They were peaceful and harmless, but the odor from them was unpleasant. They were called the wolazhi'ni nlchu nigi, meaning that which emits an odor.°

And after the wasps and the different ant people there came the beetles, dragonflies, bat people, the Spider Man and Woman, and the Salt Man and Woman,° and others that rightfully had no definite form but were among those people who peopled the First World. And this world, being small in size, became crowded, and the people quarreled and fought among themselves, and in all ways made living very unhappy.

#### THE SECOND WORLD

Because of the strife in the First World, First Man, First Woman, the Great-Coyote-Who-Was-Formed-in-the-Water, and the Coyote called First Angry, followed by all the others, climbed up from the world of Darkness and Dampness to the Second or Blue World.°

They found a number of people already living there: blue birds, blue hawks, blue jays, blue herons, and all the blue-feathered beings.° The powerful swallow people° lived there also, and these people made the Second World unpleasant for those who had come from the First World. There was fighting and killing.

The First Four found an opening in the World of Blue Haze; and they climbed through this and led the people up into the Third or Yellow World.

#### THE THIRD WORLD

The bluebird was the first to reach the Third or Yellow World. After him came the First Four and all the others.

A great river crossed this land from north to south. It was the Female River. There was another river crossing it from east to west, it was the Male River. This Male River flowed through the Female River and on; and the name of this place is tqo alna'osdli, the Crossing of the Waters.

There were six mountains in the Third World. In the East was Sis na'jin, the Standing Black Sash. Its ceremonial name is Yol gai'dzil, the Dawn or White Shell Mountain. In the South stood Tso'dzil, the Great Mountain, also called Mountain Tongue. Its ceremonial name is Yodolt i'zhi dzil, the Blue Bead or Turquoise Mountain. In the West stood Dook'oslid, and the meaning of this name is forgotten. Its ceremonial name is Dichi'li dzil, the Abalone Shell Mountain. In the North stood Debe'ntsa, Many Sheep Mountain. Its ceremonial name is Bash'zhini dzil, Obsidian Mountain. Then there was Dzil na'odili, the Upper Mountain. It was very sacred; and its name means also the Center Place, and the people moved around it. Its ceremonial name is Ntl'is dzil, Precious Stone or Banded Rock

Mountain. There was still another mountain called Chol'i'i or Dzil na'odili choli, and it was also a sacred mountain.

There was no sun in this land, only the two rivers and the six mountains. And these rivers and mountains were not in their present form, but rather the substance of mountains and rivers as were First Man, First Woman, and the others. . . .

Within this land there lived the Kisa'ni, the ancients of the Pueblo People. On the six mountains there lived the Cave Dwellers or Great Swallow People.<sup>o</sup> On the mountains lived also the light and dark squirrels, chipmunks, mice, rats, the turkey people, the deer and cat people, the spider people, and the lizards and snakes. The beaver people lived along the rivers, and the frogs and turtles and all the underwater people in the water. So far all the people were similar. They had no definite form, but they had been given different names because of different characteristics.

Now the plan was to plant.

First Man called the people together. He brought forth the white corn which had been formed with him. First Woman brought the yellow corn. They laid the perfect ears side by side; then they asked one person from among the many to come and help them. The Turkey stepped forward. They asked him where he had come from, and he said that he had come from the Gray Mountain.<sup>o</sup> He danced back and forth four times, then he shook his feather coat and there

dropped from his clothing four kernels of corn, one gray, one blue, one black, and one red. Another person was asked to help in the plan of the planting. The Big Snake came forward. He likewise brought forth four seeds, the pumpkin, the watermelon, the cantaloupe, and the muskmelon. His plants all crawl on the ground.

They planted the seeds, and their harvest was great. . . .

At this time the Great-Coyote-Who-Was-Formed-in-the-Water came to First Man and told him to cross the river. They made a big raft and crossed at the place where the Male River followed through the Female River. And all the male beings left the female beings on the river bank; and as they rowed across the river they looked back and saw that First Woman and the female beings were laughing. They were also behaving very wickedly.

In the beginning the women did not mind being alone. They cleared and planted a small field. On the other side of the river First Man and the chiefs hunted and planted their seeds. They had a good harvest. Nadle<sup>o</sup> ground the corn and cooked the food. Four seasons passed. The men continued to have plenty and were happy; but the women became lazy, and only weeds grew on their land. The women wanted fresh meat. Some of them tried to join the men and were drowned in the river.

First Woman made a plan. As the women had no way to satisfy their passions, some fashioned long narrow rocks, some used the

feathers of the turkey, and some used strange plants (cactus). First Woman told them to use these things. One woman brought forth a big stone. This stone-child was later the Great Stone that rolled over the earth killing men. Another woman brought forth the Big Birds of Tsa bida'hi; and others gave birth to the giants and monsters who later destroyed many people.

On the opposite side of the river the same condition existed. The men, wishing to satisfy their passions, killed the females of mountain sheep, lion, and antelope. Lightning struck these men. When First Man learned of this he warned his men that they would all be killed. He told them that they were indulging in a dangerous practice. Then the second chief spoke: he said that life was hard and that it was a pity to see women drowned. He asked why they should not bring the women across the river and all live together again.

“Now we can see for ourselves what comes from our wrong doing,” he said. “We will know how to act in the future.” The three other chiefs of the animals agreed with him, so First Man told them to go and bring the women.

After the women had been brought over the river, First Man spoke: “We must be purified,” he said. “Everyone must bathe. The men must dry themselves with white corn meal, and the women, with yellow.”



This they did, living apart for four days. After the fourth day First Woman came and threw her right arm around her husband. She spoke to the others and said that she could see her mistakes, but with her husband's help she would henceforth lead a good life. Then all the male and female beings came and lived with each other again. The people moved to different parts of the land. Some time passed; then First Woman became troubled by the monotony of life. She made a plan. She went to Atse'hashke, the Coyote called First Angry, and giving him the rainbow she said: "I have suffered greatly in the past. I have suffered from want of meat and corn and clothing. Many of my maidens have died. I have suffered many things. Take the rainbow and go to the place where the rivers cross. Bring me the two pretty children of Tqo holt sodi, the Water Buffalo, a boy and a girl."

The Coyote agreed to do this. He walked over the rainbow. He entered the home of the Water Buffalo and stole the two children; and these he hid in his big skin coat with the white fur lining. And when he returned he refused to take off his coat, but pulled it around himself and looked very wise.

After this happened the people saw white light in the East and in the South and West and North. One of the deer people ran to the East, and returning, said that the white light was a great sheet of water. The sparrow hawk flew to the South, the great hawk to the West, and the kingfisher to the North. They returned and said that a

flood was coming. The kingfisher said that the water was greater in the North, and that it was near.

The flood was coming and the Earth was sinking. And all this happened because the Coyote had stolen the two children of the Water Buffalo, and only First Woman and the Coyote knew the truth.

When First Man learned of the coming of the water he sent word to all the people, and he told them to come to the mountain called Sis na'jin. He told them to bring with them all of the seeds of the plants used for food. All living beings were to gather on the top of Sis na'jin. First Man traveled to the six sacred mountains, and, gathering earth from them, he put it in his medicine bag.

The water rose steadily.

When all the people were halfway up Sis na'jin, First Man discovered that he had forgotten his medicine bag. Now this bag contained not only the earth from the six sacred mountains, but his magic, the medicine he used to call the rain down upon the earth and to make things grow. He could not live without his medicine bag, and he wished to jump into the rising water; but the others begged him not to do this. They went to the kingfisher and asked him to dive into the water and recover the bag. This the bird did. When First Man had his medicine bag again in his possession he breathed on it four times and thanked his people. . . .

First Man had with him his spruce tree<sup>°</sup> which he planted on the top of Sis na'jin. He used his fox medicine<sup>°</sup> to make it grow; but the spruce tree began to send out branches and to taper at the top, so First Man planted the big Male Reed.<sup>°</sup> All the people blew on it, and it grew and grew until it reached the canopy of the sky. They tried to blow inside the reed, but it was solid. They asked the woodpecker to drill out the hard heart. Soon they were able to peek through the opening, but they had to blow and blow before it was large enough to climb through. They climbed up inside the big male reed, and after them the water continued to rise.

#### THE FOURTH WORLD

When the people reached the Fourth World they saw that it was not a very large place. Some say that it was called the White World; but not all medicine men agree that this is so.<sup>°</sup> . . .

#### THE FIFTH WORLD

First Man was not satisfied with the Fourth World. It was a small, barren land; and the great water had soaked the earth and made the sowing of seeds impossible. He planted the big Female Reed<sup>°</sup> and it grew up to the vaulted roof of this Fourth World. First Man sent the newcomer, the badger, up inside the reed, but before he reached the upper world water began to drip, so he returned and said that he was frightened. . . .

Now two dark clouds and two white clouds rose, and this meant that two nights and two days had passed, for there was still no sun. First Man again sent the badger to the upper world, and he returned covered with mud, terrible mud. First Man gathered chips of turquoise, which he offered to the five Chiefs of the Winds<sup>o</sup> who lived in the uppermost world of all. They were pleased with the gift, and they sent down the winds and dried the Fifth World.

First Man and his people saw four dark clouds and four white clouds pass, and then they sent the badger up the reed. This time when the badger returned he said that he had come out on solid earth. So First Man and First Woman led the people to the Fifth World, which some call the Many Colored Earth and some the Changeable Earth. They emerged through a lake surrounded by four mountains. The water bubbles in this lake when anyone goes near.<sup>o</sup>

Now after all the people had emerged from the lower worlds, First Man and First Woman dressed the Mountain Lion with yellow, black, white, and grayish corn and placed him on one side. They dressed the Wolf with white tail feathers and placed him on the other side. They divided the people into two groups. The first group was told to choose whichever chief they wished. They made their choice, and, although they thought they had chosen the Mountain Lion, they found that they had taken the Wolf for their chief. The Mountain Lion was the chief for the other side. And these people who had the Mountain Lion for their chief turned out to be the people of the Earth. They were to plant seeds and harvest corn. The

followers of the Wolf chief became the animals and birds; they turned into all the creatures that fly and crawl and run and swim.

And after all the beings were divided, and each had his own form, they went their ways.

This is the story of the Four Dark Worlds and the Fifth, the World we live in. Some medicine men tell us that there are two worlds above us, the first is the World of the Spirits of Living Things, the second is the Place of Melting into One.

° Where much corn is raised one or two ears are found perfect. These are always kept for seed corn.

° The Navaho people have always believed in evolution.

° Five names were given also to the First World in its relation to First Woman: White Bead Standing, Yolgai'na ziha; Turquoise Standing, Dolt i'zhi na ziha; White Bead Floating Place, Yolgai'dana elth gai; Turquoise Floating Place, Dolt 'izhi na elth gai; and Yucca Standing, Tasas y ah gai. Yucca represents cleanliness and things ceremonial.

° The Great Coyote who was formed in the water, Mai tqo y elth chili.

° Some medicine men claim that witchcraft came with First Man and First Woman; others insist that devil conception or witchcraft originated with the Coyote called First Angry.

° No English name is given this insect. Ants cause trouble, as also do wasps and other insects, if their homes are harmed.

° Beetle, ntlsa'go; Dragonfly, tqanil ai'; Bat people, ja aba'ni; Spider Man, nashjei hastqin; Spider Woman, nashjei esdza; Salt Man, ashi hastqin; Salt Woman, ashi esdza.

° The Second World was the Blue World, Ni'hodotl'ish.

◦ The names of the blue birds are bluebird, do'le; blue hawk, gi'ni tso dolt ish; blue jay, jozh ghae'gi; and blue heron, tqualtl a'gaale.

◦ The swallow is called tqash ji'zhi.

◦ The introduction of generation.

◦ Sis na'jin, Mount Baldy near Alamosa, Colo.; Tso'dzil, Mount Taylor, N. Mex.; Dook'ostid, San Francisco Mountain, Ariz.; Debe'ntsa, San Juan Mountains, Colo.; Dzil na'odili, El Huerfano Peak, N. Mex.; and Choli, also given as El Huerfano or El Huerfanito Peak, N. Mex. These mountains of the Third World were not in their true form, but rather the substance of the mountains.

Recorder's note: Although both Matthews and the Franciscan Fathers give Sis na'jin as Pelado Peak, Sam Ahkeah, the interpreter, after checking, identified it as Mount Baldy near Alamosa, Colo. Also, although the Franciscan Fathers give Dzil na odili choli as Huerfanito Peak *[sic]*, Sam Ahkeah says that it is the Mother Mountain near Taos.

◦ The Great Swallow People, Tqashji'zhi ndilk'si, lived in rough houses of mud and sticks. They entered them from holes in the roof.

◦ The Gray Mountain is the home of the Gray Yei, Hasch el'ba'i, whose other name is Water Sprinkler. The turkey is connected with water and rain.

Interpreter's note: Gray Mountain is San Francisco Mountain, Ariz. Tqo'neinili, the Water Sprinkler, whose color is gray, lives there. He is also called the Gray God, Hasch e'lbai, and the Clown whose call is "do do," and whose name is Hasch e'dodi.

◦ Nadle means that which changes.

◦ Recorder's note: That the tree is here called a spruce and earlier a pine is not explained.

◦ First Man's name, Aste'hastqin, corresponds to the sacred name of the kit fox.

◦ The big Male Reed is called luka'tso. It grows near Santo Domingo Pueblo, not far from the home of the Turquoise Boy, the little turquoise mountain south of Santa Fe, N. Mex.

° The Four Worlds were really twelve worlds, or stages of development, but different medicine men divide them differently according to the ceremony held. For the narrative they call them the Four Dark Worlds, and the Fifth World, the one we live in. An old medicine man explained that the Sixth World would be that of the spirit; and that the one above that would be “cosmic,” melting into one.

° The big Female Reed is thought to be the joint cane, which grows along the Colorado River.

° The First Chief, Nlchi ntlá'ie, the Left Course Wind; the Second Chief, Nlchi lichí, the Red Wind; the Third Chief, Nlchi shada ji na'laghali, the Wind Turning from the Sun; the Fourth Chief, Nlchi qa'hashchi, the Wind with Many Points; the Fifth Chief, Nlchi che do et siedee, the Wind with the Fiery Temper.

° The place of emergence is said to be near Pagosa Springs, Colo. The white people have put a wire fence around our Sacred Lake.

° Five names were given to this First World in its relation to First Man. It was called Dark Earth, Ni'hodilqil; Red Earth, Ni'halchi; One Speech, Sada hat lai; Floating Land, Ni'ta na elth; and One Tree, De east'da eith.

*SOURCE:* Aileen O'Bryan, *The Diné: Origin Myths of the Navaho Indians*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 163 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1956), 1–13.

## **JOHN NORTON *Iroquois Creation Story c. 1816***

The tradition of the Nottowegui or Five Nations says, “that in the beginning before the formation of the earth; the country above the sky was inhabited by Superior Beings, over whom the Great Spirit presided. His daughter having become pregnant by an illicit connection, he pulled up a great tree by the roots, and threw her through the cavity thereby formed; but, to prevent her utter destruction, he previously ordered the Great Turtle, to get from the bottom of the waters, some slime on its back, and to wait on the

surface of the water to receive her on it. When she had fallen on the back of the Turtle, with the mud she found there, she began to form the earth, and by the time of her delivery had encreased it to the extent of a little island. Her child was a daughter, and as she grew up the earth extended under their hands. When the young woman had arrived at the age of discretion, the Spirits who roved about, in human forms, made proposals of marriage for the young woman: the mother always rejected their offers, until a middle aged man, of a dignified appearance, his bow in his hand, and his quiver on his back, paid his addresses. On being accepted, he entered the house, and seated himself on the birth of his intended spouse; the mother was in a birth on the other side of the fire. She observed that her son-in-law did not lie down all night; but taking two arrows out of his quiver, he put them by the side of his bride: at the dawn of day he took them up, and having replaced them in his quiver, he went out.

“After some time, the old woman perceived her daughter to be pregnant, but could not discover where the father had gone, or who he was. At the time of delivery, the twins disputed which way they should go out of the womb; the wicked one said, let us go out of the side; but the other said, not so, lest we kill our mother; then the wicked one pretending to acquiesce, desired his brother to go out first: but as soon as he was delivered, the wicked one, in attempting to go out at her side, caused the death of his mother.



“The twin brothers were nurtured and raised by their Grandmother; the eldest was named Teharonghyawago, or the Holder of Heaven; the youngest was called Tawiskaron, or Flinty rock, from his body being entirely covered with such a substance. They grew up, and with their bows and arrows, amused themselves throughout the island, which encreased in extent, and they were favoured with various animals of Chace. Tawiskaron was the most fortunate hunter, and enjoyed the favour of his Grandmother. Teharonghyawago was not so successful in the Chace, and suffered from their unkindness. When he was a youth, and roaming alone, in melancholy mood, through the island, a human figure, of noble aspect, appearing to him, addressed him thus. ‘My son, I have seen your distress, and heard your solitary lamentations; you are unhappy in the loss of a mother, in the unkindness of your Grandmother and brother. I now come to comfort you, I am your father, and will be your Protector; therefore take courage, and suffer not your spirit to sink. Take this (giving him an ear of *maize*) plant it, and attend it in the manner, I shall direct; it will yield you a certain support, independent of the Chace, at the same time that it will render more palatable the viands, which you may thereby obtain. I am the Great Turtle which supports the earth, on which you move. Your brother’s ill treatment will increase with his years; bear it with patience till the time appointed, before which you shall hear further.’

“After saying this, and directing him how to plant the corn, he disappeared. Teharonghyawago planted the corn, and returned

home. When its verdant sprouts began to flourish above the ground, he spent his time in clearing from it all growth of grass and weeds, which might smother it or retard its advancement while yet in its tender state, before it had acquired sufficient grandeur to shade the ground. He now discovered that his wicked brother caught the timid deer, the stately elk with branching horns, and all the harmless inhabitants of the Forest; and imprisoned them in an extensive cave, for his own particular use, depriving mortals from having the benefit of them that was originally intended by the Great Spirit. Teharonghyawago discovered the direction his brother took in conducting these animals captive to the Cave; but never could trace him quite to the spot, as he eluded his sight with more than common dexterity!

“Teharonghyawago endeavoured to conceal himself on the path that led to the cave, so that he might follow him imperceptibly; but he found it impossible to hide himself from the penetrating Tawiskaron. At length he observed, that altho’ his brother saw, with extraordinary acuteness, every surrounding object, yet he never raised his eyes to look above: Teharonghyawago then climbed a lofty tree, which grew near to where he thought the place of confinement was situated: in the meantime, his brother passed, searching with his eyes the thickest recesses of the Forest, but never casting a glance above. He then saw his brother take a straight course, and when he was out of sight, Teharonghyawago descended, and came to the Cave, a short time after he had

deposited his charge; and finding there an innumerable number of animals confined, he set them free, and returned home.

“It was not long before Tawiskaron, visiting the Cave, discovered that all his captives, which he had taken so much pains to deprive of their liberty, had been liberated: he knew this to be an act of his brother, but dissembling his anger, he mediated revenge, at some future period.

“Teharonghyawago laboured to people the earth with inhabitants, and to found Villages in happy situations, extending the comforts of men. Tawiskaron was equally active in destroying the works his brother had done; and in accumulating every evil in his power on the heads of ill fated mortals. Teharonghyawago saw, with regret, his brother persevere in every wickedness; but waited with patience the result of what his father had told him.

“At one time, being in conversation with his brother, Tawiskaron said ‘Brother, what do you think there is on earth, with which you might be killed?’ Teharonghyawago replied, ‘I know of nothing that could affect my life, unless it be the foam of the billows of the Lake or the downy topped<sup>\*</sup> reed.’ ‘What do you think would take your life?’ Tawiskaron answered, ‘Nothing except horn or flint.’ Here their discourse ended.

“Teharonghyawago returning from hunting, heard a voice singing a plaintive air: he listened and heard it name his Mother, who was

killed by Tawiskaron; he immediately hastened towards the spot from whence the voice proceeded, crying, 'Who is that, who dares to name my deceased mother in my hearing?' When he came there, he saw the track of a fawn, which he pursued, without overtaking it, till the autumn, when it dropped its first horns; these he took up, and fixed upon the forked branches of a tree.

"He continued the pursuit seven years; and every autumn, when its horns fell, he picked them up, and placed them as he had done the first. At last, he overtook the deer, now grown to be a stately buck: it begged its life, and said, 'Spare me, and I will give you information that may be great service to you.' When he had promised it its life, it spoke as follows, 'It was to give you the necessary information that I have been subjected to your pursuit, and that which I shall now tell you was the intended reward of your perseverance and clemency. Your brother, in coming into the world, caused the death of your Mother; if he was then wicked in his infancy, his malice has grown with his stature; he now premeditates evil against you; be therefore on your guard: as soon as he assaults you, exert yourself, and you will overcome him.'

"He returned home; and not long after this adventure, was attacked by his brother. They fought; the one made use of the horn and flint stone which he had provided: the other sought for froth and the reed, which made little impression on the body of Teharonghyawago. They fought a long time, over the whole of the island, until at last Tawiskaron fell under the conquering hand of

his brother. According to the varied tones of their voices in the different places through which they passed during the contest, the people, who afterwards sprung up there, spoke different languages.”

\*It is called Fox-tail, in America; from the resemblance it bears to it. It is a reed or strong grass that grows in wild, low meadows, . . . the top containing a down, almost like cotton.

SOURCE: From Colin G. Calloway, *The World Turned Upside Down: Indian Voices from Early America*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1994, pages 23–26.

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

The Navajos' and the Iroquois' stories of their origins can be read literally or understood metaphorically.

1. What do these stories convey about the Navajos' and Iroquois' view of their place in the world and their relations with animals?
2. In what ways do the stories define identity? What do they say about what it means to be Navajo and Iroquois? What do they suggest about gender roles in Navajo and Iroquois society?
3. What do the stories convey about Navajo and Iroquois ideals and morality; of their beliefs about the consequences of wrongdoing; of their responsibilities?
4. In what ways are the stories in conflict or consonance with historical explanations of tribal migrations from other places to their homelands?

# PICTURE ESSAY

## Early American Cities, Settlements, and Centers



EUROPEAN COLONISTS OFTEN DEPICTED the Indians they encountered in North America as “wandering savages,” hunting people who lacked permanent settlements. Americans inherited this view, and the U.S. government incorporated it into its Indian policies, which, throughout the nineteenth century, operated on the conviction that Indians must be taught to farm and live in one place if they were ever to become “civilized.” The notion that Indians were nomads who lived in small hunting bands with no fixed homes helped justify their dispossession; Euro-Americans needed the land for agriculture and they had every right to take it because the Indians were not making good use of it anyway.

Throughout North America, Indian people lived in small villages *and* hunted. In some areas, Indians were nomadic and followed game in small hunting bands. But centuries before Europeans arrived, most Indians were farmers, and some inhabited towns and structures that were as large as those of contemporary Europeans

and colonists. Southwestern Indian peoples constructed multistory apartment buildings; Mississippian societies erected towns and temples on earthen mounds; Iroquoian people lived in towns of multifamily longhouses surrounded by palisades and cornfields. Arriving in the wake of Indian losses to epidemic diseases only recently introduced by explorers and colonists, Europeans often saw mere traces of the civilizations that had existed in North America. On the basis of these impressions, history books portrayed Indian people only as hunters and village dwellers, rarely as farmers and city dwellers.

As the illustrations here indicate, there was an “urban America” long before Europeans arrived — not the kind of crowded metropolitan sprawl we associate with cities today, but important centers of population, ritual, and exchange nonetheless. Archaeologist Stephen Lekson describes North America in the eleventh century as “a continent of cities, big and small.”<sup>71</sup> The ruins and remains of some of these places provide clues to American Indian worlds and experiences that must have been very different from those described by most European observers and most American historians.

Pueblo Bonito (“Beautiful Town”; [Figure 1.1](#)) was the largest of the “great houses” built in Chaco Canyon. A planned, multistoried structure, it was laid out as a giant D-shaped amphitheater around a central plaza covering three acres and linked to numerous outlying settlements. At its height it contained four stories, and between 650

and 800 rooms, although not all or even most of these were residences. It also contained three great kivas, and thirty-three smaller kivas, and its main importance may have been as a ceremonial center. The walls were constructed of stones and filled with rubble; thousands of wooden roof beams were made from logs carried from almost fifty miles away. Ring-dated beams indicate that Pueblo Bonito was built between about A.D. 900 and 1085. Pueblo Bonito has intrigued archaeologists for years, and scholars still try to understand its economic and spiritual significance in the Ancestral Pueblo world.

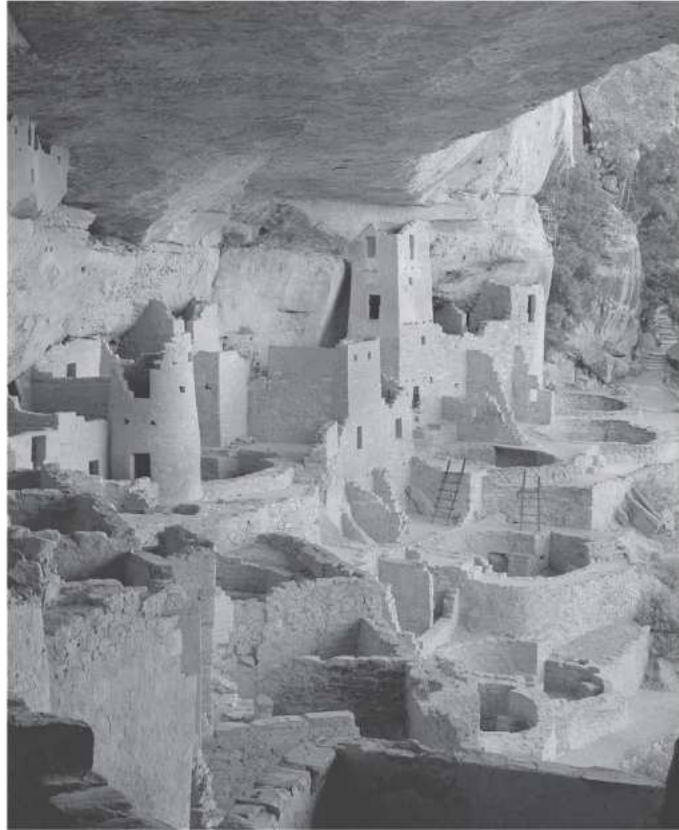


Chris Selby/age fotostock/SuperStock.

♦ Figure 1.1 The Ruins of Pueblo Bonito



At Mesa Verde in southeastern Colorado, people were living in many small villages on top of the mesa as early as A.D. 700. As the villages increased in size, the inhabitants developed more sophisticated structures and building techniques. The largest Mesa Verde town was at Yellow Jacket in southwestern Colorado: twelve hundred rooms, twenty towers, and two hundred kivas, and it may have housed twenty-five hundred people.<sup>72</sup> By 1150, most of the inhabitants of Mesa Verde were living in large cliff houses constructed within the huge caves in the canyon walls, which provided security against attack. Cliff Palace ([Figure 1.2](#)) was the largest cliff dwelling in the area, with more than two hundred rooms and twenty-three kivas, but there may have been between five hundred and one thousand cliff houses and as many as seven thousand people at Mesa Verde during its peak in the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>73</sup>



George H. H. Huey/age fotostock/SuperStock.

♦ Figure 1.2 Cliff Palace at Mesa Verde

At its height between A.D. 1050 and 1250, Cahokia (as rendered in [Figure 1.3](#), a later painter's depiction of the city) covered two thousand acres and was the largest city north of Mexico, with at least ten thousand and perhaps as many as thirty thousand residents. (By contrast, Philadelphia, the largest city in colonial North America, had a population of only twenty-three thousand as late as 1763.) Cahokia was a city of ceremonial pyramids, open plazas, extensive cornfields, satellite villages, and suburbs. The rectangular field with two poles in the middle of the plaza was a ball court. The circle of posts at the far left — known as “Woodhenge” to

archaeologists — seems to have been a calendric device that allowed priests to predict the coming of the solstices and equinoxes and to predict the correct timing for planting and ceremonies. The Cahokia site has been eroded over the years by farming, highways, and building developments, but impressive mounds remain at Cahokia State Park as testimony to the metropolis that once thrived there.

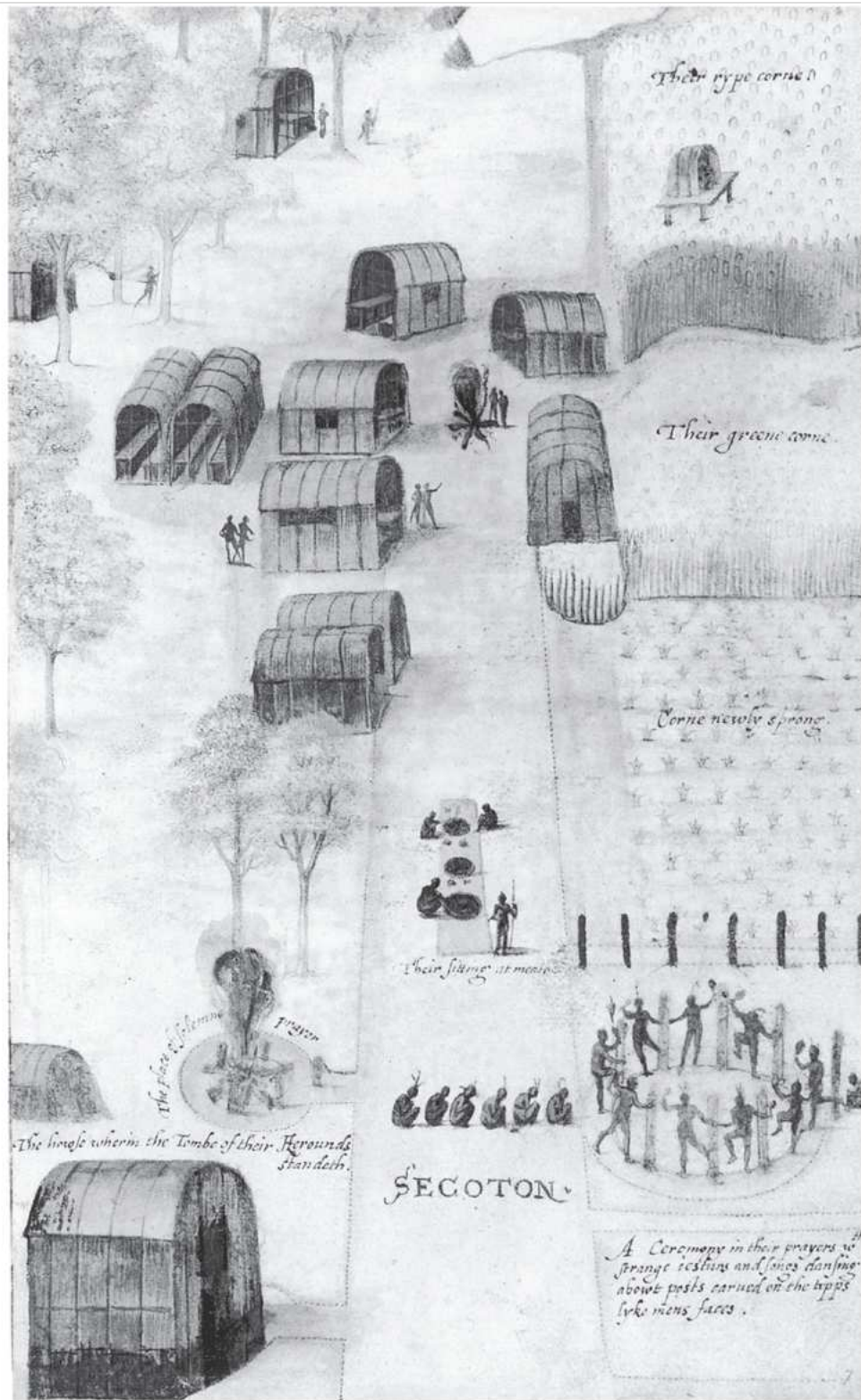


Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site. Painting of imagined reconstruction by William R. Iseminger.

♦ Figure 1.3 Cahokia Mounds, C. A.D. 1150–1200

When English colonists first set foot in North America, they saw little sign of the great mound-building cultures that had flourished before contact, but they did see organized Native communities.

John White's 1585 painting of the Algonquian village of Secoton in Virginia ([Figure 1.4](#)) is in the form of a town plan, showing the various purposes and functions of the buildings and spaces and leading the viewer up the "main street" from foreground to background. The multifamily houses are constructed of saplings bent over and covered with bark and woven mats that could be removed to let in air and light. The inhabitants depended on corn and practiced field rotation (note the three fields of corn at different stages of growth at the right of the picture — "rype corne," "greene corne," and "corne newly sprung") but supplemented their diet with hunting. A fire burns at "the place of solemne prayer" while, across the main street, a ritual is in progress. White's English viewers would have recognized many similarities with English towns and fields. It is possible that White's *Indian Village* was a composite painting, depicting various aspects of Indian life.

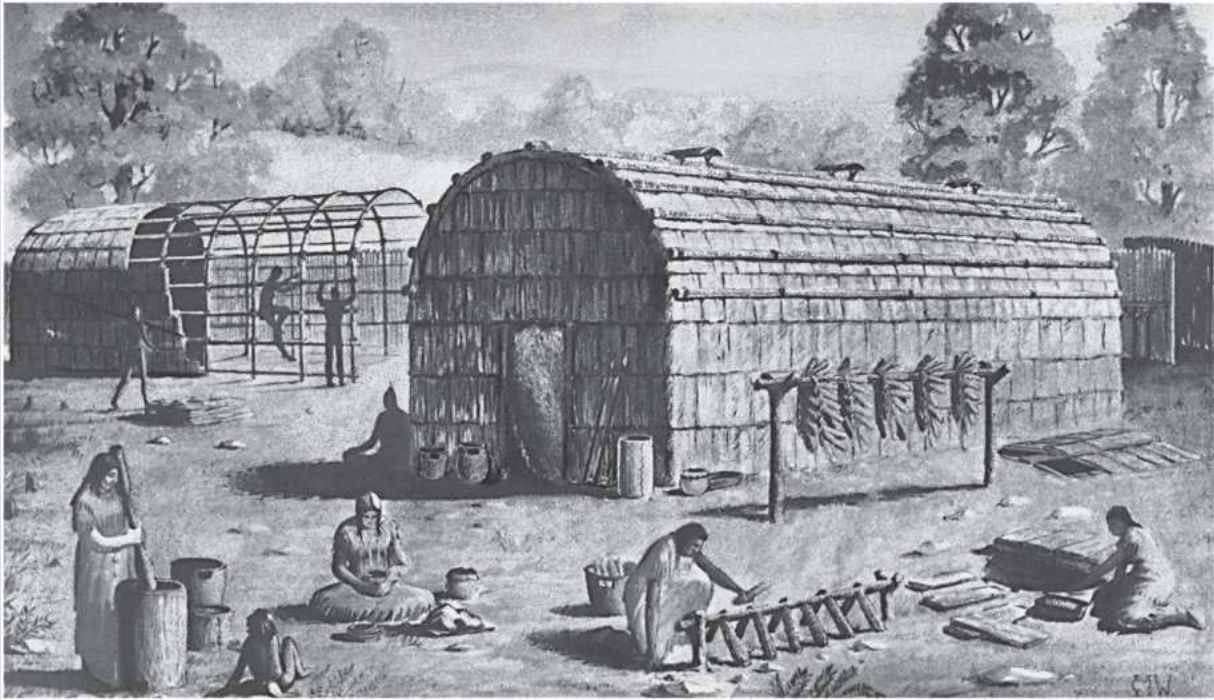


© The Trustees of the British Museum/Art Resource, NY.

◆ Figure 1.4 John White, *Indian Village of Secoton* (1585)

The Iroquois or Haudenosaunee — the “People of the Longhouse” — tended to build their villages on high ground in forest clearings, with fields surrounding the village. Some settlements were quite small, no more than hamlets with several houses, but others were large towns with a hundred or more houses. The village might contain smaller houses for one or two families, but the characteristic structure was a multifamily longhouse, a log structure with elm wood poles covered with elm bark ([Figure 1.5](#)). Longhouses stood 15 to 20 feet high, about 20 feet wide, and generally between 50 and 150 feet long, although sometimes much longer. Smoke holes along the center of the roof provided light and ventilation for hearth fires; compartments with raised platforms along the inside walls provided sleeping space for individual families. Members of a single matrilineal clan inhabited the longhouse, along with the women’s husbands, who belonged to different clans. The Iroquois moved their villages every ten or twenty years because of soil and resources depletion.





Stock Montage/Getty Images.

◆ Figure 1.5 Iroquois Longhouse

In 1664 when the Dutch surrendered New Netherland (New York) to the English, the population of the Dutch colony was fewer than ten thousand people. With as many as fifty people inhabiting a single longhouse, an Iroquois town with many longhouses was a substantial settlement by the standards of the time.

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. What do these images of Indian towns and sites reveal about how the inhabitants lived in relation to their environment? About how they organized their space and their societies? About

their religious obligations, economic activities, and needs for defense?

2. Why, and with what effects, did white Americans tend to refer to all Indian settlements, regardless of their size, as villages? What are the differences between a village, a town, and a city?

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CHAPTER 2

# The Invasions of America: Encounters, Epidemics, and Exchanges

1492–1700s



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## FOCUS QUESTION

What factors determined early relations between Indians and Europeans? Was conflict inevitable?

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### **C. A.D. 1000**

Vikings voyage to North America: Norsemen settle in Greenland, Newfoundland, and Labrador

### **1492**

Christopher Columbus voyages to America for the Spanish crown

**1497–1498**

John Cabot explores the coasts of Maine and Nova Scotia

**1513**

Juan Ponce de León opens Spanish contact with Indians in Florida

**1519–1521**

Hernán Cortés conquers Aztec Empire in Mexico

**1520s**

First epidemics of Old World diseases in North America

**1523–1524**

Giovanni da Verrazzano sails Atlantic coast from Carolinas to Newfoundland

**1528**

Pánfilo de Narváez leads Spanish expedition to Gulf of Mexico; over the next eight years Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and other crew members travel into the Southwest

**1532–1533**

Spanish led by Francisco Pizarro conquer Inca Empire in Peru

**1534–1541**

Jacques Cartier travels up the St. Lawrence River

**1539–1543**

Hernando de Soto invades the Southeast

**1540–1542**

Francisco Vázquez de Coronado invades New Mexico

**1542**

Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo reaches present-day Santa Barbara

**1565**

Spanish found St. Augustine, Florida

**1585–1588**

English settle at Roanoke Island off coast of Virginia in present-day North Carolina

**1598**

Juan de Oñate establishes Spanish colony in New Mexico; takes Ácoma by assault in 1599

**1603–1615**

Samuel de Champlain voyages in the Northeast; clashes with Iroquois in 1609

**1607**

English settle at Jamestown, Virginia

**1608**

French found Quebec

**1610**

Spanish found Santa Fe

**1614**

Dutch establish trading post on Hudson River near Albany,  
New York

**1616–1619**

Major epidemic among New England Indians

**1620**

Pilgrims establish Plymouth Colony

**1622**

Powhatan Indians go to war against English in Virginia

**1625**

The Dutch purchase Manhattan Island

**1629**

England charters the Massachusetts Bay Colony

**1630s**

20,000 English Puritans migrate to New England

**1634–1649**

Jesuit missionaries active in Huronia in present-day Ontario

**1633–1634**

Smallpox epidemic throughout the Northeast

**1636–1637**

Puritan war against the Pequots

**1638**

English terminate Pequot sovereignty in Treaty of Hartford



**1640s**

Mayhew family missionaries active on Martha's Vineyard

**1644**

Second Powhatan war against the English

**1646–1675**

John Eliot's missionary work in New England

**1649**

Iroquois destroy Huron villages in Beaver Wars

**1670**

Charleston (Charles Town), South Carolina, founded

**1670**

Hudson's Bay Company chartered

**1671**

Sieur de Saint Lussan and Claude Allouez lay claim to the whole interior of North America for France

**1681–1682**

René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, travels down the Mississippi and claims the Mississippi valley for Louis XIV (Louisiana)

**1696–1700**

Great Southeastern Smallpox Epidemic

# FIRST CONTACTS AND MUTUAL APPRAISALS

SOME PEOPLE ARGUE THAT AFRICANS from the Nile Delta, Buddhist monks from Japan, European mariners, Celtic priests, or even visitors from outer space got to America long before Columbus. Viking sagas and archaeological evidence confirm that Scandinavian seafarers made contact with Native people — Skraelings, the Vikings called them — in Greenland, Newfoundland, and Labrador around A.D. 1000. Relations with the Natives broke down in violence, and the Viking colonies were short-lived. But at the end of the fifteenth century, Europe broke its bounds and embarked on a program of expansion overseas that reached into America, Asia, Africa, and Australia. In America, this expansion entailed the defeat and dispossession of the Native inhabitants over almost four centuries of coercion and conflict. It also witnessed widespread and sometimes violent competition between rival European powers.

In the seventeenth century, Spanish, French, Dutch, Swedish, and English colonizers all contended for a foothold on the American continent. They came looking for land and resources, to find religious freedom, and to establish profitable ventures for their backers. In the early years, they often depended for their survival

upon Indian people, but their coming brought Indian people into global trade networks and a burgeoning Atlantic economy that changed their lives. European immigrants who encroached on Indian country in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries included Finns, Germans, Scots, Irish, and many others. Russian expansion eastward, which began in Siberia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, brought traders and missionaries to Alaska and northern California in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries ([Map 2.1](#)). But Spain, France, and Britain came to dominate the struggle for hegemony and had the most enduring effects on Indian America.



Calloway, *First Peoples*, 6e, © 2019 Bedford/St. Martin's.

### ◆ Map 2.1 European Invasions of Indian America, c. 1500–1800

At different times in the course of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, various major European nations penetrated North America. Other peoples — Finns, Scotch-Irish, Germans, African slaves — also pushed into the continent. Their intrusion set off ripple effects throughout Indian country, often affecting the lives of people who had never laid eyes on a European and generating migrations by Indian groups.

European colonists endeavored to create societies that mirrored those they had left behind, giving them names that evoked home — New Spain, New Mexico, New France, New England, Nova Scotia, New Netherlands — but the communities that emerged were quite different from their European counterparts. At the same time, the invasion of European peoples, plants, products, and plagues transformed America, creating what historian James Merrell aptly described as “a new world” for Indian peoples.<sup>1</sup>

## Native America through the European Lens

The first Europeans to arrive in America brought germs, animals, plants, technologies, and concepts of land use and ownership that would forever change the face of America. They also brought attitudes and opinions about “primitive” people that would govern their relations with the Native peoples they encountered and established images of Indians that endured for centuries.

Because the recent development of the printing press had greatly increased the circulation of news and literature by the time of the first contacts between Indian and European people, Europeans soon had access to a variety of descriptions of the “New World” and the people who lived here. Some of these were favorable: Christopher Columbus described the first Indians he met as simple

children of nature, timid, generous, and guileless. They were “very well formed, with handsome bodies and good faces” and went “as naked as their mothers bore them.” They accepted whatever they were offered in trade and “gave of what they had very willingly.” With an eye to what he saw in store for these people, the admiral reckoned they would make “good and intelligent servants” and “would become Christians very easily, for it seemed to me that they had no religion.” The Indians were “very gentle and do not know what evil is.”<sup>2</sup> Other observers spoke of the Indians’ agility, health, dignity, and bravery. The image of Indians as “**noble savages**” and “simple children of nature” took a firm hold in the imagination of Europeans. At the same time, however, Columbus and others also reported stories of fierce cannibals, and the idea of Indians as “treacherous savages” and “dirty savages” became another common image. The very diversity in Native American life that the label “Indian” ignored presented Europeans with contradictions in what they found and thus produced conflicting sets of beliefs about Indians.

Inevitably, Europeans judged Indians by European values, social orders, and gender assumptions. They assessed them in terms of Western views of civilization, noting what Indians lacked rather than what they had achieved. By “civilization” Europeans usually meant social standards such as wearing “proper” clothing, speaking a language intelligible to their ears, living in “orderly” social and political structures, practicing a sedentary agricultural economy in which men, not women, did the farming, dwelling in permanent

housing, and observing some form of Christianity. They saw that Indians had no sailing ships, printing presses, wheeled vehicles, stone arches, churches, iron tools, steel weapons, or guns, and they assumed that Indian men were lazy and Indian women were “drudges” because the women cultivated and harvested the crops. Based on their observations, most Europeans did not think they were displacing existing civilizations when they came to America.

For the most part, Indian people greeted the newcomers with cautious hospitality and goodwill. They seem to have been impressed by the Europeans’ technology, particularly their ships, guns, and metal tools, but shocked by their appearance, language, and behavior. Europeans frequently claimed that Indians regarded them with awe, as godlike, but Indians regularly dismissed European pretensions to superiority and sometimes poked fun at Europeans’ ineptitude in coping with their new environment. (See [“A Mi’kmaq Questions French Civilization,” pages 116–17.](#))

Even as European numbers increased, Natives and newcomers often found ways of coexisting and cooperating, adapting to each other’s presence, and borrowing from what the other had to offer. Colonists learned to plant corn and adopted Native hunting and fishing techniques; Indians wrapped themselves in woolen blankets and cooked in metal pots. As each society labored for subsistence, they made use of the knowledge and goods of the other.

# Enduring Images

Hospitality turned to hostility, however, when understanding failed to bridge the cultural gulf and Indians began to experience mistreatment at the hands of Europeans. As early as 1524, sailing from North Carolina to Newfoundland, the Florentine explorer Giovanni da Verrazzano found that Indians on the coast of Maine would not allow his crew ashore to trade; the Natives had already had unpleasant dealings with Europeans, perhaps Basque or Breton sailors and fishermen or a Portuguese expedition that had passed through the area the year before. It was not long before Indians and Europeans clashed. To Europeans, the Indians' hostility was proof of their savagery. Like later Americans, they invoked that savagery to justify their actions and continued assaults on Indian cultures.

Still, the notion of Indians as “noble savages” endured. From the journals of Columbus in 1492, through the writings of eighteenth-century philosophers like Jean-Jacques Rousseau, to modern movies, many non-Indians have portrayed Indians living lives of simplicity and purity as a contrast to their own societies, which they depict as aggressive and materialistic. The habit of viewing the diverse Native inhabitants of North America as a single collective category in mirror image of Western society has roots in the first contacts between Indian and European people and has persisted for more than five hundred years. Non-Indian images of Indians usually



reveal more about how the image makers feel about themselves and their own society than they do about real Indian people.

# COLUMBIAN EXCHANGES

In 1493 Columbus made his second voyage to Hispaniola (an island now divided between Haiti and the Dominican Republic). This time his purpose was colonization of the lands he had “discovered.” He took with him seventeen ships, more than a thousand settlers, and a cargo that included horses, pigs, cattle, sheep, goats, chickens, dogs, seeds, cuttings for fruit trees, wheat, and sugarcane. Columbus’s cargo illustrated the many levels on which the European invasion of America occurred as animals, plants, insects, germs, and new technologies accompanied European peoples into Indian country. Even though this invasion was one-way, from Europe to America, an exchange was in fact taking shape. In time, American people, foods, and ideas spread across the Atlantic to permanently change the Old World, and Native American ways of life subtly influenced the European colonists. Contact between Europe and America initiated what historian Alfred Crosby termed “the **Columbian exchange**” between two worlds. The economic, environmental, and cultural reverberations of the exchange affected the subsequent histories of Europe, Africa, and Asia as well as America. New foods and plants, new sources of wealth, and new resources produced more trade networks and more activity along existing trade networks, which brought people, plants, and animals into contact. Europeans tasted chocolate and smoked tobacco for

the first time. Slave and trade routes brought America into contact with Africa. Areas of the world that were previously ecologically distinct became more alike; in place of separate worlds, a single new world emerged. This marked the beginning of globalization and shaped the world we know today.<sup>3</sup> Finally, interaction with Indian people contributed to transforming European colonists into Americans.

## Changing New World Landscapes

Europeans entered a continent that bore the marks of thousands of years of human habitation and activity. As they moved inland, they continued to encounter settled or recently abandoned agricultural landscapes. Assisted by Indian guides and subsisting on Native food, “the pioneers at the head of the Euro-American advance followed the signposts of cleared fields and orchards that recorded the long experience of Native Americans in selecting good soils and managing local ecologies.”<sup>4</sup> But Europeans began to alter the landscape in ways Native Americans never had. They brought new plants and crops — rice, wheat, barley, oats — and new grasses and weeds, along with fruits such as peaches and oranges. They introduced domesticated animals such as horses, sheep, goats, and pigs, which trod down grasses unaccustomed to pastoralism, trampled Indian cornfields, and drove away wild game. The Indians’ world, quite literally, changed before their eyes as European

colonists transformed forests into farmland: “these English have gotten our land,” declared a Narragansett chief only twenty years after the Pilgrims arrived in New England. “They with scythes cut down the grass, and with axes fell the trees; their cows and horses eat the grass, and their hogs spoil our clam banks.”<sup>5</sup> In the Southeast, hogs ran wild. Sheep and goats became permanent parts of the economy and culture of Pueblo and Navajo peoples in the Southwest. Horses transformed the lives and cultures of Indian peoples on the Plains. Europeans also brought honeybees, black rats, cats, and cockroaches to America.

Some Indians crossed the Atlantic eastward to Europe, as kidnap victims, slaves, and diplomats (see [Picture Essay, “Indian Diplomats in Eighteenth-Century London,” pages 180–85](#)), but most American exports were the foods that Native peoples had developed and cultivated. Potatoes transformed the diets of ordinary people in northern Europe, for example, and tomatoes became an essential ingredient of Italian cooking. Meanwhile, Europeans in America quickly incorporated Indian foods into their diets: corn, for example, fed European soldiers and became a staple of life for European pioneers on the frontier.

## Biological Catastrophes

Europe's deadliest export was invisible. Nothing hit Indian societies harder or did more to shape the subsequent course of American history than **Old World diseases**. The inhabitants of both North America and Europe suffered from ailments and injuries and had a life expectancy that most twenty-first-century Westerners would find shocking. But until 1492 Indians were isolated from the massive, deadly epidemics that ravaged Europe and Asia in medieval times. When Europeans arrived on the continent they carried germs and viruses that devastated indigenous populations who had no exposure to these new diseases.<sup>6</sup>

Epidemics of smallpox, measles, bubonic plague, influenza, cholera, and other killer diseases spread like wildfire through Indian societies. Different diseases struck different regions at different times, but sooner or later imported diseases struck all Native populations, which varied in their responses. In some cases entire populations perished; 90 percent mortality rates were common. It's impossible to say exactly how much the effects of European colonialism contributed to population decline and prevented population recovery.<sup>7</sup> Estimates of precontact Indian populations in North America must always be tentative since so many people died before Europeans conducted head-counts of survivors. In some areas, populations increased as refugees sought shelter from war and disease elsewhere.



*Native American Aztec people of Mexico dying of Small Pox introduced by the Spaniards, copied from the Codex Florentine, c. 1540 (colour litho)/PETER NEWARK'S PICTURES/Private Collection/Bridgeman Images.*

#### ♦ Smallpox, the Silent Killer

This sixteenth-century portrayal of smallpox records the effects of a disease that would strike Native peoples repeatedly from first contacts to the twentieth century.

Some scholars may have produced inflated estimates of population size and decline, but their work points to one of the greatest demographic disasters in history. The population of Hispaniola was estimated at some 8 million in 1492, but by 1535 the original inhabitants were all but extinct; the Native population of Mexico dropped from an estimated 25 million in 1519 to perhaps 1.3 million by the end of the century; Peru's population dwindled from

as high as 9 million to a half million in 1600. Indians and Europeans struggled to comprehend and explain the huge mortalities caused by disease, and the pattern of epidemic disease and depopulation in North America is still not fully understood. Combined with the impacts of increased warfare, slave raiding, famine, and other traumas of colonization, recurrent epidemics and chronic diseases caused continual attrition of Indian numbers from the fifteenth to the twentieth centuries and steadily eroded Indian capacity for dealing with the invaders. One estimate suggests that the Native population of the American hemisphere as a whole plummeted by 89 percent between 1492 and 1650, while that of North America fell by 74 percent between 1492 and 1800.<sup>8</sup>

The Indians whom European invaders encountered were often the survivors of shattered societies; abandoned villages and smallpox-scarred faces testified to the suffering that had preceded the colonists. The natural environments Europeans encountered were also in part the products of demographic disaster: in some areas plummeting human populations allowed animal populations and vegetation to increase unchecked, producing dense forests and vast herds that European colonists assumed were “virgin wilderness.” A “hunters’ paradise” was often testimony to an absence of Indian hunters rather than to untouched natural bounty.<sup>9</sup>

# INDIANS CONFRONT THE SPANISH

In the late fall of 1528, Indians in eastern Texas came upon a group of bearded and bedraggled men who had washed up on the Gulf Coast. The Indian men, probably Karankawas, were astonished and brought their women and children to look at the strangers. The Indians took pity on them, fed them roots and fish, and gave them shelter in their village. Eventually “half the natives died from a disease of the bowels.”<sup>10</sup> The strange men were Spanish soldiers, would-be conquistadors and survivors of an ill-fated expedition that had landed in Florida. Four of them — including the royal treasurer of the expedition, Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca — later lived for years among the Indians. It was the first of many encounters in North America, and not the last in which Spaniards and Indians would live in close contact. But the power dynamics in subsequent years would very often be reversed.

## A Mission for Gold and God

Spanish soldiers, priests, and colonizers in the South and Southwest preceded English colonists on the Atlantic coast by almost a century. Christopher Columbus had sailed west in 1492 in the



employ of the Spanish monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella. The marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile in 1469 joined their crowns into the kingdom of Spain and turned Spain from a power in the Mediterranean to one spanning the Atlantic Ocean.<sup>[11](#)</sup> In 1492 the two monarchs completed the liberation of their kingdom from Muslim power that had both limited Spain's expansion and influenced its development throughout the Middle Ages. Spaniards now looked to the New World as an area for empire building. Seven centuries of warfare to drive the "infidels" out of the Iberian Peninsula left an indelible mark on the militant Christian warrior culture of Spain: young noblemen now looked elsewhere for infidels to fight. In the next hundred years or so, Spaniards came into contact with Indian peoples from Florida to California, from Peru to the Great Plains.

The Spanish believed they had a divine and royal mandate to reduce Indian peoples to submission. Spanish law required the conquistadors to read the ***Requerimiento*** to the Indians they encountered. The *Requerimiento*, worked out by theologians in 1513 at the request of the king of Spain, required Indians to "acknowledge the Church as the Ruler and Superior of the whole world," the pope as high priest, and the king and queen of Spain as lords of their lands. If they did so, the Spaniards would "receive you in all love and charity, . . . leave you, your wives, and your children, and your lands, free without servitude, . . . and . . . not compel you to turn Christians." But, the document continued,

if you do not do this, and wickedly and intentionally delay to do so, I certify to you that, with the help of God, we shall forcibly enter into your country and shall make war against you in all ways and manners that we can, and shall subject you to the yoke and obedience of the Church and of their Highnesses; we shall take you and your wives and your children, and shall make slaves of them, and as such shall sell and dispose of them as their Highnesses may command; and we shall take away your goods, and shall do all the harm and damage that we can, as to vassals who do not obey, and refuse to receive their lord, and resist and contradict him; and we protest that the deaths and losses which shall accrue from this are your fault, and not that of their Highnesses, or ours, nor of these gentlemen who come with us.

Read in Spanish to Indian people who understood neither its language nor its concepts, the *Requerimiento* became little more than a “ceremony of possession,” allowing the Spaniards to justify conquest — and any accompanying atrocities.<sup>[12](#)</sup>

The Spaniards also had settlements in the Caribbean, especially on Cuba and Hispaniola, before 1520. Despite mass enslavements of the Native populations, these colonies did not produce the wealth the colonizers had hoped for. Legends and reports of great riches on the mainland attracted Spanish attention and ambitions, and in the next thirty years Spanish forces penetrated as far as Mexico and the central plateau of the Andes. There they found the

gold and silver they sought. They plundered and destroyed the civilizations they encountered and forced Indian slaves to work in silver mines. Driven by militant Christianity and a relentless search for precious metals, the Spanish invaders took possession of the most densely populated areas of the Americas, thereby establishing the first European land empire overseas.

## Conquest of the Aztecs

In 1519 the Aztecs of central Mexico began to hear reports of strange white men wearing armor and riding animals. The news followed a series of bad omens and portents of disaster. Aztec life revolved around cyclical rituals based on a solar year of eighteen months. The end of a cycle was regarded as a time of great peril. Around 1507, a major cycle of the Aztec calendar had come to an end. Fifteen years later the Aztec Empire lay in ruins. The conqueror was Hernán Cortés, who landed near Vera Cruz in 1519 with a force of only 508 men, grounded his ships, and marched inland.

The Spaniards were entering a complex and highly structured civilization whose impressive cities left the invaders in wonderment. The Mexica and other tribes whom the Spaniards designated the Aztecs were only the most recent in a *series* of ruling peoples in the area. Invading from the north, they had achieved

ascendancy relatively recently, in the fifteenth century, and exacted tribute and labor from subject peoples over a wide area. The Aztec emperor headed a society rigidly divided by castes, attuned to the predictions of priests, and dependent on human sacrifice as the key to ensuring agricultural fertility and the daily return of the sun. Efficiently irrigated fields produced crops of maize, tobacco, and tomatoes — all unknown in Europe at that time — and pyramid-shaped temples dominated the large plazas of Aztec towns. The capital, **Tenochtitlán**, on the site of present-day Mexico City, housed more than 200,000 people, making it several times the size of most European capitals at the time. Then, as now, Mexico City was one of the largest cities in the world.

Boldly marching through jungle to the high plateau of central Mexico, the Spaniards won over the outlying towns as tribes eager to throw off Aztec rule joined them. It was a pattern repeated throughout Mesoamerica as Native allies participated in conquests that would not have been possible without them.<sup>13</sup> Communication with the Indians was aided by an Aztec woman who could speak both Mayan and Nahuatl, the language of the Aztecs, and whom the Spaniards called Doña Marina; she served as Cortés's mistress and interpreter — one of the first of many people to serve as a culture broker between Indians and Europeans.<sup>14</sup> Hearing advance warning of their arrival, the Aztec emperor Moctezuma sent gifts to the invaders and allowed them to enter Tenochtitlán; in return, Cortés seized Moctezuma and held him hostage in his own palace.

In 1520, after a tenuous peace, Spanish cruelties and desecration of temples finally produced a furious Aztec counterassault. Moctezuma was killed by disaffected Aztecs, and Cortés had to fight his way out of the city. The Spaniards lost a third of their men but regrouped for another attack. Meanwhile, a massive smallpox epidemic broke out in Tenochtitlán. It lasted for seventy days, according to a Native text, “striking every where in the city and killing a vast number of our people.”<sup>15</sup> The epidemic killed Moctezuma’s brother, Cuitláhuac, who had spearheaded the Aztec resistance. Strengthened by allies from the coastal tribes and by Spanish reinforcements from Cuba, Cortés’s troops looted and destroyed Tenochtitlán in 1521. A year later, Cortés was appointed “Captain General of New Spain.” Bernal Díaz, a young foot soldier in the invasion, wrote a lengthy account of the conquest in his old age. He recalled the march inland, the awe with which the Spaniards viewed island cities built in the water, the long causeway leading straight for Tenochtitlán, rich orchards, and rose gardens. “Some of our soldiers even asked whether the things that we saw were not a dream,” he said, “seeing things as we did that had never been heard of or seen before, not even dreamed about.” But he was imagining a paradise before the fall: “Of all these wonders that I then beheld today all is overthrown and lost, nothing [is] left standing.”<sup>16</sup>

Contemporaries and many later historians saw the rapid and total collapse of the Aztec Empire as evidence of European superiority over Native people. The Spaniards fought with courage, discipline, and ruthless brutality and had the advantages of horses,

firearms, and metal armor. The Aztecs were unable to sustain — or even, perhaps, to understand — the kind of prolonged campaign mounted by Spaniards who, driven by a single-minded faith in their mission and a lust for gold, laid siege to cities and starved and killed whole populations. But there were major internal reasons for the collapse of the highly structured Aztec Empire. Rebellious subject peoples sided with the invaders, and Indian defenders died from disease faster than Spaniards could kill them.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Doña Marina, or Malinche, had apparently been stolen in childhood by traders and sold to the Tabascans. The Tabascans gave her to Cortés. Her native language was Nahuatl, but in Tabasco she had learned the Maya language. She spoke in Mayan to Jerónimo de Aguilar, a shipwrecked Spaniard who lived among Mayan-speaking Indians, who then translated from Mayan to Spanish for Cortés.<sup>14</sup>

## Searching for Other Empires

In the wake of Cortés's stunning conquest, the Spaniards sent expeditions into other areas of America. In 1532 Francisco Pizarro invaded Peru with 168 men and 67 horses. The people of the Inca Empire were learned in mathematics and astronomy, irrigated their fields, built huge temples and palaces, and constructed a network of paved roads linking major towns with the capital city, Cuzco. But smallpox preceded Pizarro to Peru, and the Spaniards caught the Incas in the midst of a civil upheaval with a usurper named Atahualpa on the throne. Pizarro captured Atahualpa by treachery, held him hostage until his people filled a storeroom with a ransom

of treasure, and then had him strangled. The Spanish suppressed resistance to their conquest with bloody reprisals, and Incan civilization was soon reduced to ruins, although Indian resistance to Spanish colonial rule continued for generations.

Indian peoples in the area of the present-day United States encountered Spanish soldiers and missionaries as other expeditions pushed north. New Spain's northern frontier ultimately stretched from California to Florida. In 1513 Juan Ponce de León sailed along the coast of Florida. Calusa Indians traded and skirmished with his party. Eight years later Ponce died after a pitched battle with the Indians. Other Spaniards explored the Florida coastline, some of them looking for slaves. Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón attempted to establish a colony in 1526, but disease, hunger, and Indian resistance defeated his efforts.

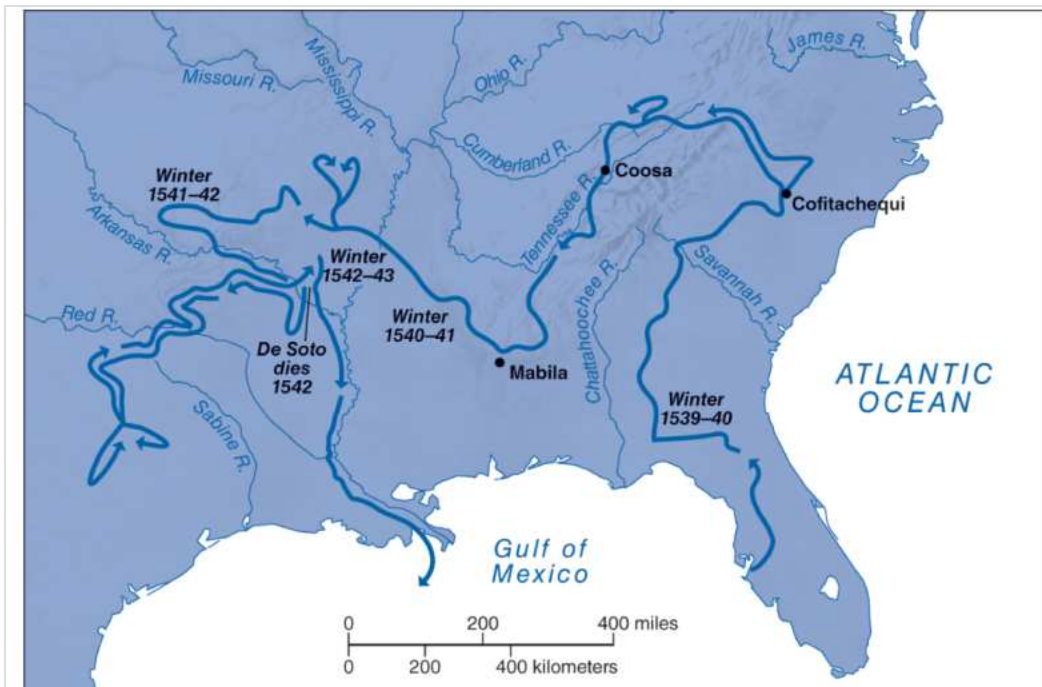
In 1528 Pánfilo de Narváez landed on the west coast of Florida and divided his force, marching inland with his troops while his ships paralleled their route up the coast carrying supplies. After an arduous trek, the Spaniards reached the Indian town of Apalachee in northern Florida, but the Indians harassed them with guerilla tactics. The Spaniards headed for the coast, but when they arrived there, their ships were nowhere to be seen. In desperation, the Spaniards built makeshift barges and set sail. Narváez and most of his followers were never seen again. As mentioned above, Cabeza de Vaca and other survivors made it to an island off the coast of eastern Texas where local Indians took them in. After six years

living among the coastal Indians, often as slaves, Cabeza de Vaca and three companions escaped. As Cabeza de Vaca later recorded, they spent two more years wandering across the Southwest, “through so many different villages of such diverse tongues that my memory gets confused.” They earned a reputation as healers, and “the Indians treated us kindly . . . deprived themselves of food to give to us, and presented us skins and other tokens of gratitude.” After passing through Pima country in present-day Sonora, they saw signs they were nearing their objective: Spanish slavers had been at work, carrying off women and children. “With heavy hearts we looked out over the lavishly watered, fertile, and beautiful land,” wrote Cabeza de Vaca, “now abandoned and burned and the people thin and weak, scattered or hiding in fright.” The Indians could not believe that the sun-darkened Cabeza de Vaca and his companions were the same people as the Christians who raided them for slaves: “We had come from the sunrise, they from the sunset; we healed the sick, they killed the sound; we came naked and barefoot, they clothed, horsed, and lanced; we coveted nothing but gave whatever we were given, while they robbed whomever they found and bestowed nothing on anyone.”<sup>18</sup>

Cabeza de Vaca and his companions made their way to Mexico City. The stories they told of finding emerald arrowheads and of wealthy Indian nations to the north convinced some that Spain was on the brink of locating the famed Seven Cities of Cíbola, which, legend had it, had been founded centuries before somewhere in the West by seven fugitive bishops.



Between 1539 and 1543, in what is now the southeastern United States, Indian peoples faced a brutal invasion by Hernando de Soto and an army of more than six hundred men, with two hundred horses, herds of pigs, and dogs trained for war. De Soto had come to New Spain as a teenager, won his spurs in the bloody Spanish conquest of Panama between 1517 and 1523, and participated in the invasion of Nicaragua in 1523–27. He earned a reputation even among fellow conquistadors as an accomplished Indian-killer. His expedition sailed from Cuba and landed at Tampa Bay on the west coast of Florida in May 1539. For four years, his army blundered and plundered its way through present-day Florida, Georgia, Alabama, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas, searching for riches to match those won by Cortés in Mexico and Pizarro in Peru ([Map 2.2](#)). They occupied Indian towns, commandeered food supplies and guides, and pressed on in a relentless search for gold. They killed, kidnapped, raped, and enslaved hundreds of people. Spanish terror tactics, firearms, and war dogs — large hounds and mastiffs trained to kill — left a trail of devastation from Florida to Texas. Indian people tried to deal with the strangers by employing methods of diplomacy and gift giving, fleeing from their approach, harassing them with hit-and-run guerilla tactics, and fighting desperate battles. After crossing almost four thousand miles of Indian country, the conquistadors had found no great riches. Almost half of them died in the attempt.<sup>19</sup>



Information from Charles Hudson and Carmen C. Tesser, eds., *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521–1704* (Athens, Ga.: The University of Georgia Press, 1994).

#### ♦ Map 2.2 Probable Route of the de Soto Expedition, 1539–1542

The conquistadors' hopes of finding great wealth and emulating the successes of Cortés and Pizarro drew them across vast expanses of the American South, disrupting Indian lives and destabilizing relations between chiefdoms.

If the expedition was a failure from the Spanish point of view, it was a disaster for the Indians. Disease and famine killed thousands more in the wake of the expedition.<sup>20</sup> The human landscape of the South changed forever after de Soto's men cut their bloody trail across it. De Soto's army had entered a world full of Indians, passed through some densely-settled regions, and dealt with powerful chiefs. When Europeans returned to the interior of the Southeast in the next century, many of the towns had disappeared and the people they met were fewer in number, poorer, and more scattered.

Most of the powerful and populous Mississippian chiefdoms that dotted the region in 1540 had collapsed in a world of escalating violence, slave raiding, and epidemics. Their descendants rebuilt smaller communities, regrouped, and transformed their cultures and ways of life to become the peoples Europeans encountered as Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and others.<sup>[21](#)</sup>

As de Soto's men pushed west toward and then beyond the Mississippi, another Spanish expedition approached the great river from the west. From 1540 to 1542, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado led an expedition of Spanish soldiers and Indian allies north from New Spain in search of treasures. A Franciscan friar named Marcos de Niza had reported seeing the cities of Cíbola in 1539 when he looked from a distance on the Zuni pueblos in western New Mexico, and there were other stories of great cities in the North. There had indeed been cities in the North — in Chaco Canyon, the Phoenix basin, and elsewhere — but they were long gone before the Spaniards arrived.<sup>[22](#)</sup>



*Glasshouse Images/Alamy Stock Photo.*

◆ **Frederic Remington, *Coronado Sets Out to the North* (1898)**

American artist Frederic Remington portrayed the history of the American West in romantic, heroic, and some would say, racist terms, but this painting accurately shows that Coronado, like European invaders everywhere in North America, relied on Native guides during his expedition into New Mexico and on to the Great Plains.

Coronado reached the Zuni towns, but the inhabitants of Hawikuh resisted in a desperate battle in 1540. As the Spaniards commandeered food, most Pueblo peoples adopted a strategy of urging the invaders north in the hope they would get lost in the Great Plains. An Indian guide whom the Spaniards acquired at the pueblo of Pecos spoke of his native country to the east as a land of great riches. The Spaniards called this place Quivira and wandered on to the Great Plains looking for it. When they reached the villages they called Quivira, probably those of the Wichitas in Kansas, they realized there were no cities of gold and strangled their guide.

Meanwhile, in 1542, Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo sailed up the coast of California.

In 1550 the impact of the Spanish invasions on Indian peoples gave rise to a formal debate about the moral basis of Spanish treatment of those peoples. According to a priest named Bartolomé de Las Casas, “What we committed in the Indies stands out among the most unpardonable offenses committed against God and mankind.”<sup>23</sup> Las Casas’s opponent, Juan de Sepulveda, declared that Indians were naturally inferior and therefore were meant to be slaves; if the Indians refused to submit, the Spanish were justified in using force against them. Indians were like children and would benefit from subordination to “civilized” Christians. Sepulveda would not be the last person to justify taking Indian lands and destroying Indian culture on the assumption that “it was good for them” or that assimilation was their only alternative to destruction.

## North American Attempts to Colonize and Christianize

Spaniards established permanent colonies along with conducting expeditions through Indian country. They established missions among the Florida tribes and founded St. Augustine in 1565. In 1598 Juan de Oñate led a colonizing expedition into New Mexico. As elsewhere, the Spaniards aimed to transform Indian peoples into

Christians and laborers. In the wake of their conquests to the south, Spaniards established the ***encomienda system***, whereby the authorities assigned Indian workers to mines and to plantation owners on the understanding that the recipients would defend the colony and teach the workers Christianity. After 1550, however, that system was largely replaced by the *repartimento*, which required Indian towns to supply a pool of labor. Indians resisted the systems, and Spanish missionaries often played a leading role in extracting labor as well as confessions of faith from Indian people. The Spaniards founded Santa Fe in 1610, though Indian laborers built most of the city.

Indian people who survived the demographic disasters unleashed by the diseases the Spaniards brought responded to invasion and colonization in a variety of ways. Many fled from the invaders, generating a “domino effect” of population pressures and group migrations over thousands of miles. In Florida, some Indians saw the Spanish missions as a source of stability in a chaotic world. Some became practicing Catholics, while others sought to incorporate the Spaniards’ spiritual power into their own. Some Indians resisted violently. Guale Indians in Florida killed missionaries in 1597. A year later and more than two thousand miles to the west, during Juan de Oñate’s conquest of New Mexico, the people of Ácoma Pueblo attacked a party of Spanish soldiers. Oñate retaliated by dispatching troops who climbed to the top of the mesa where Ácoma sat, turned cannons on the inhabitants, and killed as many as eight hundred people. The Spaniards put the

survivors on trial and “made an example” of them: males over the age of twenty-five were sentenced to have one foot cut off; women over twelve years of age were sentenced to twenty years of servitude; children under twelve were placed in the care of missionaries to be raised as Christians and as servants.

Franciscan friars among the Pueblos forbade dancing and ceremonies and even raided kivas to confiscate religious objects. They also demanded that Pueblo people change their attitudes toward sex: what Pueblo men and women regarded as a natural, life-affirming, and perhaps even sacred act that united male and female, missionaries taught was a “sin of the flesh.” Pueblo women traditionally enjoyed considerable influence as a result of their control of the household, their production of corn, and their fertility. The patriarchal Catholic church sought to undermine female influence and rights in Pueblo communities.<sup>24</sup> Pueblo people resisted in subtle ways. They accommodated the Spanish presence and adopted some of the outward forms of Catholicism but kept Spanish missionaries at arm’s length, preserving their religion underground in the kivas. Missionaries were unable to stamp out traditional beliefs and rituals even among Pueblos who participated in Catholic services. Friars did not supplant local religious leaders and medicine men. “Kivas and village plazas, not churches and mission compounds, remained the focus of village life,” wrote Pueblo anthropologist Alfonso Ortiz. “The Christian faith was, if accepted to any degree, regarded as a supplement, not

an alternative, to a religion that had served the Pueblos and their ancestors well.”<sup>[25](#)</sup>



# INDIANS CONFRONT THE FRENCH

While Indian peoples were encountering, accommodating, and resisting Spanish soldiers and priests in the Southeast and Southwest, Indians in the Northeast faced French explorers, traders, and priests. Indians on the Atlantic coast probably made contact with French fishermen in the fifteenth century. When the Montagnais Indians on the banks of the St. Lawrence River saw their first French ship, they thought it was a floating island; when French sailors then offered them biscuits and wine, the Indians remarked that “the Frenchmen drank blood and ate wood,” and threw the biscuits overboard. Mi’kmaq people likewise saw an island float close to shore: “there were trees on it, and branches to the trees, on which a number of bears, as they supposed, were crawling about.” They soon found that these were not bears, but men with hairy faces. One was a priest “who came towards them making signs of friendship, raising his hands towards heaven, and addressing them in an earnest manner, but in a language which they could not understand.”<sup>26</sup> These tribal traditions recall the opening contacts in a relationship in which Frenchmen and Indians met, traded, lived together, and fought over huge areas of North America.

# Commerce and Conflict

In 1534 Jacques Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence River. He visited populous Indian towns at Stadacona (near present-day Quebec) and Hochelaga (present-day Montreal) and reported extensive crops and orchards covering the banks of the river. Seventy years later, when Samuel de Champlain traveled the same route in 1603, everything had changed. Deadly diseases and intertribal warfare generated by competition for European trade had raged through the valley. The villages were gone and the riverbanks were overgrown.

Champlain founded Quebec City in 1608, explored the lake that bears his name, and helped put France on the path that led to an empire built on the fur trade. But Indians played crucial roles in establishing the patterns and terms of that empire. Champlain began a policy of sending young traders into Indian villages to learn Native languages and ways of living. He reportedly told a gathering of Indians that “our young men will marry your daughters, and we shall be one people.”<sup>27</sup> He made alliances with the Algonquins, Montagnais, and Hurons (Wendats) to gain access to rich fur territories farther west; the Indians pursued alliances with the French as a means of securing European trade goods.

However, this cooperation threatened the powerful Iroquois of upstate New York. In 1609 a group of Algonquins and Hurons with whom Champlain was traveling encountered an Iroquois war party

at the southern end of Lake Champlain. The two groups of Indians engaged in a ritual exchange of insults, paddled their canoes to the shore, and lined up in preparation for battle. Traditionally, such a conflict would have involved firing arrows and hurling spears, with relatively few casualties. Champlain and his French companions, however, introduced a deadly new element into American Indian warfare. Stepping forward with their guns loaded, they opened fire on the Iroquois, killing several of the startled Indians outright and putting the rest to flight.



Library and Archives Canada.

#### ♦ Champlain's Fight with the Iroquois

This engraving from *The Voyages of Samuel de Champlain* (1613) is often attributed to Champlain himself, but the inaccuracies in the picture suggest that the artist was not present at the battle. The depiction of this fight in 1609 between Mohawks (right) and Champlain and

his Indian allies (left) contains many errors: there are no palm trees on the shores of Lake Champlain, the Indians did not use hammocks, and the boats at the water's edge do not resemble canoes. Nevertheless, the picture does convey the deadly impact of firearms on warriors accustomed to fighting in ranks, using bows and arrows, and protecting themselves with wooden or wicker shields.

As European invasion unleashed new forces that threw Indian peoples into increasing competition and conflict with rival colonial powers and with other Indian tribes, Indians quickly added guns to their arsenals and developed guerilla tactics that allowed them to employ the new weapons with deadly effect. Indian people traded for a wide range of European manufactured goods, but firearms and metal weapons were among the most sought after. In the hands of skilled archers who could fire arrows accurately and in rapid succession, bows and arrows possessed some notable advantages over seventeenth-century firearms, which were heavy, unreliable, and inaccurate and required constant maintenance. Many ethnohistorians question the degree to which Indian people became immediately dependent on European firearms and have reassessed the long-held belief that Iroquois warfare in this period became driven by the pelts-for-guns trade. The Iroquois continued to wage wars for traditional reasons — to secure honor, revenge, and captives — even as they fought in a world of new economic threats and opportunities.<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, guns brought supremacy over unarmed neighbors, and a tribe needed guns to survive. Guns could be acquired only by trade with Europeans, and Europeans wanted only one thing: beaver pelts. Indian hunters frequently “trapped

out” beaver territories in an effort to supply an endless demand, and competition between Indian bands for trade and furs became intense at the same time that guns made intertribal conflict more lethal. The Iroquois turned to Dutch traders, who established a trading post on the Hudson River near Albany in 1614, to supply them with guns. They fought and defeated the local Mahican Indians in the 1620s to secure easier access to the Dutch trade. In the so-called **Beaver Wars** of the mid-seventeenth century, Iroquois attacked the Huron people and their neighbors who lived in the Great Lakes region and raided as far afield as Quebec, New England, and the Carolinas. The Hurons were still reeling from the impact of a series of epidemic diseases, and the Iroquois assault in 1649 dispersed and destroyed their confederacy. Survivors dispersed to build new communities in Quebec and Ohio.<sup>29</sup> Formed to end war, the Iroquois League of Peace found itself participating in wars on a scale previously unknown to Native North America. Other tribes in the Ohio valley and Great Lakes area waged recurrent warfare in contests for guns, goods, and furs.

## Pelts and Priests

France’s empire, based on the fur trade, needed Indian alliances to sustain it. The French offered their religion and metal goods in the hope of winning Indian converts, customers, and allies. Over the course of the seventeenth century, French explorers, missionaries,

and traders made contact with Indian peoples deep in the heart of the continent. In 1671 at Sault Sainte Marie in present-day Michigan, Simon François Daumont, Sieur de Saint Lusson, and Jesuit missionary Claude Allouez laid formal claim to the whole interior of North America for the crown. The target audience for this event was rival European nations. The Indians who were assembled for the purpose of bearing witness to the pageant were probably bemused by it: French rituals of possession and rhetoric of empire had little meaning to them, and French efforts to designate them as allied nations made little sense to Algonquian peoples who lived in fluid and mobile bands.<sup>30</sup> Louis Joliet and Jacques Marquette reached Green Bay and explored the Mississippi River in 1673; René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, followed the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico in 1682 and claimed the region — Louisiana — for his king, Louis XIV. French traders and explorers pushed out on to the Great Plains in the eighteenth century. French traders lived with Indian tribes, and people of French descent continued to be active in the fur trade long after the collapse of the French empire in North America. Detroit, St. Louis, and Montreal began life as French trading posts, and many families in the Great Lakes region descended from French and Indian marriages.

Black-robed Jesuit priests worked diligently among northern tribes like the Abenakis, Hurons, and Algonquins and reached down the Mississippi to the Illinois, Quapaw, and other tribes. Indian peoples adopted elements of the Catholic religion, sometimes praying and singing hymns in their Native languages; Jesuit

missionaries learned Indian languages, adapted some Native rituals, and spent much of their lives in Indian country.<sup>31</sup> Often the missionaries brought their message of salvation at a time when the Indians saw their world falling apart under the impact of new diseases. Father Jean de Brébeuf led the Jesuits to Huron country, north of Lake Ontario, in 1634, but the missionaries encountered considerable resistance (see [“A Jesuit Assesses the Hurons and a Mi’kmaq Assesses the French,” pages 116–17](#)). Growing dependence on French trade, increasing assaults from the Iroquois, and devastating smallpox epidemics brought turmoil to Huron villages, however, and hundreds of Hurons turned from the ensuing chaos to the Jesuits.

Throughout New France, many Indians converted to the Catholic faith, settled in French mission villages, attended Mass, and wore crucifixes. Kateri Tekakwitha, a Mohawk-Algonquin girl who lost her family to smallpox when she was a child and was herself disfigured by the disease, converted to Christianity and found meaning and hope in the church. She fled to the Jesuit mission at Kahnawake or Caughnawaga near Montreal and modeled her life on that of the local nuns. She so devoted herself to a life of chastity, prayer, and penitence that when she died at the age of twenty-four in 1680, pilgrims began to visit her shrine. The Catholic Church conferred sainthood on her in 2012.<sup>32</sup> Other Indians, however, continued to practice their traditional religion or to observe a mixture of the two, and the French did not resort to forced conversions as the Spaniards did.





*Alessandra Tarantino/AP Images.*

♦ **Kateri Tekakwitha**

Scarred by smallpox and family tragedy in her youth, Kateri Tekakwitha (1656–80) embraced Catholicism and an ascetic way of life at the mission village of Kahnawake. In 2012 she became the first Native American to be made a saint.

Writing in the seventeenth century, Nicholas Perrot complained that the Indians of the Great Lakes had the “arrogant notion that the French cannot get along without them, and that we could not maintain ourselves in the Colony without the assistance that they give us.”<sup>33</sup> His complaint may have stemmed in part from a realization that the Indians were right. Recognizing that their



empire depended on maintaining a network of Indian alliances, French officials, traders, and officers in Indian country tried to employ diplomacy, tact, and respect for Native culture. In the Great Lakes region, French leaders and Indian chiefs worked tirelessly to create order in the wake of the Beaver Wars. Each group adjusted to the presence and the cultural expectations of the other and shared a common interest in maintaining peace and trade. As historian Richard White observed, French and Indians negotiated “a middle ground” of coexistence that could only be maintained by constant mediation and compromise. Employing the kinship language of forest diplomacy, the French claimed to be “fathers” to the Indians, and Indians often addressed them as such; but fulfilling that role in Indian country meant giving gifts, not giving orders; observing rituals, not expecting obedience; and bestowing protection, not invoking paternal authority. Indian peoples in the Great Lakes and Mississippi valley regions incorporated Frenchmen into their societies through marriage and the ritual of the calumet, the ceremonial pipe, which brought peace and order to relationships and turned strangers into kinfolk. In the interior of the continent, Indians often set the terms of the colonial relationship.<sup>34</sup>

Franco-Indian relations were not always smooth. Some Mohawks embraced French Catholicism, but most Iroquois resisted French expansion into their homelands, compelling the French to focus their energies to the west and build a trade empire along the Great Lakes and the area north of the Ohio River. French armies invaded Iroquois country several times in the late seventeenth century. The

fur trade that lay at the heart of Franco-Indian relations also produced chaos in Indian country as it facilitated the spread of guns, contagious diseases, and alcohol. French demand for Indian slaves generated Indian-Indian raids deep into the interior of the continent. Jesuit missionaries who worked to save souls also generated social and political divisions in Indian communities.

Religious and commercial ties bound many tribes to the French, however. Confronted with a powerful rival in the form of English colonies to the south, the French in Canada needed Indian allies to provide assistance in the event of war. The French were relatively few in number, wanted Indian furs rather than land, and carefully cultivated Indian alliances. Themselves facing the threat of English settlers encroaching on their lands, many Indians saw the French as their best hope for protection and military support. Thus, the stage was set for Indian involvement in over a half century of bitter conflict between France and England in eighteenth-century North America.

# INDIANS CONFRONT THE ENGLISH

The English were relative latecomers in the invasion and colonization of North America. John Cabot, an Italian sailing for the king of England, explored the coasts of Maine and Nova Scotia in 1497 and 1498, but not until 1607 was the first permanent English settlement founded at Jamestown, Virginia. The English were not new to colonization, however; from the Middle Ages, England had extended dominion north into Scotland, west to Wales, and across the Irish Sea. Many of the attitudes and ways of treating “heathen people” that the English developed in Ireland carried over into their dealings with Indians in America. Also, Indian policies that the various English colonies and the British government developed over a century and a half of Indian relations established important precedents for later U.S. government policies. English and Indians on the East Coast in the seventeenth century negotiated agreements and alliances, and the treaty-making practices they worked out became fundamental in later British and U.S. relations with Indian nations.<sup>35</sup> Treaties were easily broken, however, and Indian relations with the English took place in a context of increasing warfare, as initially amicable relations broke down under intensifying pressure for Indian lands and gave way to open conflict.

# Securing a Beachhead in Virginia

One of the first English settlements in North America — at Roanoke Island off North Carolina in 1585–88 — seems to have been destroyed after the settlers alienated the local Indians, although what exactly became of the settlers has remained a mystery; some of them may have been absorbed into Indian communities.<sup>36</sup> Anglo-Indian relations in Virginia followed a similar course after the establishment of Jamestown. Many of the settlers at Jamestown were soldiers of fortune expecting to win great riches in their enterprise, not farmers who knew how to extract a modest living from the land. Half of them died in the first year and recent archaeological excavations have revealed evidence of cannibalism. Modern findings from analyses of cypress tree growth rings indicate that English attempts to establish colonies at Roanoke and Jamestown occurred during one of the worst droughts ever to affect that area.<sup>37</sup>

English colonists had to contend with Native power before they could finally establish a foothold and exploit the rich resources of the Potomac River system. The clash of Indians and Europeans is often depicted as one between hunters and farmers, but in the Potomac valley, as in many other places, the contest between European *and* Indian farmers made the competition for the best lands deadly and the outcome catastrophic for Native peoples.<sup>38</sup>

Few in number at first, and evidently inept in their new environment, the English settlers cannot have seemed much of a threat to the local Indians, members of the powerful Powhatan chiefdom that embraced some thirty tribes and extended across most of eastern Virginia. The Indians had been growing corn since the fourteenth century, and they supplied corn to the colonists. The paramount chief, **Powhatan**, seems to have tried to incorporate the English into his domain. John Smith, the leader of the colonists, recalled several years later how he was captured by the Indians in December 1607 and saved from execution by Powhatan's daughter, Pocahontas, "a childe of twelve or thirteene years of age." Pocahontas threw her body across his "at the minute of my execution." Smith's account has become legendary, perpetuated in history books and Disney movies for its romantic impact rather than its accuracy. In fact, if the events occurred as Smith described them, Pocahontas was most likely performing a prescribed role in a standard ritual by which Powhatan could adopt Smith and make him a *werowance*, or subordinate chieftain.<sup>[39](#)</sup>



*National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution/  
Art Resource, NY.*

#### ◆ Pocahontas

Pocahontas has been the subject of paintings, movies, and legends. The real Pocahontas was the daughter of chief Powhatan, married English colonist John Rolfe, and acted as an intermediary in relations between the English and the Powhatan Indians. She posed for this portrait in 1616 during her visit to England. Dressed in the costume of a lady at court, she looked the part of an “Indian princess” for her English audience. She was about twenty-one at the time of the portrait and never saw Virginia again; she died not long after the portrait was painted.

But Smith was not interested in becoming a secondary leader. Rather, he looked to Spanish experiences in Mexico as his guide to dealing with Indians. The English began to demand and seize corn. “What will it availe you to take that by force you may quickly have

by love, or destroy them that provide you food?” asked Powhatan in bewilderment.<sup>40</sup> Tensions increased as the English expanded up the James River. After Smith left the colony in 1609, fighting broke out between the Indians and the English. Pocahontas seems to have played an intermediary role between Indians and colonists, and her marriage in 1614 to John Rolfe, one of the colonists, helped restore peace. She traveled to England with him, only to die there in 1617 as her ship was about to leave for America. In 1622 Powhatan’s brother Opechancanough led Indians in what the English called “the Virginia massacre”; four hundred colonists died. But the Indians were unable to drive the English away. The colonists retaliated and kept up pressure on Indian lands. War broke out again in 1644, and the English captured and killed the aged and now blind Opechancanough.<sup>41</sup> The Indians sued for peace in 1646 and the subsequent treaty reduced the surviving members of the once-powerful Powhatan chiefdom to tributary status. Now firmly in possession of coastal Virginia, the English expelled Indians from colonial settlements and established small reservations — the first in the country.

## Making a New England

In New England, the English adventurer Sir Humphrey Gilbert dreamed of establishing a colony in the region of Maine, which he called Norumbega, in the 1580s, but Gilbert died at sea before any

of his ambitions could be realized. Several English expeditions skirted the coast of Maine in the first decade of the seventeenth century, trading with the Indians and, on occasion, kidnapping and fighting with them. In 1607 the English established a short-lived colony at Sagadahoc at the mouth of the Kennebec River in Maine. In 1614 John Smith voyaged to the region, produced a detailed map of it, and renamed the area: from Norumbega (or North Virginia, as some called it), it became New England.

Permanent English settlement in New England began when the Pilgrims settled north of Cape Cod in 1620 and established Plymouth Colony. They found the coast of Massachusetts depopulated by an epidemic that had ravaged the area between 1616 and 1619. God, so the Pilgrims believed, had prepared the way for their coming by sending a plague among the Indians. Fewer than half the Pilgrims survived their first winter in America, but God seemed to offer help again when, early in the spring, they met an Abenaki Indian named Samoset, who had been brought to Cape Cod from Maine on an English ship and learned the language from the sailors. Samoset introduced the Pilgrims to Squanto, a local Patuxet Indian who had been captured and taken to Spain before traveling to England and then back home, only to find his people wiped out by disease. Squanto helped the Pilgrims adjust to their new world; he showed them how to plant corn and where to fish, and he functioned as interpreter and intermediary in their dealings with the local Indians. (See [“Of Plymouth Plantation,” page 104.](#)) He was, said Governor William Bradford of Plymouth, “a spetiall instrument

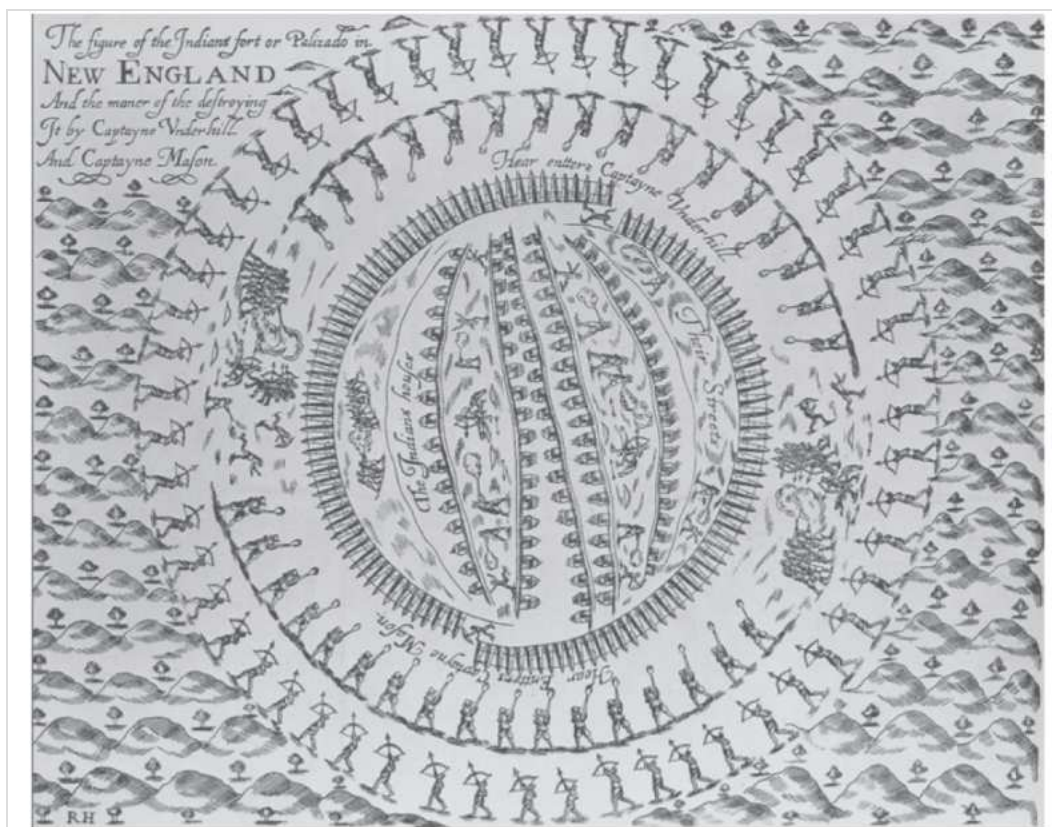


sent of God.”<sup>42</sup> In 1621 Massasoit, chief of the Wampanoags of southern Massachusetts and Rhode Island, made a treaty of peace and friendship with the Pilgrims. The English presence in New England grew when the crown chartered the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1629. More than twenty thousand English colonists arrived over the next fourteen years. Boston was founded in 1630 and was soon ringed by English towns inland.

As English settlers arrived at an increasing rate, Indian people found themselves pushed off their lands, deprived of game, and cheated in trade. Smallpox struck the Indians of New England in 1633–34 and Governor William Bradford of Plymouth Plantation reported a mortality rate of 95 percent among Indians on the Connecticut River. (See [“Of Plymouth Plantation,” page 104.](#)) The Pequot Indians of southern Connecticut suffered appalling losses in the epidemic. The Pequots were a once-powerful people whose location at the mouth of the Connecticut River allowed them to control the region’s trade in wampum — strings of shells used in intertribal trade and diplomacy. Two years after the smallpox epidemic, the English went to war against the Pequots.

The **Pequot War** has been a source of controversy among historians: some blame the Pequots; others see it as an act of genocide on the part of the English. A scholar of the conflict concludes that it was “the messy outgrowth of petty squabbles over trade, tribute, and land” among various Indian tribes, Dutch traders, and English Puritans. The Puritans, however, transformed it into a

mythic struggle between savagery and civilization.<sup>43</sup> A Puritan army broke Pequot resistance in a surprise attack on their main village in 1637. Surrounding the palisaded village, the soldiers put the Pequots' lodges to the torch, and shot or cut down the people who tried to escape. Hundreds died in the ensuing slaughter. (See [“Of Plymouth Plantation,” page 106.](#)) The English hunted down the survivors, executing some, selling women and children into slavery, and handing over others to the Mohegans and Narragansetts who had assisted the English in the war. At the Treaty of Hartford in 1638, the English terminated Pequot sovereignty and outlawed the use of the tribal name.



Library of Congress Rare Book and Special Collection [LC-USZ62-32055].

♦ The English Attack on the Pequots at Their Mystic River Village in 1637

This stylized engraving of the massacre, from John Underhill's *Newes from America* (1638), shows English soldiers armed with muskets and backed by a ring of Narragansett Indian allies armed with bows and arrows. They surround the palisaded Pequot village and shoot down the inhabitants as they attempt to escape.

Similar events occurred in New York. The Dutch came to America as traders, but like the English they acquired Indian land (famously purchasing Manhattan Island in 1625), undermined Native cultures, and transformed initially peaceful encounters into open conflict. In 1643–45 — just a few years after the Puritans had defeated the Pequots in Connecticut and at the same time as the Virginia colonists were defeating the Powhatans — the Dutch in New York inflicted crushing defeats on the Indians of the lower Hudson valley and Long Island.<sup>[44](#)</sup>

# ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES

Colonial America was a new world for Europeans and Indians alike. Indian peoples on the East Coast confronted settler colonies that demanded their lands and eventually would demand their expulsion.<sup>45</sup> Indian peoples in the interior of the continent felt the repercussions of invasion and colonialism as horses, trade goods, diseases, and slave raiders penetrated their worlds. Europeans imposed laws, power structures, and ways of thinking that confirmed, perpetuated, and justified their invasion and occupation of America.<sup>46</sup> However, Indians and Europeans together shaped the character and history of colonial America. Indigenous power limited European ambitions, and Europeans adapted to indigenous ways even as they tried to change them. Doing business in Indian country meant following Indian rules and practices, which often revolved around kinship ties and gift exchanges more than military and economic power.<sup>47</sup>

## Indians in Colonial Societies

Indian people played important roles in helping Europeans establish their initial settlements in North America. They served as guides, sometimes willingly, sometimes under coercion; they acted as interpreters and intermediaries with more distant tribes; they provided food supplies and taught Europeans how to grow, hunt, and fish for their own food in unfamiliar environments. Indians often constituted an integral part of the colonial societies and economies.

In New Spain, Indian people were subjected to labor drafts; worked in Spanish mines, plantations, and households; and built Spanish missions and towns. Indian women cooked in Spanish kitchens; sold pottery and foodstuffs in markets at St. Augustine, New Orleans, and Santa Fe; and wove textiles in Santa Fe. Indian men worked on Spanish ranches and herded Spanish cattle. Even with the labor drafts, Indians and Spaniards intermarried and borrowed each other's foods, clothing, technologies, and words. The centuries-long influence of Spanish people and culture on Indians, and of Indian culture and peoples on Hispanos, is evident in areas of the Southwest today.

Franciscan priests established missions in Florida and New Mexico. Between the 1560s and 1760s, Spain established more than 150 missions between present-day Miami and Chesapeake Bay, most in northern Florida and southern Georgia, among the Timucuas, Guales, and Apalachees. The missionaries assaulted the Indians' traditional religions, insisted on baptism, and tried to

transform them into communities of Christian peasants living within sound of the mission bells. They aimed to save souls by converting Indians to Christianity, but at the same time they converted the Native population into a labor force. Working through local chiefs whom they baptized in elaborate ceremonies, the missionaries recruited laborers to plant, grow, harvest, and grind corn; to work as porters and household servants; and to carry out building projects. (Indian laborers built much of the fortress of Castillo de San Marcos in Saint Augustine that, renamed Fort Marion, later held Indian POWs [see [pages 372–73](#)].) Missionaries instilled in their converts the notion that it was their duty to labor for the Lord. The mission populations succumbed to the epidemic diseases that swept through Florida, and many of the missions themselves fell victim to attacks by the English and their Indian allies in the early eighteenth century.<sup>48</sup> Concentrating Indian populations into mission communities at a time when new epidemic diseases stalked the land often proved fatal. Nevertheless, thousands of Indian people became at least nominal Catholics. Accepting certain tenets and symbols of Christianity to which they attached their own meanings, without abandoning their traditional beliefs and rituals, Indians created their own versions of Christianity.

On the Atlantic seaboard, Indian people mingled with Dutch, Swedes, Finns, Scots, Irish, Englishmen, Germans, and African slaves, although British population and power predominated by the eighteenth century. Despite intense pressures on their lands and

periodic eruptions of hostilities, Indians lived in and around colonial settlements and took advantage of the new economic opportunities they afforded even as those same settlements curtailed their traditional mobile economy. They worked for wages in colonial towns, labored on colonial plantations alongside African slaves, served on colonial ships, and enlisted in colonial armies. Indians were such a common presence in colonial society that the Massachusetts General Court in 1644 passed a law requiring them to knock and receive permission before entering English homes. Indian slaves and servants often lived in the homes of New England colonists.<sup>49</sup> Indian healers, many of them women, drew on their extensive knowledge of plant-derived medicines to cure European as well as Indian patients. Indian men traded the products of their hunting; Indian women traded the corn they grew and the baskets they made. In South Carolina, for instance, many Catawbas traveled the roads as peddlers, selling moccasins, baskets, mats, and pottery. Like basketmaking, pottery was an ancient skill, and Indians, recognizing the potential for profit, began manufacturing baskets and pots for sale.<sup>50</sup>

In the English colonies, as in the French and Spanish missions, Indian responses to Christianity were varied, involved complex cultural interactions, and changed over time. For some Native people, conversion to Christianity no doubt involved a complete and permanent personal and spiritual transformation. Others, however, adopted Christianity as a strategy for survival or saw it as a new source of Native identity rather than as a means of assimilating

into colonial society. Confronted with colonialism, escalating violence, land loss, and cultural assault, Indian people affiliated with Christianity for a variety of reasons and in a variety of ways that often reflected social, political, economic, or simply pragmatic realities. Many Native people refused to convert and shared the sentiments of the Indians who told a Swedish missionary in 1704: “If the Christians lived better than we according to their religion, then we would become Christians. But we cannot find that they do, because we see and hear them drink, fight, whore, murder, steal, lie, cheat, etc. Such things we have never known. Thus we are better off as we are.”<sup>[51](#)</sup>





*Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire; gift of Margaret Barnhill Roosevelt Kimberly.*

♦ **Haida Carving of a Missionary, c. 1820–60**

Haida Indians in the region of Queen Charlotte Island on the Northwest Pacific Coast poked fun at those who tried to convert them in this nineteenth-century wood-and-bone miniature sculpture of a pale-faced, humorless, and stiff missionary.

Other Indians accepted Christianity. In Massachusetts, Puritan missionaries worked to convert the Native peoples to Christianity. Thomas Mayhew and his son began missionary work among the Wampanoags on Martha's Vineyard in the 1640s. On the mainland,

John Eliot, minister of the English church at Roxbury, gathered Indian converts into “praying towns” like Natick where they were expected to give up Indian ways and live like their Christian English neighbors. Working with an Indian interpreter and an Indian printer, Eliot even translated the Bible into the Massachusetts dialect of the Algonquian language for his Indian congregations. Indian people embraced Christianity in varying degrees and for a variety of reasons. Some found it offered hope and strength in a world that seemed to be unraveling under the impact of disease, alcohol, and escalating violence. For some, Christian services and prayers replaced or supplemented traditional rituals that provided no protection against diseases new to them. Some found in a Christian community, even in Eliot’s rigidly regulated praying towns, a refuge from English racism and the turmoil in their own villages. In the praying town of Natick, Massachusetts, for example, individuals and families from several different tribal groups rebuilt a community within their southeastern New England homeland. Algonquian women sometimes found that Christianity honored their traditional roles and gave them an opportunity to learn to read and write. Many people blended elements of old and new religions, invested Christian messages and rituals with Native meanings, and developed a distinctly **Indian Christianity**. Christianity, for some, was a strategy of survival. On Martha’s Vineyard, Wampanoag people constructed a Christian community that helped them carve out their own space and keep their colonial neighbors at arm’s length. Many Indians worshipped, married, and were buried in colonial churches. They sometimes established and maintained

their own Christian churches, with their own deacons and ministers. But they made Christianity an Indian religion.<sup>52</sup>

Some Indians also attended colonial schools, where they were taught to read and write, to study the Bible, and to dress and behave in English ways. A few colonial colleges, like Harvard, William and Mary, and later Dartmouth, had “Indian schools.” Many Indian people recognized the new education as a useful tool, and after attending school they took up work as interpreters or assumed roles as culture brokers: the Mohegan minister Samson Occom, for example, preached Christianity to Indian peoples and traveled to Britain to raise money for the Indian school at Dartmouth College (see [pages 183–84](#)). Other Indians were more guarded in their responses. At the Treaty of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1744, commissioners from Virginia invited the Iroquois delegates to send their children to William and Mary, where they would receive the benefits of an English education. The Onondaga orator Canasatego thanked them for their kind offer but politely declined. In the expanded version of his reply recorded by Benjamin Franklin (who printed many colonial Indian treaties), Canasatego went further. Young Indians who had gone to school in the colonies, he said, came home “good for nothing,” unable to hunt a deer, paddle a canoe, or find their way in the woods. Tongue in cheek, he returned the compliment: if the Virginians would like to send some of their young men to the Iroquois, the Indians would teach them their ways and make real men of them!<sup>53</sup>

# Colonists in Indian Societies

As Indian societies reacted to foreign religious ideas, labor and economic systems, educational institutions, and trade currencies, colonists in turn observed and adopted certain Native ways of life. France's North American empire constituted a veneer of French population and culture spread thinly over an Indian world. Indian converts and customers were attracted to French missions and trading posts, and French traders, priests, soldiers, and agents ventured into Indian country to bolster Indian allegiance, but the French population remained relatively small and scattered in settlements from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi. Nevertheless, in regions such as Louisiana, French settlers and Indians intermarried; exchanged foods, commodities, and knowledge; and, along with African slaves, built networks of cross-cultural exchange through individual, face-to-face interactions.<sup>54</sup>

Many Europeans who pushed into Indian country adopted Indian ways, which suited their new environment and eased their interactions with Native populations. They hunted using Indian techniques; dressed in Indian hunting shirts, leggings, and moccasins; wore their hair Indian-style; bore body paint and tattoos; spoke Indian languages; and smoked Indian pipes. One fur trader who lived and worked among the Chipewyan Indians in northwestern Canada recorded in his journal: "This night dreamed

in the Chipewyan Language for the first time.”<sup>55</sup> In 1650 Connecticut made it illegal for colonists to go and live among Indians — clear evidence that some were doing so. Colonial authorities sometimes became alarmed by the numbers of their citizens who “went Indian.” Like Joshua Tefft (see [page 136](#)), some individuals chose to live with Indians and even fought beside them against Europeans. Indians also took hundreds of captives from European settlements during the colonial wars, adopting them into their societies and turning them from enemies into relatives. Some of these captives became so accustomed to life in Indian country and Indian communities that they stayed permanently, even refusing opportunities to return home (see [pages 153–55](#)). Benjamin Franklin said that Europeans who had lived in Indian societies and then returned to colonial society soon “become disgusted with our manner of life.”<sup>56</sup>

For long periods over large areas of America, Indians and Europeans coexisted closely, interacting with and adjusting to each other’s presence and culture and sometimes taking on aspects of one another’s identity and way of life. The intimate familiarity that was characteristic of many frontier societies in eighteenth-century America made fighting all the more bitter when wars broke out between former neighbors.<sup>57</sup>

# FUR TRADES AND SLAVE TRADES

Trade in animal hides was a major component of the economy of early America. Pelts from beavers trapped in Canada and the northern British colonies were extremely valuable in Europe, where wearing fur provided warmth and social prestige. Farther south, deerskins, originating in the interior and shipped out of Charleston to European tanners, were equally sought after. Metal tools, weapons, and utensils, woven cloth, and other European goods exchanged for furs were equally valuable to Indians. But Europeans and Indians in colonial America trafficked in human beings as well as in animal pelts. Some Indian societies kept slaves before European contact — usually captives taken in war — but with conflict escalating and demands for labor increasing, more and more Indian people raided for slaves, held slaves, or became slaves themselves.

## The Impact of the Fur Trade

Swedes, Dutch, French, British, Spaniards, Russians, and Americans all participated in the pelt trade. In Alaska, Russian traders, *promyshleniki*, began to hunt for sea otter pelts after Vitus

Bering, a Dane in the czar's service who gave his name to the straits, reached the Aleutian Islands in 1741. Before the end of the century, ships from several European nations and from New England were plying the coastline from Oregon to Alaska, trading for sea otter pelts that they then transported across the Pacific and sold at great profits in China. (See [pages 216–20](#).)

The search for new sources of furs and new customers fueled continued European exploration and penetration of Indian country. Many individual and family fortunes were built on the production and marketing of beaver and deerskins, and trading posts became centers of cultural as well as economic interaction. The **fur trade** was part of everyday life in early America, and it continued for centuries: the Hudson's Bay Company, established by British royal charter in 1670, joked that its initials stood for "Here Before Christ." Many North American cities, including Montreal, St. Louis, Detroit, Charleston, Albany, and New York, began as fur or deerskin trade markets.



*Library and Archives Canada.*

#### ◆ Fur Trading

This detail from William Fadden's "A Map of the Inhabited Part of Canada . . . With the Frontiers of New York and New England," engraved in London in 1777, shows the commerce that became crucial to the economy of Indian and colonial America. Indian hunters traded beaver pelts and other skins for European merchandise. Scenes such as the one depicted here were part of a centuries-long exchange between Indian America and industrializing Europe, although the participants often attached very different values and meanings to the items being exchanged.

Europeans provided capital, organization, manufactured goods, and equipment for the trade. Indians provided much of the labor force: they hunted the animals, guided the fur traders, and paddled the canoes that carried pelts to market. Indian women prepared the skins. Various Indian groups acted as middlemen, securing lucrative roles by conveying pelts and manufactured goods between Europeans and more distant tribes. Indian women played a valuable role as cultural mediators. They lived with and frequently married



European traders, translated for them, and provided them with access to the kinship networks of Indian societies.<sup>58</sup> The children of these unions often grew up to become influential leaders in Indian communities and skilled negotiators with colonial society.

In areas of Canada and around the Great Lakes, Indian women who married French traders played a central role in the fur trade, operating as brokers between Indian and European society and linking Indian country to an expanding transatlantic economy. They and their husbands produced a new population, known as **Métis**; built kinship networks that were Catholic as well as indigenous; and created communities that remained long after France officially withdrew from the area.<sup>59</sup> In tribes where clan descent followed the father's line, children of European traders might lack a place in their Indian mother's society. But in matrilineal societies, children of mixed ancestry inherited their mother's clan and community: by the eighteenth century, it was not uncommon to find Creek and Cherokee Indians in the Southeast who bore the Scottish surnames of the traders who fathered them — McIntosh, McGillivray, Ross, or McDonald, for example — and who inherited their clan and tribal identity intact from their mothers. Such individuals often acted as intermediaries between colonial and Indian societies, became influential in their tribes, and introduced European ways of thinking about land, trade, and property.<sup>60</sup>

In return for the pelts they supplied and the services they provided, Indians obtained steel knives and axes, firearms, metal

cooking vessels, woolen blankets and clothing, glass beads, mirrors, scissors, awls, spoons, linen shirts, hats, buckles, and a host of other goods. The new items sometimes replaced traditional ones: metal axes were better than stone ones. Sometimes they simply supplemented existing items: birchbark containers continued to be used for maple sugaring long after copper kettles were introduced (see [“Indian Sugar Camp,” page 40](#)). Sometimes Indians refashioned the new items in traditional ways: metal pots might be cut up for jewelry. Some items cheaply produced in European factories and traded as trinkets and tools took on a social and spiritual significance once they entered Indian hands. For northeastern Algonquian peoples, glass beads and metal objects were often identified with native crystal and copper, both of which possessed special healthful properties.<sup>61</sup>

## The Cost of the Fur Trade

All told, the costs of the fur trade to Indians were enormous. Contagious diseases spread from tribe to tribe as Indians traded with Europeans and then with other Indians. Overhunting depleted animal populations to the point of extinction in some regions and undermined traditional hunting rituals and reciprocal relationships in which hunters treated animal spirits with respect and animals allowed themselves to be hunted. New tools made life easier, but traditional craft skills sometimes declined. Competition for new

weapons made warfare more common; the new weapons themselves made warfare more lethal. Balanced and diversified patterns of subsistence were disrupted as communities focused their energies on hunting and trapping to meet the insatiable demands of European fur markets. Indian people in some areas traded for European goods but resisted being pulled into a dependent relationship on traders; others became heavily dependent on European goods: “Every necessary of life we must have from the white people,” a Cherokee chief lamented in the 1750s. “We have been used so long to wrap up our Children as soon as they are born in Goods procured of the white People,” said a Creek in the 1770s, “that we cannot do without it.”<sup>62</sup> As Native environments became degraded, subsistence patterns changed and Indian people became increasingly dependent on Europeans for goods, clothing, and food. Europeans in turn sought to bring Native resources, land, and labor into the market.<sup>63</sup> Indians were becoming tied to developing European capitalism as both producers and consumers and being incorporated into a world market. They fell into debt to European traders who offered credit, then sometimes demanded land in payment for accumulated debts. And traders brought alcohol into Indian country.

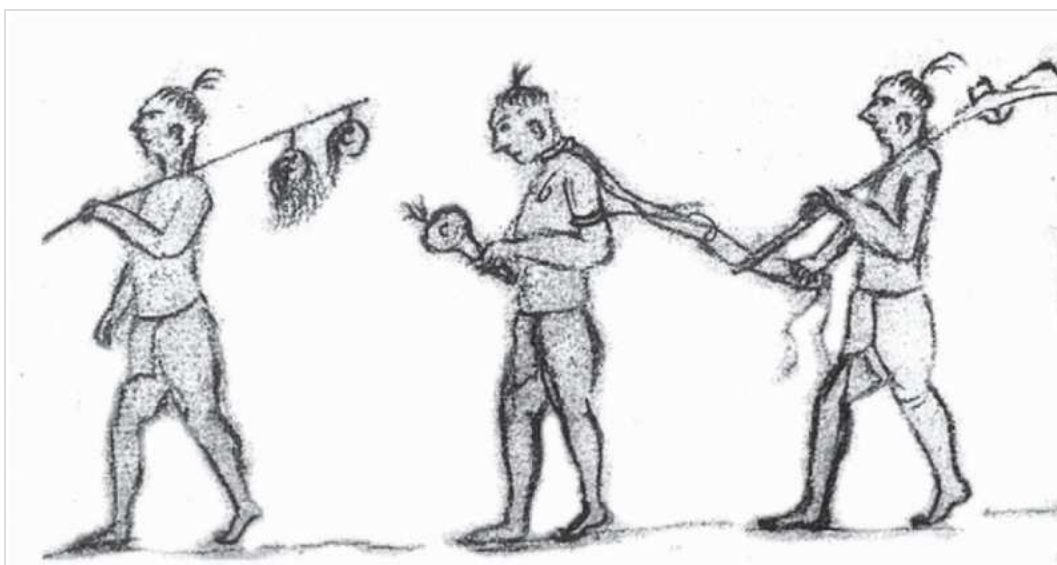
Alcohol was a crucial commodity for European traders. It could be transported easily in concentrated form and diluted for sale at huge profits, and it was quickly consumed. Traders soon found that liquor was a good way of attracting Indians to trade and then getting them to make that trade on favorable terms. Not all Indian people

drank and not all who did suffered from it, but alcohol had disastrous effects in many Indian societies. John Lawson, an English botanist who traveled through the Carolinas in 1701 (and who was killed by Indians ten years later), reported the Indians were “much addicted to drunkenness, a Vice they never were acquainted with, till the Christians came amongst them.” English traders plied them with rum “to buy Skins, Furs, Slaves and other of their Commodities.”<sup>64</sup> Indian hunters who sold their catch for a bottle of rum often left their families in poverty. Drunken brawls disrupted social relations in communities that traditionally stressed harmony and help between individuals and families. “You Rot Your grain in Tubs, out of which you take and make Strong Spirits You sell it to our young men,” said the Catawba chief Hagler to his English neighbors in South Carolina in the 1750s; “it Rots their guts and Causes our men to get very sick and many of our people has Lately Died by the Effects of that Strong Drink.”<sup>65</sup>

Scholars and clinicians still do not fully understand the exact causes and nature of alcoholism. Like other people, Indians who drank to excess did so for a variety of social, cultural, genetic, and behavioral reasons. Some drank because they enjoyed the sensations alcohol produced; some sought solace in alcohol as they were forced to adjust to the radical changes to their ways of life. Indian leaders throughout colonial America complained about the rum trade and asked that it be halted, but colonial governments could not or would not stem the tide of alcohol into Indian villages.<sup>66</sup>

# Indian Slavery

Slavery existed in North America long before the English shipped the first African slaves to Jamestown in 1619. Before contact with Europeans, Indian warriors often took their enemies captive rather than killing them. They carried off war captives as slaves, humiliated and held them in subordination as markers of prowess in battle, gave them as gifts while making alliances, and sometimes adopted them in place of deceased relatives. But European colonialism introduced different concepts of slavery, brought new slave peoples to America from Africa, and drove Indian-Indian slave raiding to unprecedented levels. Like the trade in furs, trade in Indian slaves became a routine feature of the developing Atlantic economy. Indian hunters of human flesh, like Indian hunters of animal pelts, ranged farther afield and increased their catch to meet new demands. All European colonies in America used Indian slaves. The indigenous tradition of taking war captives and the European tradition of purchasing humans as property came together to shape a new slave market.<sup>67</sup>



From Edmund B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 15 volumes (Albany, 1853–87).

♦ **Iroquois Warriors and Captive, c. 1666**

This seventeenth-century French sketch shows Iroquois warriors returning from a raid with scalps and an Indian captive.

In the “shatter zone” generated by Spanish invasion in the colonial South, competition for trade, escalating warfare, slave raiding, and epidemic disease were all interconnected.<sup>68</sup> The English founded Charles Town (later Charleston), South Carolina, in 1670 and quickly began shipping in African slaves and shipping out Indian slaves to the Caribbean. Indians exchanged slaves for guns, which they then turned on Indian enemies to take more slaves. It was a perilous strategy, and one to which slave-raiding tribes themselves often fell victim. Westo Indians, originally a group of Eries who had fled Iroquois attacks in the north and moved to the James River, began slave raiding to supply English slave traders at Jamestown. By the 1660s they were raiding for slaves even farther

south, in Georgia and Florida. Armed with English guns, the Westos preyed on bow-and-arrow tribes for slaves to sell in Charleston, until they themselves were destroyed in 1682 by Shawnee Indians in the pay of Carolina traders. The Westos in turn became victims of the **Indian slave trade**.<sup>[69](#)</sup>

By the end of the seventeenth century, French movement down the Mississippi and westward penetration of English traders from Charleston brought guns and slave raiding to the lower Mississippi valley. Newly armed bands of Indians raided villages on both sides of the Mississippi for slaves, whom they sold to English traders; the traders marched the slaves east, to be used in colonial households and on plantations or to be shipped to the Caribbean. The Chickasaws emerged as the dominant slave traders in the region. Pierre LeMoyne d'Iberville, the founder of France's Louisiana colony, reported in 1699 that the Chickasaws "were going among all the other nations to make war on them and to carry off as many slaves as they could, whom they buy and use in extensive trading, to the distress of all these Indian nations." Chickasaw raiding parties crossed the Mississippi and then herded their captives east to Charleston, causing reverberations throughout the lower Mississippi valley as other Indians fell victim, migrated, or sought refuge with other tribes.<sup>[70](#)</sup>

As with the fur trade, the Indian slave trade and the violence associated with it helped spread European diseases. Slave raiders who had come in contact with Europeans and their germs ranged

far and wide through Indian country; refugees from their raids huddled together in communities, prime targets for lethal new epidemics. Disease hit populations already disrupted, displaced, weakened, and malnourished by the changes that followed in the wake of colonialism. The “**Great Southeastern Smallpox Epidemic**” of 1696–1700 broke out among English and African populations that were in frequent contact with Indians and spread via South Carolina’s Indian trading allies to the Mississippi valley and the Gulf Coast. Some historians estimate that the deadly combination of smallpox and rum reduced the Indian population living within two hundred miles of the English settlements to less than one-sixth of its original size within fifty years. The population collapse led to war in 1715 between South Carolina and its former Yamasee allies, who were indebted to colonial traders but could no longer supply the number of slaves South Carolina demanded and who now adopted more captives to bolster their own declining population. Before 1715 English colonists had captured, sold, and enslaved an estimated thirty to fifty thousand Indians, but now the flow of Indian captives into Charleston slowed to a trickle, and South Carolina turned to imports of African slaves to supply its labor needs.<sup>71</sup> In some areas Africans came to outnumber Europeans, and the new people Indians encountered as a result of European colonialism were more likely to be black than white. Later in the eighteenth century, Indians, for whom the age and gender of captives had traditionally determined their suitability for seizure and treatment as slaves, began to target African Americans and to adopt racial attitudes toward slavery. By the turn of the century,



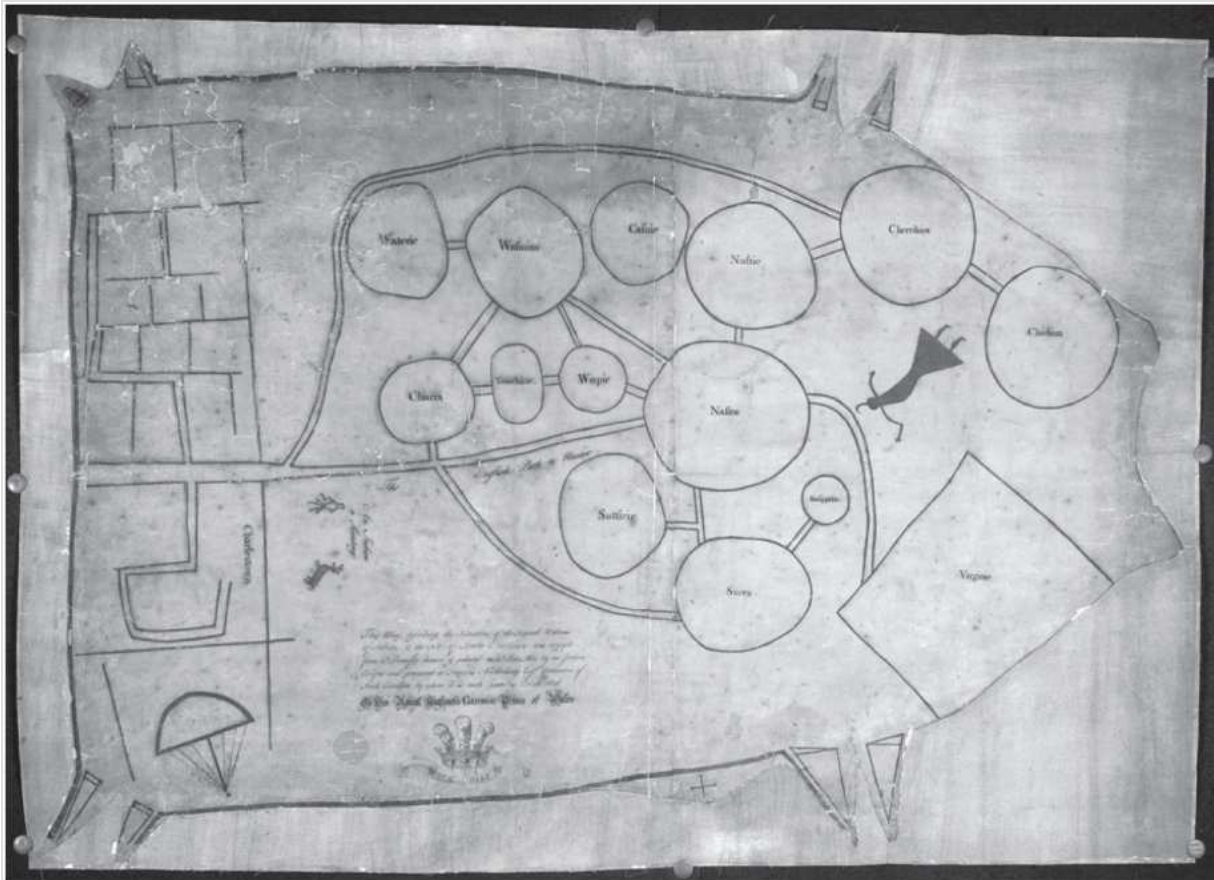
many Indian people held African slaves, regarding them much as their white neighbors did.<sup>72</sup>

Indian slavery was widespread in Spanish colonies as well. As Cabeza de Vaca and his companions made their way south through Sonora in northwestern Mexico at the end of their eight-year odyssey, they met Spanish slave raiders pushing north, searching for Indians to work the silver mines of central Mexico (see [page 77](#)). In later years, as Spain's mines gobbled up Indian labor, tribes like the Utes became slave traders. Mounted on horses they had acquired from Spaniards, they raided neighboring tribes to their north and west for slaves, whom they supplied to the Spanish, rather than fall victim themselves to Spanish slavery. The trade in Indian slaves reached far beyond the arena of Spanish control, involving Ute Indians from the Rockies, Plains Apaches, and many other peoples. Indian slaves in colonial New Mexico came to compose a separate class, known as *genizaros*, and were looked down upon by Pueblo Indians and Hispanic settlers alike.<sup>73</sup>

In New France, Indian traders sold or gave captives to Frenchmen, sometimes as gifts to cement and maintain their commercial and military alliances with France. French and Indian traders sold many slaves to the English in Carolina and transferred others to Quebec and Montreal, where they might serve in French households or get shipped to the Caribbean. Illinois raiders ranged out across the prairies, taking captives as slaves and trading them to the Ottawas and other tribes for guns and metal weapons. So

many Indians were captured from the eastern Plains that French slaveholders called almost all Indian slaves “panis,” whether or not they were actually Pawnees. As Indian slaves passed from Indian to French hands, two forms of slavery overlapped and altered: the French adjusted to giving and receiving Indian slaves as a means of sustaining alliances and trade, and Indian slave raiders responded to the lure of French markets and money.<sup>74</sup>

# CONCLUSION



Map of Native Indian Lands, c. 1721–25 (vellum)/American School, (18th century)/BRITISH LIBRARY/British Library, London, UK/Bridgeman Images.

## ♦ Photograph of Catawba Deerskin Map, 1721

Although European cartographers often dispossessed Indian peoples of their land when depicting the new country, Indian people were themselves capable mapmakers who possessed extensive geographical knowledge and who often served as guides. Not all of the maps they created, however, were intended to convey geographical information. In this English copy of a Catawba map on deerskin that was presented to the governor of South Carolina around 1721, the circles and lines portray the disposition as well as the location of various tribes in the region and their trade relations with the English. The various tribes are connected to the English in Virginia and in Charleston by paths of trade and alliance.

Although Charleston lay southeast of the Indians, it is portrayed on the left-hand side of the map (as a grid of streets with a boat in the harbor). The purpose of the map was to convey the social and political geography of the landscape and to depict a network of relationships in which the Nasaws (one of the groups who became known as Catawbas), not the English, occupied the central position.

By the late seventeenth century, the outposts of New France dotted the shores of the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi. New Spain included Florida and New Mexico. New Netherland had fallen. English colonists had settled from New England to South Carolina. African slaves were being shipped to American ports to provide labor for colonial agriculture. Throughout most of North America, Indian peoples followed their ancient cycles of life without disruption; participated in ceremonies to keep crops growing, game plentiful, and the universe in harmony; and lived, fought, and traded with other Indians, not with Europeans. But European people, European animals, and European diseases were infiltrating North America. Europeans were a permanent presence, and colonial America was being established in Indian America.

# CHAPTER 2 REVIEW

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## KEY TERMS

“Noble savages”

Columbian exchange

Old World diseases

*Requerimiento*

Tenochtitlán

*Encomienda* system

Beaver Wars

Powhatan

Pequot War

Indian Christianity

Fur trade

Métis

Indian slave trade

### REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Why did Europeans travel to North America?
2. As Native peoples and Europeans encountered one another, what kinds of relationships did they establish? Who had the advantage?
3. In what ways, if any, did the Spanish, French, and English differ in their dealings with Indian peoples?
4. What effects did European diseases have on Indian communities and on the history of the continent?

# DOCUMENTS

## Cooperation, Contagion, and Conflict



LOOKING BACK ACROSS THE CENTURIES, and condensing multiple human experiences into simple stories represented by single events, we can easily assume that violence between Indian people and European invaders was immediate and incessant. To be sure, there was plenty of bloodshed. Yet almost everywhere Indians and Europeans met, there were instances of cooperation and periods of coexistence. Rather than instantly attacking the indigenous inhabitants, Europeans often depended on them for food, information, and assistance in finding their way, adjusting to a new environment, and dealing with other Indian peoples. Lacking our knowledge that the trickle of European invaders would grow into a tsunami, Indian people at first saw few reasons to try and destroy the newcomers. Instead, often, they watched the Europeans with interest (and suspicion), incorporated them into their alliances, and traded with them for the new goods they brought. Patterns of coexistence and conflict varied from region to region, but the bloodshed that stained encounters between Native people

and Europeans often occurred later, after the newcomers had weathered their early years, after the balance of power shifted dramatically in favor of the Europeans, and after relations of cautious coexistence and mutual dependence broke down amid escalating pressure on Native land and resources. As European populations grew through continuing immigration and natural increase, Native populations plummeted under the impact of the epidemic diseases the Europeans brought with them. Formerly powerful tribes that might easily have snuffed out infant European settlements were rendered vulnerable to the invaders' growing power, increasing demands, and lethal technology and tactics.

The following excerpts from William Bradford's history, *Of Plymouth Plantation*, illustrate these three aspects of encounter in the shifting relationship between the English and Native people in southern New England. Born in Yorkshire around 1590, William Bradford belonged to a group of religious dissenters who, despairing of ever being able to reform the Church of England, broke all ties with it. These Separatists, as they were called, suffered persecution. In 1608 some, Bradford among them, fled to Leiden in the Dutch Republic, where they were free to practice their religion. After about a decade in Leiden, some fifty of the Separatists decided to migrate to the English colony of Virginia and joined other colonists departing from Plymouth, England, aboard the *Mayflower* in September 1620. The 102 passengers became known as "Pilgrims." They reached Cape Cod, in present-day Massachusetts, in November, but rough seas prevented them from



continuing south to Virginia, and they built their settlement at Plymouth Bay instead. It had been the site of an Indian village called Patuxet, but the Pilgrims found the village empty and its fields abandoned; a series of epidemics had swept the coast in 1616–19, killing or driving away the inhabitants. The Pilgrims saw God's hand at work, clearing the way for his chosen people, but almost half of the Pilgrims died over the course of their first New England winter. The assistance of an Abenaki named Samoset and a well-traveled Patuxet named Tisquantum or Squanto, and peaceful relations with the local Wampanoag chief, Massasoit, who saw the newcomers as possible allies against the powerful Narragansetts to his west, helped the Pilgrims to make it through. In the fall of 1621, the Pilgrims held a feast to give thanks for their survival; Indians joined them and provided most of the food. Reimagined and remembered, it became an iconic moment in American history — the First Thanksgiving. The following winter, one of the colonists, Edward Winslow, hearing that Massasoit had fallen ill, traveled to the Wampanoag village at Sowams (near present-day Warren, Rhode Island), and helped nurse the chief back to health. For a time, “the Wampanoags and colonists recognized that their stories were connected and that they needed one another to survive.”<sup>75</sup> The English peace with the Wampanoags lasted, despite growing tensions, until King Philip's War broke out in 1675; relations with some other tribes in New England turned violent much sooner.

William Bradford served multiple terms as governor of Plymouth Colony from 1621 to his death in 1657. Between 1630 and 1651, he

wrote a journal setting down the story of the Pilgrims from their migration to Leiden until 1647, although his work was not published until 1856. Historians regard Bradford's history of Plymouth Plantation as a key source for early New England (one calls it "certainly the greatest book written in seventeenth-century America")<sup>76</sup> but they also bear in mind that Bradford wrote about many of the events long after they happened, and that he brought his particular worldview to his interpretation of those events and to his descriptions of Indian people. The following excerpts record the meeting with Samoset and Squanto and the terms of the peace treaty negotiated with Massasoit, reports of a smallpox epidemic that devastated the Pequots and other tribes in the Connecticut valley in 1633, and the English war against the Pequots in 1636–37.

### **WILLIAM BRADFORD (1590–1657) *Of Plymouth Plantation***

[1620–21]

All this while the Indians came skulking about them, and would sometimes show them selves a loofe of, but when any aproached near them, they would rune away. And once they stoale away their tools wher they had been at worke, and were gone to diner. But about the 16. of March a certaine Indian came bouldly amongst them, and spoke to them in broken English, which they could well understand, but marvelled at it. At length they understood by discourse with him, that he was not of these parts, but belonged to the eastrene parts, wher some English ships came to fhish, with

whom he was acquainted, and could name sundrie of them by their names, amongst whom he had gott his language. He became profitable to them in acquainting them with many things concerning the state of the cuntry in the east-parts wher he lived, which was afterwards profitable unto them; as also of the people hear, of their names, number, and strength; of their situation and distance from this place, and who was cheefe amongst them. His name was Samaset; he tould them also of another Indian whos name was Squanto, a native of this place, who had been in England and could speake better English then him selfe. Being, after some time of entertainente and gifts, dismiss, a while after he came againe, and 5. more with him, and they brought againe all the tooles that were stolen away before, and made way for the coming of their great Sachem, called Massasoyt; who, about 4. or 5. days after, came with the cheefe of his freinds and other attendance, with the aforesaid Squanto. With whom, after frendly entertainment, and some gifts given him, they made a peace with him (which hath now continued this 24 years) in these terms.

1. That neither he nor any of his, should injurie or doe hurte to any of their peopl.
2. That if any of his did any hurte to any of theirs, he should send the offender, that they might punish him.
3. That if any thing were taken away from any of theirs, he should cause it to be restored; and they should doe the like to his.

4. If any did unjustly warr against him, they would aide him; if any did warr against them, he should aide them.
5. He should send to his neighbours confederats, to certifie them of this, that they might not wrong them, but might be likewise comprised in the conditions of peace.
6. That when ther men came to them, they should leave their bows and arrows behind them.

After these things he returned to his place caled Sowams, some 40. mile from this place, but Squanto continued with them, and was their interpreter, and was a spetiall instrument sent of God for their good beyond their expectation. He directed them how to set their corne, wher to take fish, and to procure other comodities, and was also their pilott to bring them to unknowne places for their profit, and never left them till he dyed. He was a native of this place, and scarce any left alive beside him selfe. He was caried away with diverce others by one Hunt,<sup>o</sup> a mr of a ship, who thought to sell them for slaves in Spaine; but he got away for England, and was entertained by a marchante in London, and imployed to Newfoundland and other parts, and lastly brought hither into these parts by one Mr. Dermer, a gentle-man imployed by Sr. Ferdinando Gorges and others, for discovery, and other designes in these parts.

[1634]

I am now to relate some strang and remarkable passages. Ther was a company of people lived in the country, up above in the river of

Conigtecute, a great way from their trading house there, and were enemies to those Indians which lived about them, and of whom they stood in some fear (being a stout people). About a thousand of them had inclosed themselves in a forte, which they had strongly palissaded<sup>o</sup> about. 3. or 4. Dutch men went up in the beginning of winter to live with them, to get their trade, and prevent them from bringing it to the English, or to fall into amity with them; but at spring to bring all down to their place. But their enterprise failed, for it pleased God to visit these Indians with a great sickness, and such a mortality that of a 1000. above 900. and a half of them died, and many of them did rot above ground for want of buriall, and the Dutch men almost starved before they could get away, for ice and snow. But about Feb: they got with much difficulty to their trading house; whom they kindly relieved, being almost spent with hunger and cold. Being thus refreshed by them diverse days, they got to their own place, and the Dutch were very thankful for this kindness.

This spring, also, those Indians that lived about their trading house there fell sick of the small pox, and died most miserably; for a sorer disease cannot befall them; they fear it more than the plague; for usually they that have this disease have them in abundance, and for want of bedding and linnen and other helps, they fall into a lamentable condition, as they lye on their hard mats, the pox breaking and mattering, and running one into another, their skin cleaving (by reason thereof) to the mats they lye on; when they turne them, a whole side will flake off at once, (as it

were,) and they will be all of a gore blood, most fearfull to behold; and then being very sore, what with could and other distempers, they dye like rotten sheep. The condition of this people was so lamentable, and they fell downe so generally of this diseases, as they were (in the end) not able to help on another; no, not to make a fire, nor to fetch a litle water to drinke, nor any to burie the dead; but would strivie as long as they could, and when they could procure no other means to make fire, they would burne the woden trayes and dishes they ate their meate in, and their very Bowes and arrowes; and some would crawle out on all foure to gett a litle water, and some times dye by the way, and not be able to gett in againe. But those of the English house, (though at first they were afraid of the infection,) yet seeing their woefull and sadd condition, and hearing their pitifull cries and lamentations, they had compastion of them, and dayly fetched them wood and water, and made them fires, gott them victualls whilst they lived, and buried them when they dyed. For very few of them escaped, notwithstanding they did what they could for them, to the haszard of them selvs. The cheefe Sachem him selfe now dyed, and allmost all his freinds and kinred. But by the marvelous goodnes and providens of God not one of the English was so much as sicke, or in the least measure tainted with this disease, though they dayly did these offices for them for many weeks togeather.

In the fore parte of this year, the Pequents fell openly upon the English at Conightecute, in the lower parts of the river, and slew sundry of them, (as they were at work in the feilds,) both men and women, to the great terrour of the rest; and wente away in great prid and triumph, with many high threats. They allso assalted a fort at the rivers mouth, though strong and well defended; and though they did not their prevaile, yet it struk them with much fear and astonishmente to see their bould attempts in the face of danger; which made them in all places to stand upon their gard, and to prepare for resistance, and earnestly to solissite their freinds and confederate in the Bay of Massachusets to send them speedy aide, for they looked for more forcible assaults.

In the mean time, the Pequents, espetially in the winter before, sought to make peace with the Narigansets, and used very pernicious arguments to move them therunto: as that the English were stranegers and begane to overspred their countrie, and would deprive them therof in time, if they were suffered to grow and increse; and if the Narigansets did assist the English to subdue them, they did but make way for their owne overthrow, for if they were rooted out, the English would soone take occasion to subjugate them; and if they would harken to them, they should not neede to fear the strength of the English; for they would not come to open battle with them, but fire their houses, kill their katle, and lye in ambush for them as they went abroad upon their occasions; and all this they might easily doe without any or litle danger to them selves. The which course being held, they well saw the English

could not long subsiste, but they would either be starved with hunger, or be forced to forsake the countrie; with many the like things; insomuch that the Narigansets were once wavering, and were halfe minded to have made peace with them, and joyned against the English. But againe when they considered, how much wrong they had received from the Pequents, and what an oppertunitie they now had by the help of the English to right themselves, revenge was so sweete unto them, as it prevailed above all the rest; so as they resolved to joyne with the English against them, and did. The Court here agreed forwith to send 50. men at their owne charg; and with as much speed as posiblie they could, gott them armed, and had made them ready under sufficiente leaders, and provided a barke to carrie them provisions and tend upon them for all occasions; but when they were ready to march (with a supply from the Bay) they had word to stay, for the enemy was as good as vanquished, and their would be no neede.

I shall not take upon me exactly to describe their proceedings in these things, because I expecte it will be fully done by them selves, who best know the carrage and circumstances of things; I shall therefore but touch them in generall. From Connigtecute (who were most sencible of the hurt sustained, and the present danger), they sett out a partie of men, and an other partie mett them from the Bay, at the Narigansets, who were to joyne with them. The Narigansets were earnest to be gone before the English were well rested and refreshte, espetially some of them which came last. It should seeme their desire was to come upon the enemy sudenly,



and undiscovered. Ther was a barke of this place, newly put in ther, which was come from Conightecutte, who did incourage them to lay hold of the Indeans forwardnes, and to shew as great forwardnes as they, for it would incorage them, and expedition might prove to their great advantage. So they went on, and so ordered their march, as the Indeans brought them to a forte of the enimies (in which most of their cheefe men were) before day. They approached the same with great silence, and surrounded it both with English and Indeans, that they might not breake out; and so assualted them with great courage, shooting amongst them, and entered the forte with all speed; and those that first entered found sharp resistance from the enimie, who both shott at and grapled with them; others rane into their houses, and brought out fire, and sett them on fire, which soone tooke in their matts, and, standing close together, with the wind, all was quickly on a flame, and therby more were burnt to death then was otherwise slain; it burnt their bowstrings, and made them unservisable. Those that scaped the fire were slaine with the sword; some hewed to peeces, others rune throw with their rapiers, so as they were quickly dispatchte, and very few escaped. It was conceived they thus destroyed about 400. at this time. It was a fearfull sight to see them thus fryng in the fyer, and the streams of blood quenching the same, and horrible was the stinck and sente ther of; but the victory seemed a sweete sacrifice, and they gave the prays therof to God, who had wrought so wonderfully for them, thus to inclose their enimise in their hands, and give them so speedy a victory over so proud and insulting an enimie.

◌ Thomas Hunt captained one of the ships in John Smith's voyage to New England in 1614.

◌ Palissadoed: palisaded; surrounded with a stockade.

SOURCE: *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, 1606–1646*. Edited by William T. Davis. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908, 110–12; 312–13; 335; 338–40. Early Americas Digital Archive. [http://mith.umd.edu/eada/html/display.php?docs=bradford\\_history.xml&action=show](http://mith.umd.edu/eada/html/display.php?docs=bradford_history.xml&action=show).

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. What do these excerpts from William Bradford's "Of Plymouth Plantation" suggest about the possibilities of cooperation and coexistence between Indian people and the English? Who facilitated this cooperative coexistence?
2. What do the excerpts tell us about the causes of conflict? Was conflict inevitable? How do the English understand and explain the events recorded here?

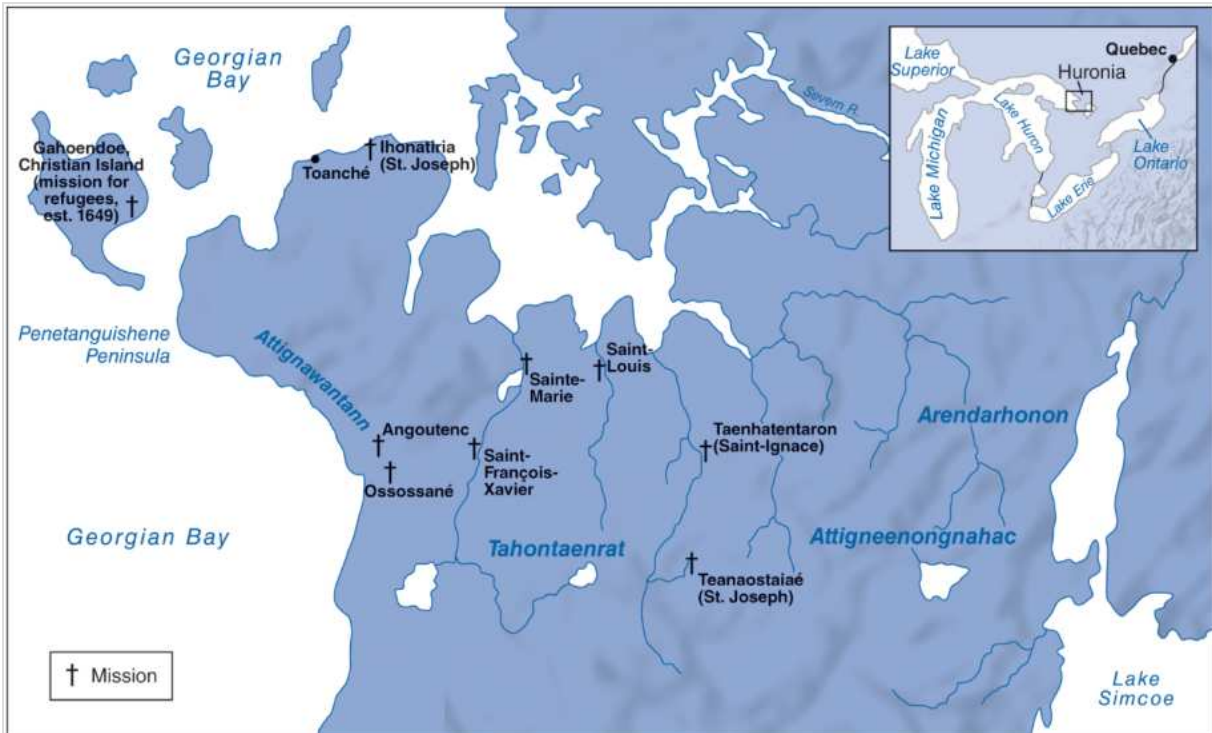
## A Jesuit Assesses the Hurons and a Mi'kmaq Assesses the French



ALTHOUGH EUROPEANS THOUGHT AND WROTE as if they were “discovering” new peoples and new lands when they invaded America, in reality colonial encounters always involved *mutual*

discoveries, as Indian people also observed, weighed up, and tried to understand the newcomers. Some Europeans, like the Jesuit missionaries who traveled throughout New France searching for souls to save, regularly kept detailed records of the Indian peoples they met and lived with. Indian attitudes and responses to the French are much more rare, although occasionally their sentiments, if not their actual words, made it into the records of encounters written down by Europeans.

The Huron or Wendat Indians were early and important allies of the French. Huronia, their homeland, was relatively small, no more than twenty miles north to south and thirty-five miles across, between Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay in present-day Ontario. The area was densely settled, with between twenty and thirty thousand people living in villages. Lying at the northern limit of southern Ontario's rich farmland, it was also an important center of trade between hunters and farmers in the upper Great Lakes region. From the villages of the Hurons, French traders and missionaries could set forth north, west, and south into distant regions of Indian country ([Map 2.3](#)).



Information from *Bitter Feast: Amerindians and Europeans in Northeastern North America, 1600–64*, by Denys Delage.

#### ◆ Map 2.3 Jesuits in Huronia, 1615–1650

In the early seventeenth century, the Hurons — four major tribes living in eighteen to twenty-five villages — represented a rich field for Jesuit missionaries. This map shows the location of the major tribal groups, key Jesuit missions, and the village of Toanché, with which Brébeuf was associated.

In 1609 Huron and Algonquin warriors arrived at Quebec to ask Samuel de Champlain for support in a raid against their Iroquois enemies. Champlain was anxious to establish commercial relations with the Hurons and Algonquins and agreed. He accompanied the Indians to Lake Champlain and participated in a skirmish with the Mohawks. (See [page 82](#).) Three years later, Champlain dispatched a young man named Étienne Brulé to live among the Hurons and strengthen Franco-Huron trade connections. (Brulé “went Indian” and spent the rest of his life in Indian country.) In 1615 Champlain

journeyed to Huronia himself and was compelled to join the Hurons in another battle against the Iroquois. The Iroquois became increasingly disturbed at the threat posed by this alliance between their old enemies and the French. Meanwhile, the French looked to Huronia as the potential center of a new Catholic and commercial empire. Father Gabriel Sagard, a Recollect<sup>o</sup> missionary who traveled to Huronia and lived there in the winter of 1623–24, found much in Huron life that was distasteful and reported many things he did not understand, but he acknowledged the love the Hurons showed one another: “If they were Christians these would be families among whom God would take pleasure to dwell,” he wrote.<sup>77</sup>

An English expedition captured Quebec in 1629 and Champlain returned to France. But this loss was reversed by a peace settlement in Europe and Champlain was back in 1633. Accompanying him was Father Jean de Brébeuf. Born to a noble family in Normandy in 1593, Brébeuf entered the Society of Jesus in 1617 and was sent to Canada in 1625 as one of the first Jesuit missionaries. After a year among the Montagnais on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, he went to Huronia in 1626, where he lived for three years in the village of Toanché and learned the Hurons’ language. In 1634 he set out again for Huronia. With the exception of three years in Quebec, Brébeuf spent the rest of his life in Indian country.

The Jesuit order had a long record of missionary work, and their North American venture was launched with characteristic zeal. They learned Native languages, committed their lives to their work,

and risked (some would say sought) martyrdom in their efforts to save people they regarded as heathen. At first, the Jesuits, like earlier Recollect missionaries in New France and Puritan ministers in New England, tried to coerce their Indian converts to abandon traditional ways. In time, they tempered their approach, realizing that Indian people were more likely to accept a new religion if they did not have to give up being Indians in order to become Christians. Jesuits adopted Indian words and ways to get their message across: Brébeuf himself presented the Huron council with a wampum belt of 1,200 beads to “smooth their road to Paradise.”<sup>78</sup>

Even so, Brébeuf’s mission struggled in its early years. The Hurons tolerated the black-gowned Jesuits because they wanted to maintain trade relations with the French, but they resented the missionaries’ intrusion in their rituals and ceremonies. The Jesuits criticized Huron sexual practices, gender relations, child rearing, and festivals. They won few converts in these early years.

Then disease began to take its toll. The location and participation of the Hurons in trade networks reaching to the Atlantic guaranteed that European germs as well as European goods would enter their villages. Smallpox struck in the mid-1630s. Influenza hit in 1636. Smallpox returned in 1639. At first, many Hurons blamed the Jesuits for the disaster and some sought vengeance, but soon Huron people began to ask for baptism.

By 1640 smallpox had killed as many as half the Hurons.<sup>79</sup> The disease devastated Huron society, killing children and elders. With their loved ones dying before their eyes, many Hurons began to listen to the words of Jesuit missionaries who, unaffected by the disease, were clearly men of great power. The Huron shamans had failed to forewarn or protect their people from the catastrophe; perhaps the Jesuit shamans had some answers — perhaps they were right that the Hurons were being punished for living in sin. At the same time, escalating raids by Iroquois war parties threatened the Hurons. By the mid-1640s, hundreds of Hurons were accepting baptism from the Jesuit fathers, although they may well have seen it as a curative ritual rather than a path to heaven.

Whether or not the Jesuits saved the Hurons from damnation, they were unable to save them from the Iroquois. In the spring of 1649, the Iroquois launched a massive assault on Huronia. They destroyed the mission villages at St. Ignace and St. Louis, captured Fathers Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant, and tortured them to death. Huronia was destroyed — its people killed, starved, and scattered; many of the survivors were adopted into Iroquois communities as was the tradition with captives. The missions lay in ruins and the Jesuits abandoned Huronia. Some Hurons eventually resettled at the mission village of Lorette near Quebec.

The Jesuits blamed the Iroquois for the destruction of Huronia and historians have generally followed their lead, but as the Huron scholar Georges Sioui reminds us, European microbes had already

done their deadly work, leaving relatively little for the Iroquois to destroy. In Sioui's view, Hurons and Iroquois were both engaged in a desperate war for cultural survival in the wake of European invasion, and the Iroquois were less interested in destroying an economic rival than in adopting captives to offset their own losses.<sup>80</sup> The Jesuits themselves contributed to the collapse of Huronia by undermining the Hurons' stabilizing traditions, advocating social revolution, and promoting factionalism.

Brébeuf's account of his journey to Huronia and of his work there in 1635 gives a graphic portrayal of the hardships Jesuit missionaries faced as they trekked deep into Indian country and of the challenges they then faced in Huron villages. "Truly, to come here much strength and patience are needed," he wrote, "and he who thinks of coming here for any other than God, will have made a sad mistake."<sup>81</sup> Brébeuf also wrote an instruction manual for subsequent missionaries to the Hurons, telling them what to expect and how to behave. These instructions convey Jesuit strategy in dealing with the Indians and suggest some of the reasons why the Jesuits fared better than their English rivals in winning Indian converts. Jesuit missionaries went into Indian country and adapted to the way of life there. They did not die of smallpox, they did not seek Indian land, and they did not molest Indian women. Instead, they traveled with Indians by canoe and snowshoe, they shared Indian lodges and Indian food, they displayed impressive shamanistic powers, and they dedicated their lives to their calling.



Brébeuf himself paid with his life and shared in the disaster that befell Huronia in 1649.

Brébeuf wrote based on his experience of daily life among the Hurons, but his relation allows us only a glimpse of Huronia filtered through the eyes of a seventeenth-century missionary. From 1611 to 1768, Jesuit missionaries in North America followed the practice of sending lengthy reports to their superiors in Quebec, who compiled them into *Relations* and sent them on to Paris. The Jesuit order published the reports from 1632 to 1673 to publicize its missionary work. The *Relations* were edited and translated by American historian Reuben Gold Thwaites and published in seventy-one volumes at the turn of the twentieth century; they are among the most comprehensive sources of Indian–European encounters in seventeenth-century North America. (English translations of the *Jesuit Relations* are available online at <http://moses.creighton.edu/kripke/jesuitrelations/>.) These reports contain information on everyday life, religious beliefs, and customs, but their main purpose was to record the progress of the missions rather than to document the life of the Indians. Jesuits went into Indian country to change the culture they saw, not to study it.

French missionaries like Brébeuf may have found traveling in Canadian forests hard going, living in Indian lodges miserable, and eating Indian food distasteful, but they found few Indians willing to exchange their way of life for that of the Europeans. Indians readily

accepted some of the things that Europeans had to offer and tolerated others, but, as the Mi'kmaq document shows, they remained unconvinced, and sometimes openly amused, by European assumptions about the superiority of European civilization.

The Mi'kmaq Indians of present-day Nova Scotia and the Gaspé Peninsula were among the first people in North America to meet Europeans. According to their own traditions, they had foreknowledge of the encounter: one of their spiritual beings was said to have visited Europe and taught that blue-eyed people would come and disrupt their lives, and a young Mi'kmaq woman had a vision of a floating island that turned out to be a European sailing ship (see [page 42](#)). The first Europeans they met were probably French Breton fishermen who came to harvest the rich shoals of cod off the Newfoundland Banks. Other fishermen — Normans, Basques, English, and even Portuguese — followed. By the time the Mi'kmaqs met Jacques Cartier in the 1530s, they already had experience trading with Europeans: they held furs aloft on sticks for Cartier's men to see, indicating their willingness to trade. They soon assumed a middleman position in the fur trade. Some Mi'kmaqs traveled to Europe — a chief named Messamoet spent two years as a guest of the governor of Bayonne, a Basque seaport north of the Pyrenees, and several Mi'kmaqs visited Paris.<sup>[82](#)</sup>

Between trading with Frenchmen on their home shores and visiting France, Mi'kmaqs had plenty of firsthand experience of

Europeans. Although they were impressed with aspects of European technology — sailing ships, guns, and metal tools and weapons — they were not overly impressed with Europeans. According to a Jesuit missionary writing in 1611, Mi'kmaqs believed themselves generally “superior to all Christians” and regarded themselves “as much richer than [the French], although they are poor and wretched in the extreme.” They told him: “You are always fighting and quarreling among yourselves; we live peaceably. You are envious and are all the time slandering each other; you are thieves and deceivers; you are covetous, and are neither generous nor kind; as for us, if we have a morsel of bread we share it with our neighbor.”<sup>83</sup>

The Mi'kmaqs suffered appalling losses from European diseases. In the eighteenth century, their homeland became contested ground in the imperial rivalry between France and England, changing hands many times, and British colonists took over their lands. But in the seventeenth century, the Mi'kmaqs still controlled their homeland and spoke with a confident voice.

Chrestien LeClerq, a Recollect missionary who composed a dictionary for future missionaries coming to the region, interpreted and recorded the speech by a Mi'kmaq elder to a group of French settlers reproduced in this chapter. The cultural relativism it displays is typical of many statements by Indian people when confronted by European demands or expectations that they embrace European “civilization.” French pretensions carried little

weight in Indian country, and by 1677 Mi'kmaq were already accustomed to telling off the French.

<sup>o</sup> The Recollects were Franciscans and the first missionaries in Canada.

## **JEAN DE BRÉBEUF *The Mission to the Hurons* (1635–37)**

RELATION OF WHAT OCCURRED AMONG THE HURONS IN THE YEAR 1635

It remains now to say something of the country, of the manners and customs of the Hurons, of the inclination they have to the Faith, and of our insignificant labors.

As to the first, the little paper and leisure we have compels me to say in a few words what might justly fill a volume. The Huron country is not large, its greatest extent can be traversed in three or four days. Its situation is fine, the greater part of it consisting of plains. It is surrounded and intersected by a number of very beautiful lakes or rather seas, whence it comes that the one to the North and to the Northwest is called “fresh-water sea.”<sup>o</sup> We pass through it in coming from the Bissiriniens.<sup>o</sup> There are twenty Towns, which indicate about 30,000 souls speaking the same tongue, which is not difficult to one who has a master. It has distinctions of genders, number, tense, person, moods; and, in short, it is very complete and very regular, contrary to the opinion of many. . . .

It is so evident that there is a Divinity who has made Heaven and earth that our Hurons cannot entirely ignore it. But they misapprehend him grossly. For they have neither Temples, nor Priests, nor Feasts, nor any ceremonies.

They say that a certain woman called *Eataen-sic* is the one who made earth and man. They give her an assistant, one named *Jouskeha*, whom they declare to be her little son, with whom she governs the world. This *Jouskeha* has care of the living, and of the things that concern life, and consequently they say that he is good. *Eataensic* has care of souls; and, because they believe that she makes men die, they say that she is wicked. And there are among them mysteries so hidden that only the old men, who can speak with authority about them, are believed.

This God and Goddess live like themselves, but without famine; make feasts as they do, are lustful as they are; in short, they imagine them exactly like themselves. And still, though they make them human and corporeal, they seem nevertheless to attribute to them a certain immensity in all places.

They say that this *Eataensic* fell from the Sky, where there are inhabitants as on earth, and when she fell, she was with child. If you ask them who made the sky and its inhabitants, they have no other reply than that they know nothing about it. And when we preach to them of one God, Creator of Heaven and earth, and of all things, and even when we talk to them of Hell and Paradise and of

our other mysteries, the headstrong reply that this is good for our Country and not for theirs; that every Country has its own fashions. But having pointed out to them, by means of a little globe that we had brought, that there is only one world, they remain without reply.

I find in their marriage customs two things that greatly please me; the first, that they have only one wife; the second, that they do not marry their relatives in a direct or collateral line, however distant they may be. There is, on the other hand, sufficient to censure, were it only the frequent changes the men make of their wives, and the women of their husbands.

They believe in the immortality of the soul, which they believe to be corporeal. The greatest part of their Religion consists of this point. We have seen several stripped, or almost so, of all their goods, because several of their friends were dead, to whose souls they had made presents. Moreover, dogs, fish, deer, and other animals have, in their opinion, immortal and reasonable souls. In proof of this, the old men relate certain fables, which they represent as true; they make no mention either of punishment or reward, in the place to which souls go after death. And so they do not make any distinction between the good and the bad, the virtuous and the vicious; and they honor equally the interment of both, even as we have seen in the case of a young man who poisoned himself from the grief he felt because his wife had been taken away from him. Their superstitions are infinite, their feast,

their medicines, their fishing, their hunting, their wars, — in short almost their whole life turns upon this pivot; dreams, above all have here great credit. . . .

As regards morals, the Hurons are lascivious, although in two leading points less so than many Christians, who will blush some day in their presence. You will see no kissing nor immodest caressing; and in marriage a man will remain two or three years apart from his wife, while she is nursing. They are gluttons, even to disgorging; it is true, that does not happen often, but only in some superstitious feasts,<sup>o</sup> — these, however, they do not attend willingly. Besides they endure hunger much better than we, — so well that after having fasted two or three entire days you will see them still paddling, carrying loads, singing, laughing, bantering, as if they had dined well. They are very lazy, are liars, thieves, pertinacious beggars. Some consider them vindictive; but, in my opinion, this vice is more noticeable elsewhere than here.

We see shining among them some rather noble moral virtues. You note, in the first place, a great love and union, which they are careful to cultivate by means of their marriages, of their presents, of their feasts, and of their frequent visits. On returning from their fishing, their hunting, and their trading, they exchange many gifts; if they have thus obtained something unusually good, even if they have bought it, or if it has been given to them, they make a feast to the whole village with it. Their hospitality towards all sorts of strangers is remarkable; they present to them, in their feasts, the

best of what they have prepared, and, as I have already said, I do not know if anything similar, in this regard, is to be found anywhere. They never close the door upon a Stranger, and, once having received him into their houses, they share with him the best they have; they never send him away, and when he goes away of his own accord, he repays them by a simple “thank you.”

What shall I say of their strange patience in poverty, famine, and sickness? We have seen this year whole villages prostrated, their food a little insipid sagamité;<sup>o</sup> and yet not a word of complaint, not a movement of impatience. They receive indeed the news of death with more constancy than those Christian Gentlemen and Ladies to whom one would not dare to mention it. Our Savages hear of it not only without despair, but without troubling themselves, without the slightest pallor or change of countenance. We have especially admired the constancy of our new Christians. The next to the last one who died, named Joseph *Oatij*, lay on the bare ground during four or five months, not only before but after his Baptism, — so thin that he was nothing but bones; in a lodge so wretched that the winds blew in on all sides; covered during the cold of winter with a very light skin of some black animals, perhaps black squirrels, and very poorly nourished. He was never heard to make a complaint. . . .

About the month of December, the snow began to lie on the ground, and the savages settled down into the village. For, during the whole Summer and Autumn, they are for the most part either in



their rural cabins, taking care of their crops, or on the lake fishing, or trading; which makes it not a little inconvenient to instruct them. Seeing them, therefore, thus gathered together at the beginning of this year, we resolved to preach publicly to all, and to acquaint them with the reason of our coming into their Country, which is not for their furs, but to declare to them the true God and his son, Jesus Christ, the universal Saviour of our souls.

The usual method that we follow is this: We call together the people by the help of the Captain of the village, who assembles them all in our house as in Council, or perhaps by the sound of the bell. I use the surplice<sup>o</sup> and the square cap, to give more majesty to my appearance. At the beginning we chant on our knees the *Pater noster*, translated into Huron verse. Father Daniel, as its author, chants a couplet alone, and then we all together chant it again; and those among the Hurons, principally the little ones, who already know it, take pleasure in chanting it with us. That done, when every one is seated, I rise and make the sign of the Cross for all; then, having recapitulated what I said last time, I explain something new. After that we question the young children and the girls, giving a little bead of glass or porcelain to those who deserve it. The parents are very glad to see their children answer well and carry off some little prize, of which they render themselves worthy by the care they take to come privately to get instruction. On our part, to arouse their emulation, we have each lesson retraced by our two little French boys, who question each other, — which transports the Savages with admiration. Finally the whole is concluded by the talk

of the Old Men, who propound their difficulties, and sometimes make me listen in my turn to the statement of their belief.

Two things among others have aided us very much in the little we have been able to do here, by the grace of our Lord; the first is, as I have already said, the good health that God has granted us in the midst of sickness so general and so widespread. The second is the temporal assistance we have rendered to the sick. Having brought for ourselves some few delicacies, we shared them with them, giving to one a few prunes, and to another a few raisins, to others something else. The poor people came from great distances to get their share.

Our French servants having succeeded very well in hunting, during the Autumn, we carried portions of game to all the sick. That chiefly won their hearts, as they were dying, having neither flesh nor fish to season their sagamité. . . .

YOUR REVERENCE'S:

From our little House of St. Joseph, in the village of Ihonatiria<sup>o</sup> in the Huron country, this 27th of May, 1635, the day on which the Holy Spirit descended visibly upon the Apostles.

Very humble and obedient

servant in our Lord,

JEAN DE BRÉBEUF.

The Fathers and Brethren whom God shall call to the holy Mission of the Hurons ought to exercise careful foresight in regard to all the hardships, annoyances, and perils that must be encountered in making this journey, in order to be prepared betimes for all emergencies that may arise.

You must have sincere affection for the Savages, — looking upon them as ransomed by the blood of the son of God, and as our Brethren with whom we are to pass the rest of our lives.

To conciliate the Savages, you must be careful never to make them wait for you in embarking.

You must provide yourself with a tinder box or with a burning mirror, or with both, to furnish them fire in the daytime to light their pipes, and in the evening when they have to encamp; these little services win their hearts.

You should try to eat their sagamité or salmagundi in the way they prepare it, although it may be dirty, half-cooked, and very tasteless. As to the other numerous things which may be unpleasant, they must be endured for the love of God, without saying anything or appearing to notice them.

It is well at first to take everything they offer, although you may not be able to eat it all; for, when one becomes somewhat

accustomed to it, there is not too much.

You must try and eat at daybreak unless you can take your meal with you in the canoe; for the day is very long, if you have to pass it without eating. The Barbarians eat only at Sunrise and Sunset, when they are on their journeys.

You must be prompt in embarking and disembarking; and tuck up your gowns so that they will not get wet, and so that you will not carry either water or sand into the canoe. To be properly dressed, you must have your feet and legs bare; while crossing the rapids, you can wear your shoes, and, in the long portages, even your leggings.

You must so conduct yourself as not to be at all troublesome to even one of these Barbarians. It is not well to ask many questions, nor should you yield to your desire to learn the language and to make observations on the way; this may be carried too far. You must relieve those in your canoe of this annoyance, especially as you cannot profit much by it during the work. Silence is a good equipment at such a time.

You must bear their imperfections without saying a word, yes, even without seeming to notice them. Even if it be necessary to criticise anything, it must be done modestly, and with words and signs which evince love and not aversion. In short, you must try to be, and to appear, always cheerful.

Each one should be provided with half a gross of awls, two or three dozen little knives called jambettes (pocket-knives), a hundred fish-hooks, with some beads of plain and colored glass, with which to buy fish or other articles when the tribes meet each other, so as to feast the Savages; and it would be well to say to them in the beginning, "Here is something with which to buy fish." Each one will try, at the portages, to carry some little thing, according to his strength; however little one carries, it greatly pleases the savages, if it be only a kettle.

You must not be ceremonious with the Savages, but accept the comforts they offer you, such as a good place in the cabin. The greatest conveniences are attended with very great inconvenience, and these ceremonies offend them.

Be careful not to annoy anyone in the canoe with your hat; it would be better to take your nightcap. There is no impropriety among the Savages.

Do not undertake anything unless you desire to continue it; for example, do not begin to paddle unless you are inclined to continue paddling. Take from the start the place in the canoe that you wish to keep; do not lend them your garments, unless you are willing to surrender them during the whole journey. It is easier to refuse at first than to ask them back, to change, or to desist afterwards.

Finally, understand that the Savages will retain the same opinion of you in their own country that they will have formed on the way; and one who has passed for an irritable and troublesome person will have considerable difficulty afterwards in removing this opinion. You have to do not only with those of your own canoe, but also (if it must be so stated) with all those of the country; you meet some today and others tomorrow, who do not fail to inquire, from those who brought you, what sort of man you are. It is almost incredible, how they observe and remember even the slightest fault. When you meet Savages on the way, as you cannot yet greet them with kind words, at least show them a cheerful face, and thus prove that you endure gayly the fatigues of the voyage. You will thus have put to good use the hardships on the way, and have already advanced considerably in gaining the affection of the Savages.

This is a lesson which is easy enough to learn, but very difficult to put into practice; for, leaving a highly civilized community, you fall into the hands of barbarous people who care but little for your Philosophy or your Theology. All the fine qualities which might make you loved and respected in France are like pearls trampled under the feet of swine, or rather mules, which utterly despise you when they see that you are not as good pack animals as they are. If you could go naked, and carry the load of a horse upon your back, as they do, then you would be wise according to their doctrine, and would be recognized as a great man, otherwise not. Jesus Christ is our true greatness; it is He alone and His cross that should be sought in running after these people, for, if you strive for anything

else, you will find naught but bodily and spiritual affliction. But having found Jesus Christ in His cross, you have found the roses in the thorns, sweetness in bitterness, all in nothing.

° Lake Huron.

° The Nipissing Indians, who lived north of the Hurons.

° “Eat all feasts,” where guests were expected to consume everything, even if they had to empty their stomachs by vomiting in order to do so, usually had a ritual purpose.

° Corn compounded into meal and boiled in water, sometimes with meat, fish, or vegetables added; called “samp” or hominy by the English.

° A white liturgical (or ecclesiastical) vestment, in the form of a tunic.

° The most northerly Huron village, on the Penetanguishene Peninsula. (See Map 2.5.)

SOURCE: Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610–1791*, 71 vols. (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers, 1896–1901), 8:113–53; 12:117–24.

## **CHRESTIEN LECLERQ *A Mi'kmaq Questions French* “Civilization” (1677)**

I am greatly astonished that the French have so little cleverness, as they seem to exhibit in the matter of which thou hast just told me on their behalf, in the effort to persuade us to convert our poles, our barks, and our wigwams into those houses of stone and of wood which are tall and lofty, according to their account, as these trees. Very well! But why now, . . . do men of five to six feet in height need

houses which are sixty to eighty? For, in fact, as thou knowest very well thyself, Patriarch — do we not find in our own all the conveniences and the advantages that you have with yours, such as reposing, drinking, sleeping, eating, and amusing ourselves with our friends when we wish? This is not all, . . . my brother, hast thou as much ingenuity and cleverness as the Indians, who carry their houses and their wigwams with them so that they may lodge wheresoever they please, independently of any seignior whatsoever? Thou art not as bold nor as stout as we, because when thou goest on a voyage thou canst not carry upon thy shoulders thy buildings and thy edifices. Therefore it is necessary that thou preparest as many lodgings as thou makest changes of residence, or else thou lodgest in a hired house which does not belong to thee. As for us, we find ourselves secure from all these inconveniences, and we can always say, more truly than thou, that we are at home everywhere, because we set up our wigwams with ease wheresoever we go, and without asking permission of anybody. Thou reproachest us, very inappropriately, that our country is a little hell in contrast with France, which thou comparest to a terrestrial paradise, inasmuch as it yields thee, so thou sayest, every kind of provision in abundance. Thou sayest of us also that we are the most miserable and most unhappy of all men, living without religion, without manners, without honour, without social order, and, in a word, without any rules, like the beasts in our woods and our forests, lacking bread, wine, and a thousand other comforts which thou hast in superfluity in Europe. Well, my brother, if thou dost not yet know the real feelings which our Indians have towards thy country and towards all



thy nation, it is proper that I inform thee at once. I beg thee now to believe that, all miserable as we seem in thine eyes, we consider ourselves nevertheless much happier than thou in this, that we are very content with the little that we have; and believe also once for all, I pray, that thou deceivest thyself greatly if thou thinkest to persuade us that thy country is better than ours. For if France, as thou sayest, is a little terrestrial paradise, art thou sensible to leave it? And why abandon wives, children, relatives, and friends? Why risk thy life and thy property every year, and why venture thyself with such risk, in any season whatsoever, to the storms and tempests of the sea in order to come to a strange and barbarous country which thou considerest the poorest and least fortunate of the world? Besides, since we are wholly convinced of the contrary, we scarcely take the trouble to go to France, because we fear, with good reason, lest we find little satisfaction there, seeing, in our own experience, that those who are natives thereof leave it every year in order to enrich themselves on our shores. We believe, further, that you are also incomparably poorer than we, and that you are only simple journeymen, valets, servants, and slaves, all masters and grand captains though you may appear, seeing that you glory in our old rags and in our miserable suits of beaver which can no longer be of use to us, and that you find among us, in the fishery for cod which you make in these parts, the wherewithal to comfort your misery and the poverty which oppresses you. As to us, we find all our riches and all our conveniences among ourselves, without trouble and without exposing our lives to the dangers in which you find yourselves constantly through your long voyages. And, whilst

feeling compassion for you in the sweetness of our repose, we wonder at the anxieties and cares which you give yourselves night and day in order to load your ship. We see also that all your people live, as a rule, only upon cod which you catch among us. It is everlastingly nothing but cod — cod in the morning, cod at midday, cod at evening, and always cod, until things come to such a pass that if you wish some good morsels, it is at our expense; and you are obliged to have recourse to the Indians, whom you despise so much, and to beg them to go a-hunting that you may be regaled. Now tell me this one little thing, if thou hast any sense: Which of these two is the wisest and happiest — he who labours without ceasing and only obtains, and that with great trouble, enough to live on, or he who rests in comfort and finds all that he needs in the pleasure of hunting and fishing? It is true, . . . that we have not always had the use of bread and of wine which your France produces; but, in fact, before the arrival of the French in these parts, did not the Gaspesians<sup>e</sup> live much longer than now? And if we have not any longer among us any of those old men of a hundred and thirty to forty years, it is only because we are gradually adopting your manner of living, for experience is making it very plain that those of us live longest who, despising your bread, your wine, and your brandy, are content with their natural food of beaver, of moose, of waterfowl, and fish, in accord with the custom of our ancestors and of all the Gaspesian nation. Learn now, my brother, once for all, because I must open to thee my heart: there is no Indian who does not consider himself infinitely more happy and more powerful than the French.

° Indians of the Gaspé Peninsula in southeastern Quebec.

*SOURCE:* Chrestien LeClerq, *New Relation of Gaspesia, with the Customs and Religion of the Gaspesian Indians*, trans. and ed. William F. Ganong (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1910), 104–6. [10.3138/9781442618213] Reprinted with permission of the Champlain Society ([www.utpjournals.com](http://www.utpjournals.com)).

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. What different kinds of information does Brébeuf include in his report, and what use could his superiors potentially make of it? How do Brébeuf's religion and missionary focus direct his relationship with the Hurons he lives among and studies and perhaps limit the usefulness of the information he provides?
2. What things do Brébeuf and the Mi'kmaq speaker criticize? What aspects of a different culture did they witness but not necessarily understand?
3. What examples of cultural adjustment do these documents provide? How do the Jesuits adjust? How do the Hurons and Mi'kmaqs adjust?
4. Does the Mi'kmaq speech appear to be a literal translation, or does it contain indications that the transcriber may have embellished it somewhat? If so, what might the transcriber's purpose have been?

# PICTURE ESSAY

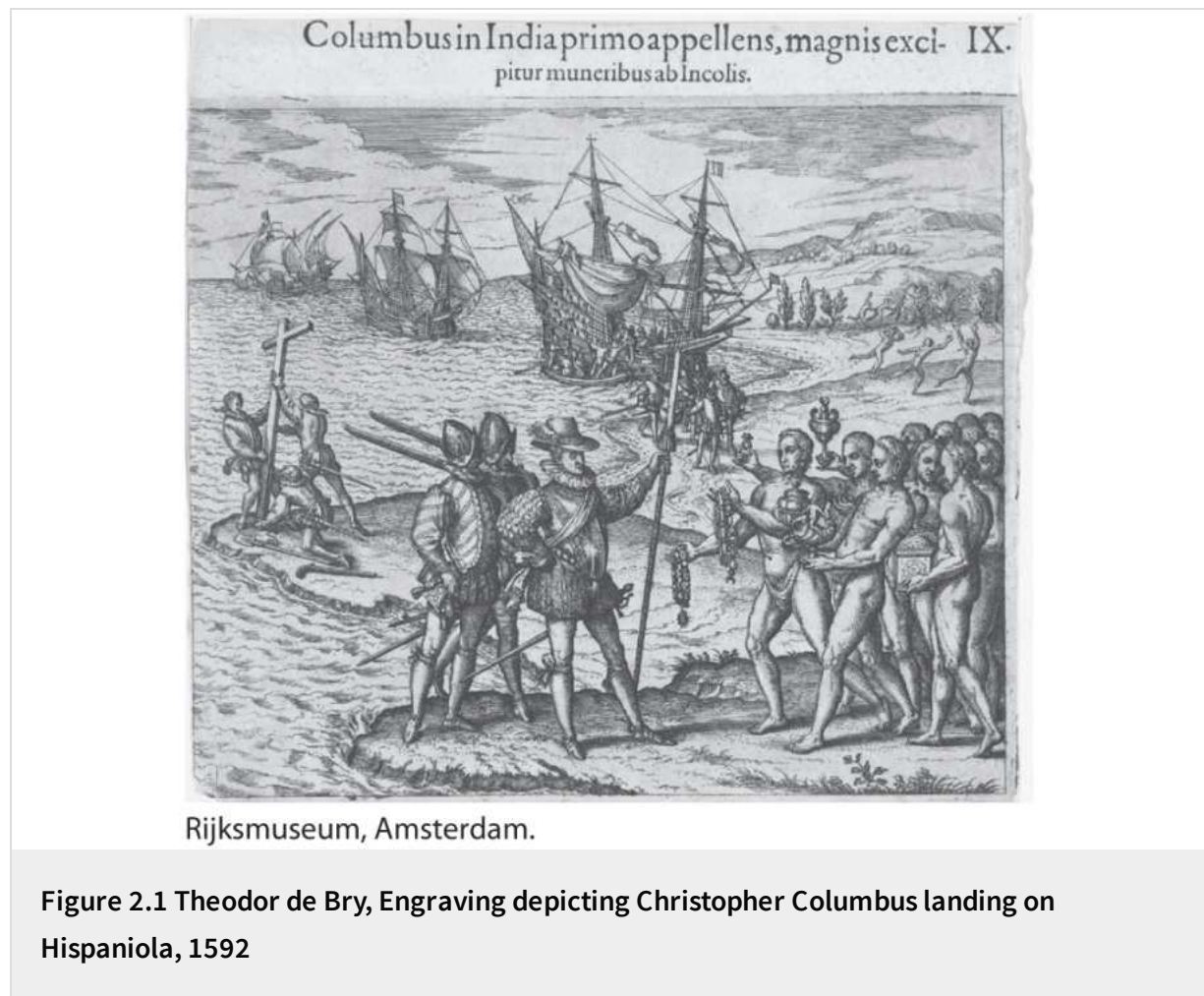
## Images of Spanish Invasion



THE IDEA THAT AMERICA was ever invaded strikes many people as odd. The arrival of Europeans usually has been portrayed in terms of exploration, settlement, and building a new society and nation. But viewed from Indian country, that same story was one of invasion, conquest, and devastating assault on their cultures and communities. Native American images of European invaders are rare, and they often lack the detailed content common in lavish European or later American paintings depicting similar events, but the ones reproduced here alongside non-Native images offer insights into how Indian people viewed the Europeans they encountered and provide alternative perspectives on Spanish invasion of their homelands.

Christopher Columbus's landing on the Caribbean island of Hispaniola in 1492 constitutes an iconic moment in American history and has been portrayed many times. Theodor de Bry, a Flemish or Belgian artist who produced many illustrations of early

encounters between Europeans and Indians, made this engraving ([Figure 2.1](#)) in 1592. The well-dressed and heavily armed Spaniards have disembarked from their ships, strike a confident pose, and plant a cross, claiming the land for the Spanish crown. The naked Natives are alarmed and fearful, and offer the newcomers gifts of gold.



In 1529–31 Spaniard Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán led expeditions of Spanish soldiers and Mexican Indian allies into northwestern Mexico ([Figure 2.2](#)). He looted and burned his way up the West

Coast, enslaving thousands of people and committing so many atrocities that he was recalled by administrators of the Spanish crown. His Tlaxcalan Indian allies, who assisted in his conquests, left a depiction of the invasion in which Spaniards used horses to their advantage, unleashed dogs trained for war, and hanged those who resisted.



Battle of Michoacan between the Spanish and the Aztecs, illustration from a facsimile of a Mexican Indian picture history "Lienzo de Tlaxcala" of c. 1550, 1892 (colour litho)/Mexican School (19th century)/INDIVISION CHARMET/Private Collection/Bridgeman Images.

**Figure 2.2 A Tlaxcalan Depiction of Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán's Conquest of Northwestern Mexico, c. 1530**

As depicted in the rotunda of the U.S. Capitol ([Figure 2.3](#)), Hernando de Soto “discovers” the Mississippi in 1541. The Indians are awed and submissive in the face of Spanish power and the coming of “civilization.” The tribes of the area (about thirty miles south of modern Memphis) would in fact have inhabited Mississippian-style towns, not Plains-style tipis. The half-naked Indian women at the feet of de Soto’s charger also satisfy nineteenth-century convention: like the land, the women are suggested to be vulnerable and available to European conquest. In reality, the Indians would have been more likely to hide their women, knowing in advance that de Soto’s expedition had raped and abused hundreds of Indian women farther east. When de Soto’s half-starved soldiers reached the Mississippi, they were more interested in seizing corn from the Indians than in impressing them with displays of European pageantry. By the time the Spaniards pushed north into what is now the southwestern United States, their reputation had preceded them. The pictograph of mounted Spaniards bearing lances etched into the wall of Cañon del Muerte in Arizona conveys some sense of the impression the arrival of militant strangers made on the Indian inhabitants ([Figure 2.4](#)).

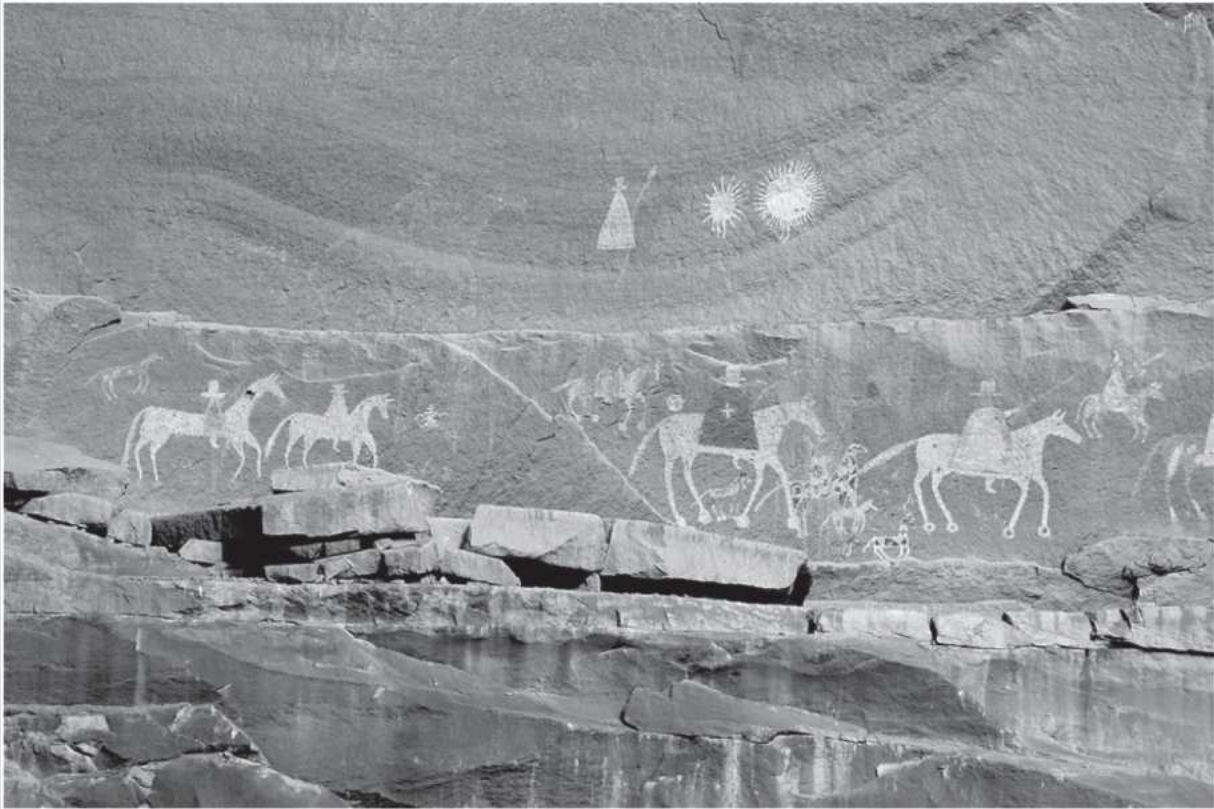




De Soto's Discovery of the Mississippi (colour litho)/Powell, William Henry (1823–79) (after)/HISTORIC NEW ORLEANS COLLECTION/The Historic New Orleans Collection/Bridgeman Images.

**Figure 2.3** William Powell, *The Discovery of the Mississippi by De Soto in 1541* (1853)





Danita Delimont/Alamy Stock Photo.

**Figure 2.4 Spaniards on Horseback**

Jonathan Warm Day's twentieth-century work *The Last Supper* ([Figure 2.5](#)) presents a restrained yet ominous view of encounter with Spanish invaders. Ironically invoking the image of Christ's final meal with his disciples, the Pueblo artist shows a Pueblo family whose meal has been interrupted by the arrival of menacingly dark Spanish soldiers and a priest. The viewer looks at the Spaniards through the home and life of the Indian family, whose white clothing signifies peace and harmony, but with the knowledge of what lies in store for them.



*The Last Supper*, Jonathan Warm Day, Tas Pueblo, MRM  
1991–46. Courtesy of Millicent Rogers Museum, Taos, NM.

Figure 2.5 Jonathan Warm Day, *The Last Supper*

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. What do these images suggest about how Europeans and Native peoples experienced and remembered their early encounters?
2. What characteristics and contrasts do the images emphasize in their depictions of the Spaniards and the Indians?

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CHAPTER 3

# War and Diplomacy in Colonial America

1675–1763



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## FOCUS QUESTION

How did Indian peoples respond to European colonialism and in what ways did the power and presence of Indian nations limit and shape European colonial ambitions and agendas?

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### **1675–1676**

King Philip's War in New England

### **1676**

Bacon's Rebellion targets Indians in Virginia

### **1680**

Pueblo War of Independence drives Spaniards from New Mexico

**c. 1680–1750**

Plains Indians acquire horses

**1689–1697**

King William's War

**1692–1698**

Diego de Vargas reconquers New Mexico

**1700–1701**

Iroquois establish peace with France and Britain

**1702–1713**

Queen Anne's War

**1703–1704**

English and Indian allies destroy Spanish mission system in northern Florida

**1704**

French and Indians raid Deerfield, Massachusetts

**1711–1713**

Tuscarora War

**1715**

Yamasee War in South Carolina

**1712–1716,**

French wars against the Fox Indians in the western Great Lakes

**1722**

Tuscaroras migrate north from the Carolinas and join the Iroquois Confederacy; the Five Nations become the Six Nations

**1727**

Treaty of Casco Bay

**1737**

Delawares lose their lands in the Pennsylvania “Walking Purchase”

**1738**

Smallpox decimates Cherokee population

**1741**

Vitus Bering opens Russian trade with Native people of the Gulf of Alaska

**1744**

Treaty of Lancaster between the Iroquois, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Maryland

**1744–1748**

King George’s War

**1754**

Albany Congress: English colonies meet to discuss unified Indian policy

**1755**

French and Indians defeat British forces led by General Edward Braddock

**1756–1763**

Seven Years' (or French and Indian) War

**1758**

Treaty of Easton; French abandon Fort Duquesne

**1759–1761**

War between the Cherokees and colonists

**1763**

Treaty of Paris ends Seven Years' War; France divides its North American empire between Britain and Spain

# A NEW WORLD OF WARFARE AND WORDS

History books have often portrayed a colonial America in which European settlers built new homes in a new world, wresting the land from Indians who emerged from the forests to burn cabins and lift scalps. In reality, the lines of conflict and competition were more complicated, and colonial America was often a more dangerous place for Indians than for Europeans. The invasion of America by European powers created a bewildering and volatile situation, involving many players in changing roles. European settlers competed with Indians for prime lands ([Map 3.1](#)). European powers competed for North American resources and dominance, as well as for Indian allies to help them secure that dominance. Indians resisted European intrusions and pretensions yet often forged alliances with the newcomers. Europeans competed for Indian trade; Indians competed with other Indians for European trade. Relations between different tribes sometimes altered dramatically; friends became enemies and vice versa. Indian nations developed their own foreign policies for dealing with the representatives of various European powers, colonial governments, and other tribes. Indian diplomats sometimes crossed the Atlantic to visit European capitals (see [Picture Essay, “Indian Diplomats in Eighteenth-Century London,” pages 180–85](#)). Europeans sought

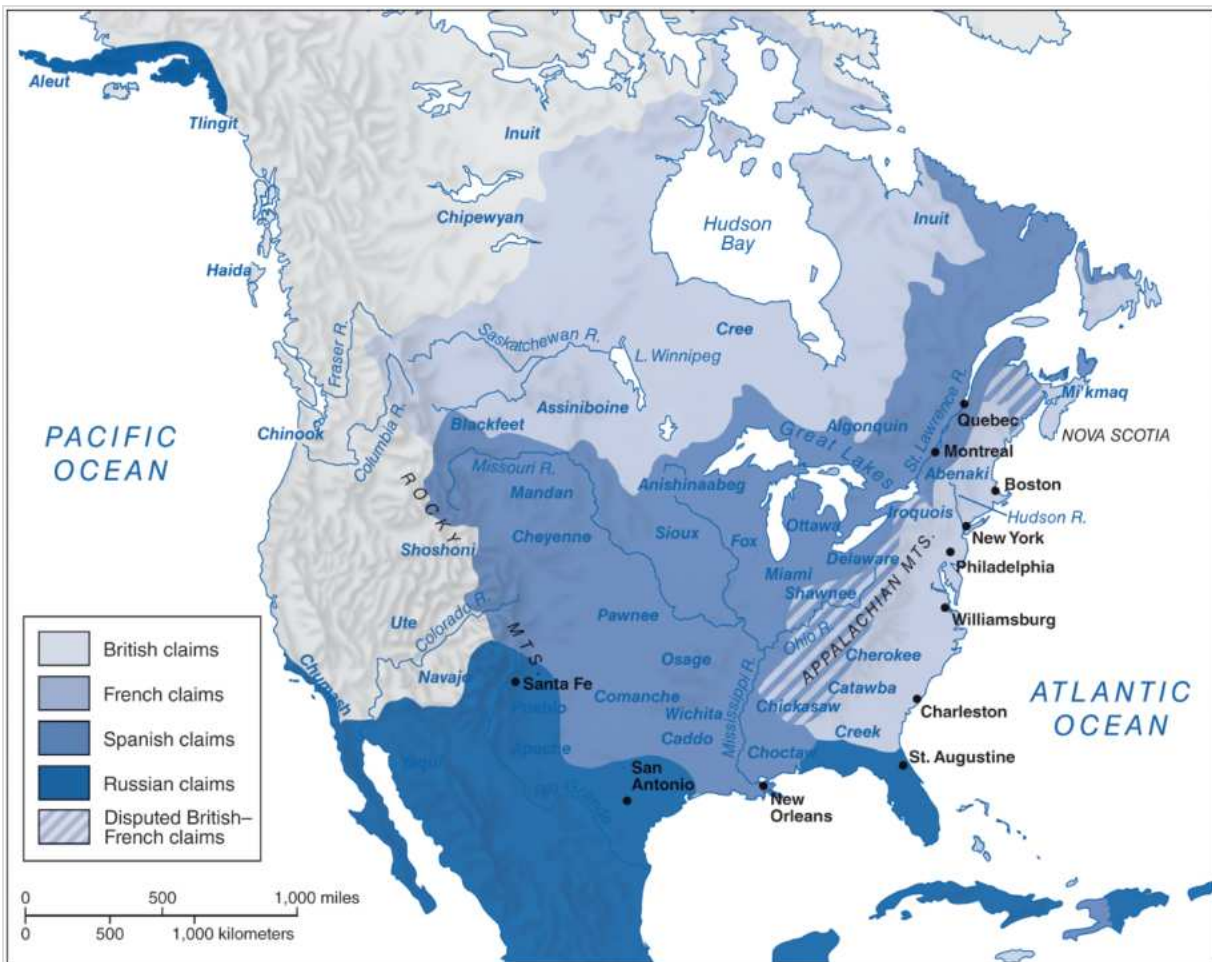
Indian allies and learned the customs of doing business in Indian country.

Relations often broke down in violence. Indian warriors fought for tribal lands and independence in recurrent and bloody conflicts against colonial expansion. Increasingly, wars between Indians and Europeans occurred in a larger context of wars between Europeans. The so-called French and Indian wars, which included King William's War, Queen Anne's War, and King George's War, as well as the Seven Years' War or French and Indian War proper (see [Table 3.1](#)), involved Indian warriors fighting on both sides *alongside* European armies, as well as fighting *against* European armies invading Indian country. But through it all, Europeans and Indians also reached across cultural divides and engaged in negotiation to achieve what they wanted — peace, trade, land — through diplomacy rather than war.



# TWO INDIAN WARS OF INDEPENDENCE

As Europeans grew in numbers and secured their presence, they exerted increasing pressures on Indian lands, resources, culture, and independence, undermining patterns of coexistence and exchange. Before the end of the seventeenth century, more than two thousand miles apart in New England and in New Mexico, Indian peoples reached a point where they had to succumb to escalating assaults on their sovereignty or resist, and they revolted against European colonialism within the space of a few years.<sup>1</sup>



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### ◆ Map 3.1 Indian Nations and European Territorial Claims, c. 1750

Eighteenth-century maps showed North America as a vast zone of competing and sometimes overlapping European claims. In most regions, the actual European presence was slight or nonexistent and Indian people and power predominated. Yet European ambitions generated repercussions that reached far into Indian country.

### ◆ Table 3.1 A Century of Conflict, 1675–1783

Dates	American Conflict	European Conflict
1675–76	King Philip's War	
1676	Bacon's Rebellion	
1680	The Pueblo Revolt	

Dates	American Conflict	European Conflict
1689–97	King William’s War	War of the League of Augsburg
1702–13	Queen Anne’s War	War of the Spanish Succession
1711–13	Tuscarora War in North Carolina	
1715–18	Yamasee War in South Carolina	
1712–16, 1730–33	Franco–Fox wars	
1723–27	Anglo–Abenaki wars in Maine and Vermont	
1736	Franco–Chickasaw War	
1744–48	King George’s War	War of the Austrian Succession
1754–63	French and Indian War	Seven Years’ War (1756–63)
1759–61	Anglo–Cherokee War	
1763–65	“Pontiac’s War”	
1774	Lord Dunmore’s War	
1775–83	American Revolution	

In 1675, the outbreak of King Philip’s War shattered two generations of coexistence between Indians and English in Massachusetts. Fifty-two English towns were attacked and a dozen were destroyed, and many Indian villages were burned. More than 2,500 colonists died, perhaps 30 percent of the English population of New England. At least twice as many Indians died in the fighting, and some estimates suggest that the combined effects of war,

disease, and starvation killed half the Indian population of New England. The war was one of the bloodiest conflicts in American history. In terms of proportionate populations, it was *the* bloodiest. It left an enduring legacy in its imprint on subsequent attitudes and policies toward Indian peoples in America. In 1680, after generations of oppression but little outright conflict, Pueblo peoples rose up in an orchestrated assault that drove the Spaniards out of New Mexico. One of the most successful Indian wars in history, the Pueblo Revolt left an enduring legacy in its imprint on the society that Spaniards and Indians subsequently rebuilt in New Mexico.

## King Philip's War

After Massasoit made peace with the English in 1621, he worked to preserve it. Colonists and Indians became, to a degree, economically interdependent. Even the Puritan war against the Pequots of Connecticut in 1636–37 did not spill over into conflict with the Wampanoags. Ongoing rivalries divided the Mohegans, Narragansetts, and other tribes and Native leaders like Ninigret, sachem (chief) of the Narragansetts and Niantics from the mid-1630s through the mid-1670s, worked to maintain the balance of power in both Indian–colonial and intertribal relations.<sup>2</sup> Indians and English settlers managed for a time to share the same world. But Puritans held to the belief that Indians were heathen savages

and continued to trespass on Indian lands. Relations rapidly deteriorated after Massasoit's death in 1661. His son Wamsutta, whom the English called Alexander, continued his father's policy of selling lands to the English, but in 1662, fearing they could not control the young sachem, the Plymouth colonists brought Wamsutta to Plymouth at gunpoint for questioning. Wamsutta was ill, and the colonists released him but kept his two sons as hostages. The ordeal proved too much for the leader, and he died on the way home. Many Wampanoags believed the Puritans had poisoned their sachem.

Wamsutta's younger brother, **Metacom** (called King Philip by the English), now became the leader of his people at a critical juncture. The Puritans continued to encroach on Wampanoag land and to assert their judicial authority over Indian actions. Indian hunters found themselves being arrested and jailed for "trespassing" on lands the English now claimed as their own. As the Indians displayed growing resentment, the colonists in 1671 demanded that Metacom surrender the Wampanoags' weapons. Metacom was backed into a corner: "I am determined not to live until I have no country," he said.<sup>3</sup> The Plymouth colonists and the Wampanoags squared off for a fight. Rumors of impending war flew through the settlements.



KING PHILIP OF POKONOKET.

Drawn from an ancient print accompanying Dr. Stiles' edition of Church's history of Philip's War. This chieftian is represented in his robe of red cloth, and other insignia of royalty, copied, it is supposed, from an original painting

*North Wind Picture Archives/Alamy Stockphoto.*

#### ♦ Metacom/King Philip

Although no contemporary portrait of Metacom exists, several representations (some derogatory) depict him holding a musket and powder horn, wearing a belt of wampum, and wearing a red cloak as a mark of status. This image accompanied an edition of a history of King Philip's War by Benjamin Church, who led the English forces that defeated and killed Metacom.

In December 1674, John Sassamon, a Christian Indian, reported to Plymouth governor John Winslow that Metacom was preparing for war. The next month, Sassamon was found under the ice of a frozen pond with a broken neck. In June, the Puritans seized three Wampanoags and charged them with Sassamon's murder. The evidence was flimsy, but a Plymouth jury found the men guilty and executed them. (Indians sat on the jury but they had no vote.) It was the first time the English had executed an Indian for a crime committed against another Indian and a major assault on Wampanoag sovereignty.<sup>4</sup>

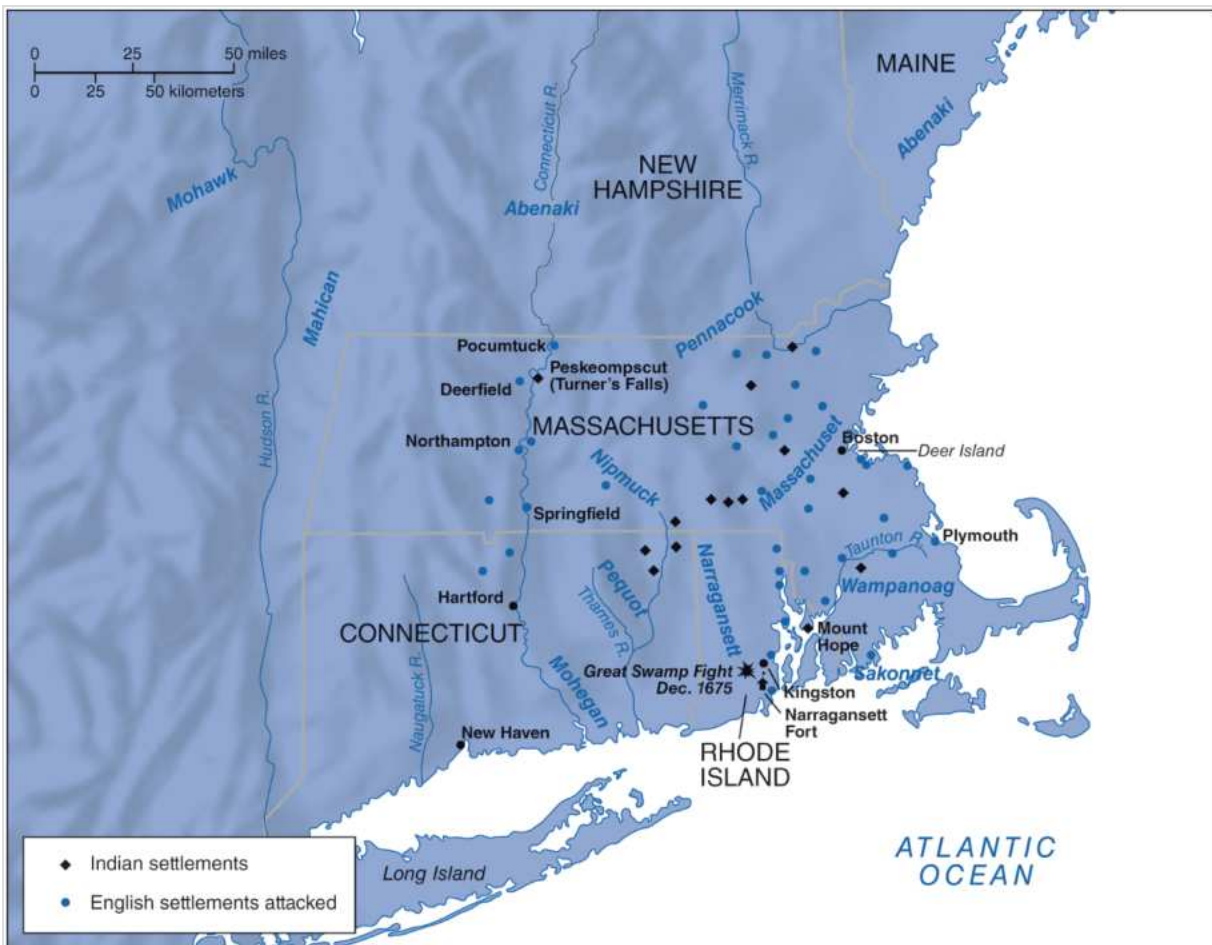
Metacom began to forge a multitribal coalition, and Indians and colonists steeled themselves for war. An Indian was shot as he ransacked a colonist's house; a party of Indians retaliated by killing a colonist and his son. Metacom withdrew from his home in present-day Rhode Island at Montaup, or Mount Hope to the English, and took refuge with Wetamoo, the "squaw sachem" (female chief) of the Pocasset and widow of Wamsutta. Some Indian people faced difficult decisions and divided loyalties as the impending war threatened to sever ties they had built with English neighbors over the previous generation.<sup>5</sup> Wetamoo seems to have been reluctant to commit to war, but many of her warriors rallied to Metacom, as did most Nipmucks in central Massachusetts.

Aligning with the English, Awashunkes, squaw sachem of the Sakonnets of Rhode Island, put her people under the protection of the Plymouth colony. The Mohegan sachem, Uncas, supported the

English, as he had in the Pequot War, as a way of preserving Mohegan autonomy and enhancing his own position.<sup>6</sup> The powerful Narragansetts declared their intention to remain neutral, and many of Metacom's followers sent their women and children to take refuge with them. Individuals from Natick and other praying towns had given the English warnings of the brewing crisis and assisted them during the war as scouts, informants, and soldiers.<sup>7</sup> But the English feared all Indians, and as the war spread they incarcerated more than five hundred Christian Indians from the praying towns on Deer Island in Boston Harbor. Without adequate food or shelter during the winter of 1675–76, many of them died.

Scattered acts of violence escalated into the brutal conflict known as **King Philip's War** ([Map 3.2](#)). Metacom's warriors ambushed English militia companies and burned English towns. In November 1675 the English declared war against the Narragansetts, interpreting their offer of sanctuary to noncombatants from other tribes as an act of hostility. The next month, an English army of more than a thousand men marched through deep snow and attacked the main Narragansett stronghold near Kingston, Rhode Island. Hundreds of Narragansett men, women, and children died in what became known as the Great Swamp Fight. An Englishman, Joshua Tefft, who had an Indian wife and was in the Narragansett stronghold at the time of the attack, was captured, hanged, and quartered by the Puritans.<sup>8</sup> The surviving Narragansetts joined Metacom's war of resistance.





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### ◆ Map 3.2 New England in King Philip's War, 1675–1676

In proportion to population, King Philip's War is reckoned to have been the bloodiest conflict in American history. English towns were attacked and burned. Unknown numbers of Native people died, and many — even the Christian Indians from John Eliot's praying towns west of Boston — were relocated to Deer Island in Boston Harbor and suffered terrible hardship during their confinement there.

Both sides suffered terribly that winter from cold and hunger. English homes lay in ruins and fields lay barren. Puritan ministers thundered from pulpits that the war was God's way of punishing his sinful people. Disease broke out in the Indian camps. Metacom tried to broaden the conflict by bringing in the Mahicans and

Abenakis; Governor Edmund Andros of New York prevailed upon the Mohawks to attack Metacom's army in its winter camps, a devastating blow to the Wampanoag alliance, which now found itself fighting on two fronts.

In February 1676 English troops found a note nailed to a post outside Medfield, Massachusetts, that conveyed the Native point of view: "Know by this paper, that the Indians that thou has provoked to wrath and anger, will war this twenty-one years if you will; there are many Indians yet, we come three hundred at this time. You must consider the Indians lost nothing but their life; you must lose your fair houses and cattle."<sup>9</sup> That same month, the Indians attacked and burned Lancaster, Massachusetts. They took two dozen prisoners, including Mary Rowlandson, who later produced a narrative of her experience as a captive with Metacom's army as the war was slipping away from the Indians.<sup>10</sup> The tribal coalition was falling apart and Indian resistance was faltering. In April, the colonists captured the Narragansett sachem Canonchet and handed him over to their Mohegan allies for execution. In May, Captain William Turner attacked an Indian encampment at Peskeompscut, now Turner's Falls, Massachusetts, where families had gathered for springtime fishing on the Connecticut River. Surprising the camp at dawn, Turner's men killed hundreds of people. Captain Benjamin Church, effectively applying Indian tactics of guerilla warfare, harried Metacom's remaining followers. That summer, he captured Metacom's wife, Wootonekanuska, and nine-year-old son and sent them to Plymouth for trial; they were probably sold as slaves in the

West Indies. On the night of August 11, Church and his men, including some Indian allies, caught up with Metacom. Jolted from sleep, Metacom ran for safety but was shot and killed. Church ordered his head cut off and his body cut into quarters. Even after the leader's death, the war continued along the coast of Maine, but Indian power and independence in southern New England were broken. Many people fled north, joining Abenakis in Maine, Vermont, and New Hampshire and siding with the French in future conflicts against the English who had driven them from their homelands. The war left a searing impression on New England and a bitter legacy for Anglo-Indian relations.

In Virginia, meanwhile, denouncing the governor's Indian policies as too lenient, Nathaniel Bacon, an English aristocrat who had come to America three years earlier, led Virginians in a series of attacks on Indians in the backcountry of the colony. Bacon coerced the Virginia House of Burgesses into appointing him commander-in-chief in the Indian war and demanded that the governor grant approval for the expedition. When the governor refused and declared Bacon a rebel, Bacon led his men against Jamestown. Bacon died soon after, in October 1676, and "Bacon's Rebellion" collapsed.<sup>[11](#)</sup>

## The Pueblo War of Independence

In 1680, after years of economic and religious oppression, the Rio Grande Pueblos rose in synchronized revolt against the Spaniards ([Map 3.3](#)). The **Pueblo Revolt** was one of the most effective Indian resistance movements in American history, what the late Pueblo historian Joe S. Sando called “the first American revolution.”<sup>12</sup> For more than eighty years, Pueblo peoples had endured Spanish persecution of their religious practices, Spanish demands for corn and labor, and Spanish abuses of their women. New diseases as well as famines resulting from the disruption of their traditional economies had scythed their numbers, from as many as 100,000 in the late sixteenth century to a mere 17,000 by 1680.<sup>13</sup> Many Pueblos blamed their misfortunes on Spanish assaults on the religious ceremonies that kept their world in balance, and there was a resurgence of the ancient rituals. Spanish officials responded with intensified oppression: in 1675 they hanged three Pueblo religious leaders and whipped many others. Meanwhile, drought produced food scarcities among Plains nomads to the east, and the Apaches stepped up their raids on Pueblo farming communities: “the whole land is at war with the widespread heathen nation of the Apache Indians, who kill all the Christian Indians they can find,” wrote a Franciscan friar in 1669.<sup>14</sup> By 1680, the Pueblos were facing crisis. They could no longer save themselves by coexistence and accommodation.



Calloway, *First Peoples*, 6e, © 2019 Bedford/St. Martin's.

### ♦ Map 3.3 The Pueblos and Their Neighbors, c. 1680

The Pueblo War of Independence brought together most of the Pueblo communities of the Rio Grande valley in unprecedented united action, culminating in the siege of the Spaniards at Santa Fe in August 1680 and securing a twelve-year liberation from Spanish rule.

The move to open confrontation came initially from northern Pueblo leaders. The Spaniards credited Po'pay or **Popé**, a medicine man from San Juan Pueblo who had been publicly flogged and fled, with masterminding the revolt. But Luis Tupàtü, governor of Picuris Pueblo and “an Indian respected among all the nations,”<sup>15</sup> and other leaders also played important roles. They made plans to strike at a time when the Spaniards would be low on supplies — just before the arrival of a Spanish supply caravan from the south. Their goals were to cut off the Spanish capital at Santa Fe and overwhelm Spanish settlements in the outlying areas. As historian David Weber

noted, it required careful planning to coordinate “an offensive involving some 17,000 Pueblos living in more than two dozen independent towns spread out over several hundred miles and further separated by at least six different languages and countless dialects, many of them mutually unintelligible.”<sup>16</sup> Runners carrying knotted strings that indicated the number of days until the revolt went from pueblo to pueblo, “under penalty of death if they revealed the secret.”<sup>17</sup>

Word of the planned revolt leaked but Popé advanced the date, and, as the viceroy of New Spain reported to the king the following February, the Indians

fell upon all the pueblos and farms at the same time with such vigor and cruelty that they killed twenty-one missionary religious — nineteen priests and two lay brothers — and more than three hundred and eighty Spaniards, not sparing the defenselessness of the women and children. They set fire to the temples, seizing the images of the saints and profaning the holy vessels with such shocking desecrations and insolences that it is indecent to mention them. They left thirty-four pueblos totally desolated and destroyed, not counting many other farms and haciendas. . . .<sup>18</sup>

Some Indians plunged into rivers to scrub themselves and their clothing, believing that in this way they would be cleansed of “the character of the holy sacraments.”<sup>19</sup>

The Indians laid siege to Santa Fe for nine days and cut off the town's water supply. Rather than face the prospect of dying from starvation and thirst, Governor Don Antonio de Otermín fought his way through the Pueblo cordon and led about one thousand Spanish soldiers, “their families and servants . . . Mexican natives, and all classes of people” in retreat south to El Paso.<sup>20</sup> Bewildered by the scale and success of the uprising, Spaniards interrogated captured Indians to understand how it happened (see [“Declaration of the Indian Juan,” pages 167–69](#)).

The coalition that Popé and others had woven together began to unravel soon after the Pueblos had liberated their land. Beginning in 1692, Diego de Vargas reconquered New Mexico for Spain. Pueblos revolted again in 1696, but resistance was promptly crushed. Some Pueblos moved beyond the Spaniards' reach, joining Hopis or Navajos in what is now Arizona. Most opted for more subtle forms of resistance, quietly maintaining their cultures and communities, preserving a Pueblo world within a Spanish colony. The Spaniards for their part learned to govern with less of an iron hand. They reduced demands for labor and tribute, and the *encomienda* system was never reestablished after 1680. They assigned land grants to individual Pueblos, giving them clear European title to their own lands. And they adopted a more tolerant approach to the traditional religion of the Pueblos. Spanish New Mexico in the eighteenth century became more concerned with defending its northern borders against Apache, Navajo, Ute, and Comanche attacks than it was with subjugating and converting its

Pueblo populations. Change occurred at a slower rate and in both directions as Hispanic and Pueblo people interacted and intermarried. The Spanish colony was restored and survived in New Mexico, but not entirely on Spanish terms. Pueblo people had to make adjustments and accommodations in order to survive, but their resistance and resilience also reshaped Spanish New Mexico.

The New Mexican borderlands remained volatile and violent places as the repercussions of Spanish colonialism reverberated far beyond the Rio Grande valley. Many Pueblos fought alongside Spaniards in conflicts against Indian peoples to the east, north, and west of New Mexico. Utes and Comanches raided Spaniards, Pueblos, Apaches, and Navajos. Spanish slave-raiding expeditions continued to strike deep into Indian country, and some Indian people raided more distant neighbors to feed the Spanish demand for slaves. In the recurrent raiding between Apaches, Navajos, Utes, Comanches, Kiowas, and Hispanos, many people were taken captive, and patterns of captive taking and captive exchange generated cross-cultural kinship connections within and among competing societies.<sup>[21](#)</sup>

Within the five-year period of 1675–80, Indian peoples in New England and New Mexico fought wars of independence against Europeans who had invaded and had begun colonizing their homelands. In both instances, the Indians scored impressive victories but ultimately lost the wars. On both sides of the continent, Europeans had weathered their most severe test and



secured their beachheads. However, the defeat of those movements did not mean the end of Indian resistance. Throughout most of the continent Indian nations remained dominant, limiting European ambitions and forcing colonial powers to deal with them, often on their own terms.

# THE LANGUAGES AND LESSONS OF INDIAN DIPLOMACY

When Europeans went into Indian country to conduct business, they entered a world crisscrossed by exchange networks between communities and between cultures, where the constant renewal of alliances and good relations was vital to avoiding violence. Gift exchanges lay at the heart of Indian relations with other Indians, and they became equally important in Indian relations with the Spanish, French, and English. Different peoples attached different meanings to gifts, and Europeans had to learn that such exchanges were not conducted solely for profit but involved social, political, and even spiritual aspects as well as economic incentives.<sup>22</sup> Indians and Europeans who endeavored to deal with each other across cultural gulfs had to negotiate a collision and confluence of worldviews. In doing so they forged uniquely American forms of diplomacy.<sup>23</sup>

France's North American empire, huge in extent but sparsely populated, depended on maintaining the goodwill of an array of Indian peoples. Lacking the advantages in population and in the price and quality of trade goods enjoyed by their British rivals, the French developed their Indian diplomacy into a fine art. French officers and agents lived in Indian country, married Indian wives,

learned Indian ways, and became adept at speaking Indian languages. They followed appropriate protocol, smoking the long-stemmed calumet or “peace pipe,” presenting and receiving **wampum** belts, giving gifts, and making lengthy orations. Failure to do so was courting disaster: when Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, founder of Detroit and governor of Louisiana, refused to stop and smoke the calumet with the Natchez Indians on a 1715 trip down the Mississippi, the Natchez interpreted the refusal as an act of war and killed four French traders in retaliation.<sup>24</sup> Preserving Indian alliances was expensive and time-consuming, but ultimately unavoidable: “one is a slave to Indians in this country,” wrote one French officer.<sup>25</sup>



*Library and Archives Canada, Acc. No. R9266-3181 Peter Winkworth Collection of Canadiana.*

#### ♦ Huron Chief with Wampum Belt

In 1825 Huron chief Nicholas Vincent Isawaholi and three other chiefs visited England and met King George IV. Indicative of the interplay of influences that characterized frontier diplomacy, Isawaholi is depicted wearing a European coat and medals, but he presents a wampum belt in the traditional manner. In the forest diplomacy of eighteenth-century northeastern North America, wampum belts — pieces of polished shell or beads roped together into strands — conveyed messages, initiated proceedings, recorded agreements, and guaranteed promises. Iroquois orators opened councils by offering wampum to produce a state of mind conducive to calm discussion. Speakers punctuated their talks by handing wampum belts to their listeners; refusing a wampum belt meant the listener rejected what was said. When talks were finished, the wampum belts became part of the tribal record and the collective memory.

In the heart of the continent, Indians remained in control well into the eighteenth century. Some Indian people incorporated the outsiders into their kinship systems and exchange networks, but the onus was on the Europeans to adjust to Indian ways when they dealt with the powerful Osages between the Missouri and Red rivers, and with the Caddos, Comanches, Lipan Apaches, and Wichitas who held the upper hand in Texas. In the Southwest, after the Pueblo War of Independence, Spaniards learned to temper force with diplomacy in their dealings with Indian peoples. In the eighteenth century, when mounted Ute, Comanche, and Apache nomads proved more than a match for heavily equipped Spanish soldiers in thinly spread garrisons, Spaniards came to rely on Pueblo and Pima allies and on diplomacy to defend their provinces.<sup>26</sup>

Despite a reputation for unrelenting land hunger that prevented anything but hostile and exploitive relations with Indians, the British, like the Spanish, also became skilled in the art of diplomacy and recognized the importance of Indians to their imperial ambitions. “The Importance of Indians is now generally known and understood,” wrote South Carolina merchant and Superintendent of Indian Affairs Edmond Atkin in his report to the Board of Trade in England in 1755. “[A] Doubt remains not, that the prosperity of our Colonies on the Continent, will stand or fall with our Interest and favour among them. While they are our Friends, they are the Cheapest and strongest Barrier for the Protection of our Settlements; when Enemies, they are capable by ravaging in their

method of War, in spite of all we can do, to render those Possessions almost useless.”<sup>27</sup> Englishmen regarded treaties and property deeds as legitimate ways to acquire Indian lands, even though they sometimes practiced fraud and deception in securing these documents. They also used treaties as a forum in which to assert that Indians were subjects of the king, that they were subject to English laws, that they must provide assistance against the French and hostile Indian tribes, and that Indians bore responsibility for past conflicts. Indians regarded treaties and councils as an opportunity to make and cement alliances, air their grievances, secure goods and guarantees in return for land, and exercise a small measure of control over the diminution of their homelands. They also often had different understandings of what they were conveying when they sold land: “I am not of opinion that in giving Land to the English, we deprive ourselves of the use of it,” said one Choctaw chief, 1765. “On the Contrary, I think we shall Share it with them.”<sup>28</sup>

Indians affixed their names to treaty documents that sometimes differed greatly from what they had said in council. Sometimes they were deceived into signing documents that contained statements they were not aware of, and to which they would never have agreed. Sometimes Indian delegates changed their minds or succumbed to persuasion or coercion. Sometimes errors in translation created genuine misunderstandings. Indians also, on occasion, rejected English claims to sovereignty and jurisdiction and pointed out English breaches of former agreements. Indians who read the texts

of treaties, or who had them read to them, sometimes complained that “these writings appear to contain things that are not,” and cited English misinterpretations and misrepresentations of their words point by point. Nevertheless, the English established the system of treaty making as the principal means by which to acquire and legitimize the acquisition of Indian land; inherited and continued by the U.S. government, this system was the vehicle through which much of America passed from Indian to non-Indian hands.



*William Penn's Treaty with the Indians in November 1683, 1771–72 (oil on canvas)/West, Benjamin (1738–1820)/Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, USA/Bridgeman Images.*

♦ **Benjamin West, *Penn's Treaty with the Indians* (1771)**

Benjamin West's famous painting of William Penn's *Treaty with the Indians When He Founded the Province of Pennsylvania in North America* (1771) shows Penn and his Quakers meeting with the Delawares at Shackamaxon in 1682. Penn stands with his arms outstretched in

welcome in a scene of peaceful encounter and open exchange (bows and arrows laid on the ground, light gently diffused, Indian woman and baby in the foreground) while Philadelphia is being built on the banks of the Delaware River. The Indians exchange land for bales of cloth and other manufactured goods while “civilization” advances in the background, with ships in the harbor and houses under construction edging onto the forested area of Indian lodges. West includes some valuable ethnographic documentation in the picture, but the meeting never happened as he depicted it: the Indians wear clothing combining the styles of several tribes, and most scholars see the picture as an allegory of colonial America and a representation of a succession of Indian treaties. By the time West painted this picture in 1771, Pennsylvania had experienced bloody conflicts: colonists often killed Indians out of hand and seized their lands. Thomas Penn, the proprietor of Pennsylvania, commissioned the painting ostensibly as a tribute to his father, but probably to invoke an image of more peaceful times that would reinforce the Penn family claim to proprietorship of the colony during a time of political dissension. West’s depiction of the Delawares as willing participants in the sale of their land permanently established the image of William Penn as a man of peace, but it also justified more recent and more blatant thefts of Indian land.

Anglo-Indian relations varied from colony to colony. Indian leaders often dealt with representatives of several colonies; they sometimes exploited the situation to their advantage and to preserve their independence. In Pennsylvania, William Penn and the Quakers earned a reputation in the late seventeenth century for fair dealings with the Indians by obtaining their lands through negotiated treaties and deeds. But the Quakers lost control of the colonial legislature, and unfair trade practices, demands for Indian land, and the influx of land-hungry Scotch-Irish settlers turned Pennsylvania into a bloody battleground in the eighteenth century. The Delawares lost the last of their lands in the upper Delaware and Lehigh valleys in the infamous “Walking Purchase” of 1737, when Pennsylvanians produced a team of runners to measure out an old



deed that supposedly granted William Penn and his heirs land “as far as a man can go in a day and a half.”<sup>29</sup> In the second half of the century William Penn’s “peaceable kingdom” became a zone of racial hatred and frontier conflict with no place for cultural mediators, a decline into violence that revealed “the final incompatibility of colonial and native dreams about the continent they shared.”<sup>30</sup> The Delawares continued to retreat westward before the advancing edge of the colonial frontier.

## Attempts at Diplomatic Balance

In New York, the Iroquois dealt with the Dutch until 1664. After the English takeover, they shifted their diplomatic attentions to the British crown and its representatives, building an alliance they likened to the links of a “**Covenant Chain**” and entering King William’s War against the French (1689–97). But the war took a heavy toll. French campaigns struck Iroquois villages and starvation stalked the longhouses. By 1700 the Iroquois population had been cut in half. Iroquois diplomats traveled to Montreal, to Albany, and to the Great Lakes region to make peace with France, Britain, and their Indian allies. They charted a new course of neutrality between competing powers that allowed them to halt their losses, restore some power, and remain autonomous. The **Six Nations** were key players in the contests for North America. (See [pages 38–41](#).) “The firmness of this league, the great extent of land it

claims, the number of great warriors it produces, and the undaunted courage and skill which distinguish the members of it,” wrote English trader John Long, “all conspire to prove the good policy of an alliance with them.”<sup>31</sup> The Iroquois combined statesmanship with a reputation for military prowess and held the balance of power in northeastern North America well into the eighteenth century. They compelled the British, like the French, to deal with them on Iroquois terms, paying constant attention to keeping strong the Covenant Chain that symbolically linked the Iroquois and their allies. Even the Albany Congress of 1754, an important step in forging unity among the British colonies, was a cultural encounter, where colonial officials met with Iroquois men who spoke on wampum belts and Indian women strung belts for use in council.<sup>32</sup>

The British superintendent of Indian affairs in the North during the mid-eighteenth century, Sir William Johnson, set the tone of the British Indian Department for more than a generation. A former trader, Irishman Johnson took a Mohawk wife, immersed himself in Mohawk culture, spoke Mohawk, and became an expert practitioner in the intricate world of Iroquois politics. Known to Mohawks as *Warraghiyagey*, “he who does much business,” or “a man who undertakes great things,” he cultivated good relations with important chiefs, gave generous gifts, and mastered the protocol of council-fire diplomacy.<sup>33</sup> Other agents of the British Indian Department also married into Indian societies and functioned as intermediaries between crown and tribe.

European Indian agents learned to speak Indian languages, understand the metaphors of Indian speeches, interpret wampum belts, smoke the calumet pipe, and provide a steady flow of gifts that indicated they were men of their word and representatives of a powerful and generous king. In turn, Indians had to adjust and hone their diplomatic skills to survive and succeed in a dangerous new world where European powers and various colonies competed for their trade and allegiance and recorded agreements in writing rather than wampum. Powerful and strategically located tribes like the Iroquois in New York and the Choctaws in the lower Mississippi valley played one European power off another to secure trade while maintaining independence. The Creek Indians, a loose confederacy of some fifty autonomous towns in Georgia and Alabama, also attempted to pursue policies of neutrality as three European powers competed for dominance in the Southeast, even though individual towns cultivated their own relations with British colonies and British traders.<sup>34</sup> “To preserve the Ballance between us and the French,” wrote one British colonial official, “is the great ruling Principle of the Modern Indian Politics.”<sup>35</sup> Smaller tribes surrounded by European populations sometimes pursued similar strategies at a local level. The Catawbans of South Carolina, reduced to fewer than five hundred people by 1760 and dependent on Europeans for trade goods, admitted “we cannot live without the assistance of the English.” But, as historian James Merrell observes, “they were not willing to become English themselves.”<sup>36</sup> Indian leaders soon realized that Europeans who invited them to the treaty table generally wanted their land, resources, or young men as

soldiers. They juggled competing demands, weighing what they gave against what they got, walking a fine line to preserve their independence in an environment of increasing dependency.

Indians and Europeans alike spent tremendous amounts of time and energy talking in an effort to maintain peace, establish and restore friendships, settle disputes, and transfer land. But as international, intercolonial, interethnic, and intertribal rivalries escalated in North America, diplomacy often unraveled, followed by a bloodbath.

# WARS FOR AMERICA

King William's War, Queen Anne's War, King George's War, and the Seven Years' (or French and Indian) War all had origins in the old-world rivalry of England and France but also produced fighting in North America that involved Indian warriors as well as French and English soldiers and militia. French relations with Indians were not uniformly harmonious in the eighteenth century: the French waged genocidal wars against the Natchez in the lower Mississippi valley in 1729–31, against the Chickasaws in 1736, and against the Fox, or Mesquakie, Indians in Wisconsin in 1712–16 and again in 1730–33. Nevertheless, in the wars between France and England, Abenakis, Ottawas, Shawnees, Delawares, Potawatomis, and other Algonquian tribes tended to support their French allies. In New England, Mohegans and Mahicans (sometimes spelled Mohicans) often supplied scouts to the English. And the Iroquois did not always remain neutral; the Mohawks tended to side with the British, and Senecas occasionally fought with the French.

The **Abenakis** of northern New England found themselves occupying a borderland between the two competing European powers. French and English agents, missionaries, and traders competed for Abenaki allegiance, and Abenakis sometimes kept their options open, praying with the French yet traveling south to

get better prices and goods at English trading posts. As English pressure on Abenaki lands increased, however, most Abenakis made common cause with the French. For almost eighty years, Abenaki warriors launched lightning raids, stalling the northward advance of the English frontier. Abenakis earned a reputation as stalwart allies of the French and implacable enemies of New England. The nineteenth-century historian Francis Parkman, describing the Abenakis at the time of the **Seven Years' War** (1756–63), wrote: “they were nominal Christians, and had been under the control of their missionaries for three generations; but though zealous and sometimes fanatical to the forms of Romanism [Catholicism], they remained thorough savages in dress, habits, and character. They were the scourge of the New England borders.”<sup>37</sup>

In fact, like other Indians enmeshed in the French and Indian War, the Abenakis fought for their own reasons. In 1752, in a meeting with Captain Phineas Stevens, a former captive of the Abenakis now acting as an emissary for the governor of Massachusetts, and in the presence of the French governor of Montreal and other Indians from Kahnawake and Lake of the Two Mountains (Oka), the Abenakis asserted their sovereignty and independence. They wanted only to live in peace, said their speaker Ateawaneto, but there could be no peace unless the English stopped encroaching on Abenaki land: “we will not cede one single inch . . . [and] we expressly forbid you to kill a single beaver, or to take a single stick of timber on the lands we inhabit.” The Master of Life had given them their lands which “We acknowledge to hold

only from him.” The Abenakis were “allies of the King of France, from whom we have received the Faith and all sorts of assistance,” but Ateawaneto reminded his audience, “We are entirely free.”<sup>38</sup>

## A World Transformed by War

At the same time as they resisted European threats, Indians often sought European allies in their struggles against other Indian tribes. As war became endemic in eighteenth-century North America, Indian villages and countryside bore the brunt of the fighting. War had always played an important but limited role in Indian societies; now it began to dominate Indian life. Communities found that they had to survive on a war footing. Traditional nonmilitary activities were often disrupted as husbands, sons, and fathers — producers and protectors — spent more time at war away from the villages, placing greater burdens on the women. Ceremonial and social calendars were interrupted, and cycles of planting, harvesting, hunting, and fishing were subordinated to the demands of campaigns. Effectively, Indians became more dependent on European allies for goods and provisions. Destruction of crops by enemy forces resulted in hunger and rendered people more susceptible to disease.

Indian people fled from regions that had been transformed into battlegrounds between French and English, European and Indian,

Indian and Indian. Algonquians driven from southern and central New England after King Philip's War took refuge to the north in Abenaki country; as English pressure increased along the southern edges of Abenaki territory, many Abenakis in turn withdrew farther north. Tuscarora war refugees migrated north from North Carolina in 1722 to the country of the Iroquois, where they were adopted as the sixth tribe of the Iroquois Confederacy.<sup>39</sup> (Thereafter, the English referred to the Iroquois as the Six Nations.) Coocoochee, a Mohawk woman born near Montreal around 1740, was forced to move five times during a quarter century of war and upheaval in the Northeast, and finally took up residence among the Shawnees in the Ohio country. The Shawnees had migrated from their Ohio homelands in the late seventeenth century in the wake of the Iroquois wars. Many of them relocated to the Southeast, where they developed close contacts with the Creeks and encountered the English. By the mid-eighteenth century most of them were back in Ohio, where they were joined by Mingoes (Iroquois people who had moved west), Delawares, and other displaced peoples in a zone of escalating imperial friction. For Shawnees, mobility and migration became a way to survive in a world of violence and turmoil.<sup>40</sup>





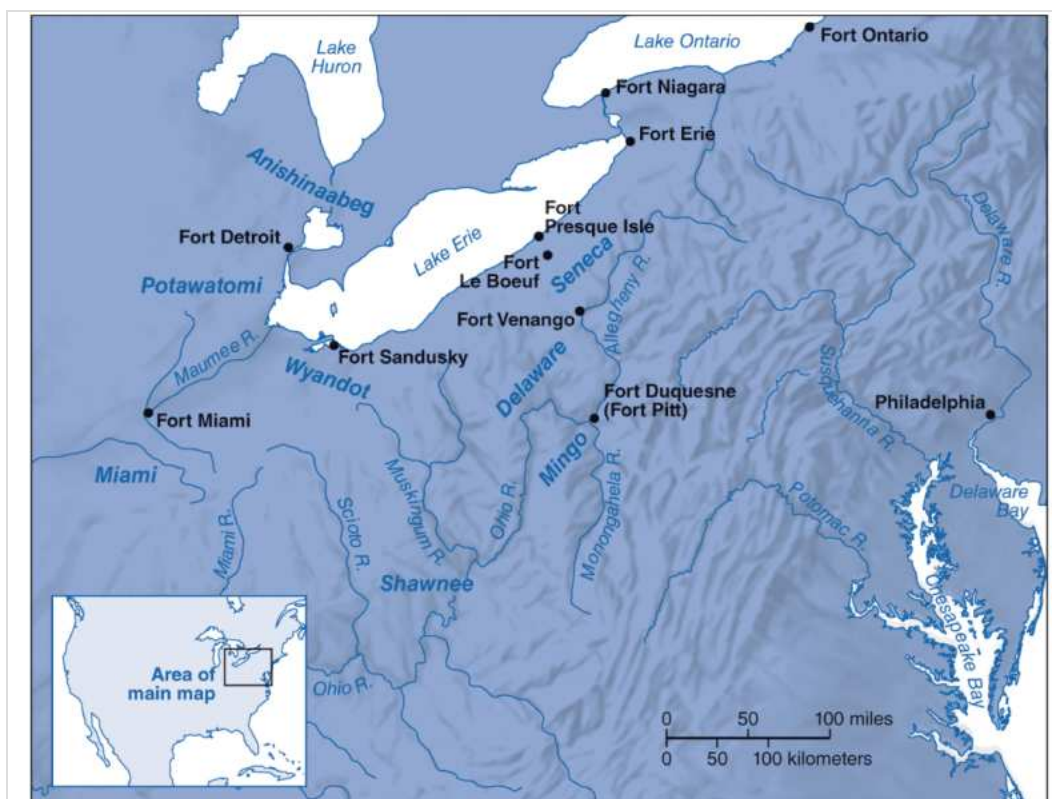
*Courtesy of the City of Montreal Archives.*

♦ **Watercolor of an Abenaki Man and Woman from the Mission Village at Bécancour, Quebec**

By the eighteenth century, many Abenaki people from Maine, Vermont, and New Hampshire had moved north and built new communities at French mission villages like St. Francis (Odanak) and Bécancour on the St. Lawrence River. With assistance from their French allies, they raided English colonists on their former homelands during the French and Indian War. The conical peaked caps worn by these people were also common among the Penobscots, Passamaquoddies, and Mi'kmaq; they may have been modeled and adapted from Basque caps worn by early French sailors in Canada.

# The French and English War

Escalating conflict between Britain and France came to a head in the Ohio valley and erupted into the Seven Years' War ([Map 3.4](#)). Though known in America as the French and Indian War, from a Native American perspective the conflict is better understood as a French and English war. “Why don’t you & the French fight in the old country and on the sea?” Delawares asked the British. “Why do you come to fight on our land? This makes everybody believe you want only to take & settle the Land.”<sup>41</sup>



Calloway, *First Peoples*, 6e, © 2019 Bedford/St. Martin's.

♦ Map 3.4 The Ohio Country during the Seven Years' War

By the mid-eighteenth century, the Ohio country was home to many Indian peoples, some of them pushed there by the pressure of European settlement in the east. The forks of the Ohio (where the French built Fort Duquesne and the British later built Fort Pitt) were regarded as the key to the West and became the focus of Anglo–French rivalry. When war broke out, the Ohio country became an international and intertribal battleground.

In 1754 the French began building **Fort Duquesne** at the source of the Ohio River — the forks — where the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers meet. George Washington, an officer in the Virginia militia who had gone to the Ohio country the year before to find out what the French were up to and request that they withdraw, now returned with a small force of soldiers and Indian warriors under a Seneca chief named Tanaghrisson. (See [pages 174–77](#).) After ambushing a company of French soldiers led by Joseph Coulon de Villiers, sieur de Jumonville, Tanaghrisson and his warriors killed the French officer and ten of his men, but Washington was compelled to surrender to a superior French and Indian force and signed capitulation terms that admitted responsibility for Jumonville's murder. Within two years France and Britain had issued formal declarations of war against each other, and what began as a backwoods skirmish between France and Britain spread into a global conflict that was fought in North America, the Caribbean Islands, West Africa, India, and continental Europe, as well as on the oceans, and that ultimately involved British and French, Americans and Canadians, American Indians, Prussians, Austrians, Russians, Spaniards, and even East Indian moguls.

The Native Americans who fought in the war, however, did so for Indian, not imperial, purposes, to keep their country free of foreign domination. The forks of the Ohio were the gateway to the West and the focus of imperial ambitions. Indian peoples in the Ohio country were caught between the British and the French, but they often played the French and the British against each other to secure their own goals. In 1755 General Edward Braddock marched against Fort Duquesne at the head of more than two thousand troops, the largest army that had ever been assembled in North America. Braddock ignored Indian advice and refused to give assurances that Indian lands would be protected under a British regime. Instead, he told the Delaware war chief Shingas that “no Savage should inherit the Land.” Most of Braddock’s Indian allies promptly abandoned him.<sup>42</sup> After hacking a road through the wilderness, Braddock’s army was almost in sight of Fort Duquesne when it clashed with a force of French and Indians sent to intercept it. In the ensuing battle in the forest, the French-aligned Indians fired from cover into ranks of confused redcoats, routing the British soldiers. Braddock was killed; his aide, George Washington, escaped unwounded. The British suffered almost one thousand casualties. Ohio valley Indians who had hesitated now joined the French. As news of Braddock’s defeat and Indian attacks spread along the frontiers, backcountry settlers fled east for safety. Years of vicious warfare followed on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, both of which offered bounties for Indian scalps, and Indians and colonists increasingly regarded each other as race enemies.<sup>43</sup>



DEA PICTURE LIBRARY/Getty Images.

♦ *Braddock's Defeat*, by E. Deming

On July 8, 1755, Indian warriors and their French allies defending Fort Duquesne at the forks of the Ohio routed the largest British army that had yet been sent to North America.

By the summer of 1757, hundreds of Indians from the West had joined the French, drawn by ties of trade, alliance, and kinship, and by the promise of war honors. In 1757 the British garrison at Fort William Henry on Lake George surrendered to the army of French general Louis-Joseph de Montcalm. But Montcalm's victory turned into a disaster when his Indian allies, who felt betrayed by the terms of capitulation, attacked the surrendered garrison, grabbing scalps and captives. The slaughter — made famous by James Fenimore Cooper's book *The Last of the Mohicans* (and by subsequent movie versions of the novel) — forever stained Montcalm's honor.<sup>44</sup> The British, meanwhile, began to mount a joint national and colonial war effort that carried them from dark days of

defeat to stunning victories all around the globe. William Pitt took over as British prime minister and pursued the war with new vigor and new strategies. He increased the subsidies that enabled German allies to keep French and Austrian armies bogged down in European bloodbaths, and he devoted attention and resources to the war in America. Despite a disastrous assault on Fort Ticonderoga in 1758, the British war effort gathered momentum. That same year, British forces captured Louisburg, a French fort overlooking the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, and Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario. French supply lines to the West were severed. French-Indian relations began to unravel, and many Indians began to mend fences with the British.

General Edward Braddock failed to take the French fort at the forks (Fort Duquesne) in 1755 because he failed to recognize the importance of Indian diplomacy and alienated his Indian allies. General John Forbes succeeded in capturing the fort three years later because he recognized the importance of Indian diplomacy and saw that taking Fort Duquesne required the cooperation, or at least the noninterference, of the Indian nations in the Ohio valley.<sup>45</sup> Forbes neutralized Indian power in the struggle by promising that Indian lands would be protected when the war was over, something that Braddock had adamantly refused to do. Forbes sent a Moravian missionary named Christian Frederick Post as an envoy to get the Indians to attend a treaty conference at Easton, Pennsylvania. Post had lived almost ten years among the Delawares and spoke their language. The Indians were deeply suspicious of British intentions,



but Post managed to convince them that their homelands would be protected once Britain was victorious.

Five hundred Indians attended the treaty at Easton in October. The British promised no settlements would be made west of the mountains without the Indians' consent and promised to establish fair and regulated trade. Having achieved protection for their land and continued access to trade goods, the Ohio valley Indians made peace, leaving the way open for Forbes to march on Fort Duquesne. Unable to hold the fort without Indian support, the French abandoned it and blew it up. Three days later, a Delaware chief named Tamaqua or Beaver advised Forbes "to go back over the mountains and stay there." Another warned that if the British settled west of the mountains, "all the nations would be against them; . . . It would be a great war, and never come to peace again."<sup>46</sup> Instead, the British built Fort Pitt on the ruins of Fort Duquesne and British soldiers and settlers continued to threaten Indian homelands. "You marched your armies into our country, and built forts here," a Delaware chief named Turtle's Heart told them, "though we told you, again and again, that we wished you to remove. My Brothers, this land is ours, and not yours."<sup>47</sup>

In July 1759 the British took Fort Niagara. In September the British general James Wolfe seized Quebec. Wolfe died in the battle; so did Montcalm. In October Robert Rogers and his New Hampshire Rangers attacked and burned the Abenaki town at Odanak.<sup>48</sup> In November Admiral Hawke destroyed the French Atlantic fleet at

Quiberon Bay, and Britain won command of the seas. French forces in Canada could expect no reinforcements; France's Indian alliance in the West began to wither from lack of supplies, and France's remaining overseas empire could be picked apart. The next year, Montreal surrendered to British armies, further opening Indian land in the north to the British.

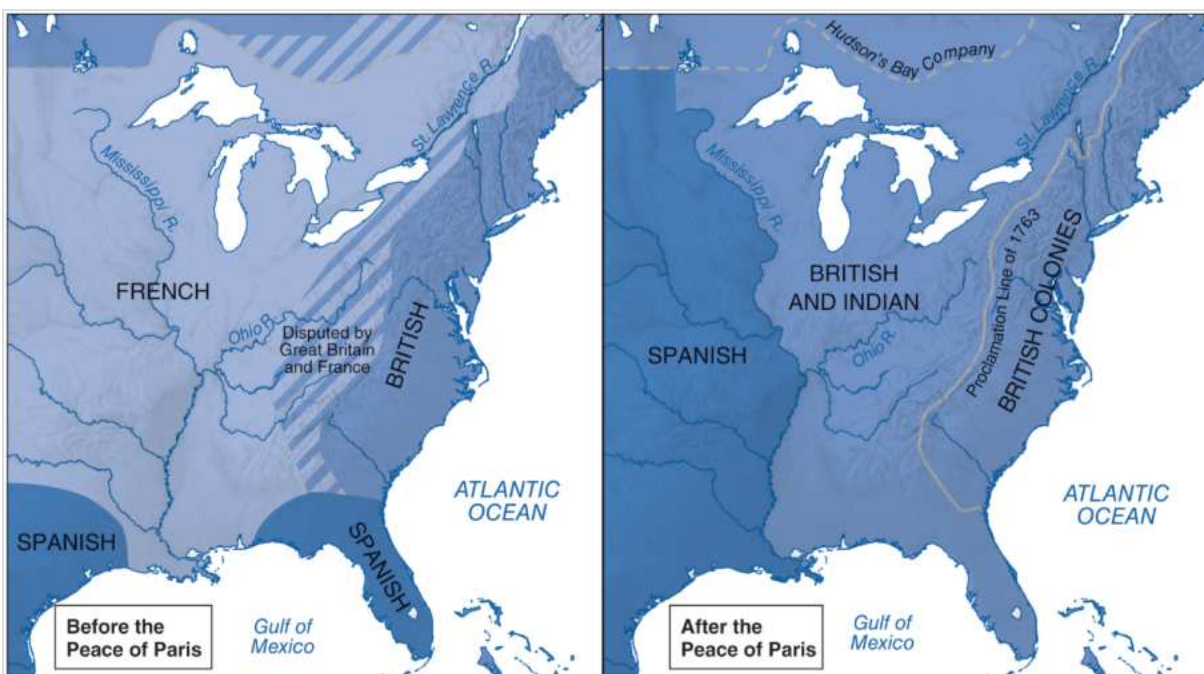
Meanwhile, the Cherokees and British went to war. Cherokee warriors had participated as allies of the British in Forbes's campaign against Fort Duquesne, but Virginian settlers killed some of them on their way home. Cherokee chiefs were unable to prevent retaliatory raids by their warriors, who were also frustrated by the colonists' constant encroachment on their hunting territories. Following a series of Cherokee attacks on white settlements on the South Carolina border, open war with the British broke out in 1759.

An incident at the beginning of the war, while the Cherokees laid siege to Fort Loudon, reveals much about the nature of relationships on the frontier, the influence of women in Cherokee society, and the workings of clan vengeance. Many British soldiers in the garrison had Cherokee wives, and during the siege these women brought their husbands daily supplies of food, undermining the efforts of Cherokee warriors to starve the garrison into surrender. The Cherokee chief Willinawaw threatened the women with death for assisting the enemy, "but they laughing at his threats, boldly told him, they would succour their husbands every day, and were sure, that, if he killed them, their relations would make his



death atone for theirs.” Willinawaw knew better than to act on his threats, and “the garrison subsisted a long time on the provisions brought to them in this manner.”<sup>49</sup> Though Fort Loudon eventually fell, smallpox struck the Cherokee population, and through the spring and summer of 1761 Lieutenant Colonel James Grant’s army of Scottish soldiers, South Carolina militia, and Indian allies burned many Cherokee towns, destroying the crops needed for winter food. Attakullakulla, the chief aptly known as Little Carpenter for his diplomatic ability to fashion agreements, and other Cherokee leaders made peace in the fall.<sup>50</sup>

In 1763 Britain and France signed the **Treaty of Paris** (also called the Peace of Paris), ending the Seven Years’ War. Under the terms of the treaty, France handed over to Britain all of its North American territory east of the Mississippi, apart from New Orleans (which France had secretly ceded to Spain along with its territory west of the Mississippi the previous year; [Map 3.5](#)). Indians were stunned to learn that France had given up Native lands without even consulting them: they were undefeated and the French had no right to give their country to anyone. Britain’s long-sought victory was complete, but its attempts to regulate its newly acquired empire would generate resistance and wars of independence, in both Indian country and the American colonies.



Calloway, *First Peoples*, 6e, © 2019 Bedford/St. Martin's.

#### ♦ Map 3.5 North America before and after the Treaty of Paris

The Treaty of Paris in 1763 redrew the political map of North America. France withdrew from North America, handing its territory east of the Mississippi to Britain and west of the Mississippi to Spain. Indian peoples in the heart of the continent, who had been accustomed to dealing with the French, now had to deal with the British or the Spanish, and in some cases both. By royal proclamation that same year, Britain attempted to regulate colonial expansion beyond the Appalachian Mountains and triggered events that contributed to the American Revolution.

## Division within Tribal Communities

Some tribes split into factions over issues of peace, war, and alliance with competing European powers. Militants from different tribes joined forces in intertribal alliances, while at home they were increasingly divided from those who advocated a less militant

stance.<sup>51</sup> New communities formed as refugees from different tribes fled to safer areas or congregated in armed camps to continue the fight.

Recurrent warfare produced repercussions on social and political structures. Most Indian societies in the Eastern Woodlands had two classes of chiefs. Older civil or village chiefs, often called sachems, guided the community in daily affairs and in reaching consensus on issues of importance. Younger chiefs with impressive military records led warriors on campaigns but relinquished authority when they returned to the village. Violent deeds had no place in kin-based Indian communities where, with no courts, police, or jails, social harmony was a common and necessary condition, not just an ideal. However, as war became a normal state of affairs and war parties came and went with increasing regularity, war chiefs exerted more influence in tribal councils. European allies bolstered their position with supplies of guns and gifts of medals and uniforms, and the number of contenders for such support increased. Civil or peace chiefs saw their influence decline.

Those Iroquois people who moved into Ohio acted with growing independence from the Iroquois League centered at Onondaga. Ten warriors who traveled from the Ohio country to Philadelphia in 1747 explained to the colonists: “the old men at the Fire at Onondaga are unwilling to come into the War so the Young Indians, the Warriors, and the Captains consulted together and resolved to take up the English Hatchet against the will of their old People, and to lay their

old People aside as of no value but in time of Peace.”<sup>52</sup> A group of Seneca warriors in 1762 told Sir William Johnson that they, not the sachems, had “the power & Ability to settle Matters”; the sachems, they said, were “a parcell of Old People who say Much, but who Mean or Act very little.”<sup>53</sup> Civil chiefs lost their ability to restrain headstrong young warriors, which had provided an important generational balance in many Indian societies, and the voices for war in Indian communities grew louder and less restrained. Generations of recurrent warfare left an indelible mark on Indian societies and cultures and helped create the stereotype of warlike Indians that Europeans and later Americans invoked to justify treating them as “savages.”

European involvement also sometimes undercut the influence of Indian women in councils and decision making. Traditionally, Iroquois men did the hunting, fighting, trading, and diplomacy, which took them away from the villages and into the forest, but an Iroquois town “was largely a female world,” perhaps increasingly so as men went away to war more often. Men cleared the fields but women did the planting, cultivating, and harvesting, and women possessed the power attributed to fertility that was necessary in performing rituals that ensured successful crops. Men built them, but women controlled the longhouses that sheltered Iroquois clans and families. Women’s economic power gave them considerable political power. **Clan mothers** could decide the fate of captives, elect and remove council chiefs, and influence decisions for war or peace: “the Elders decide no important affair without their advice,”

noted one seventeenth-century French missionary.<sup>54</sup> Women in other eastern tribes exercised similar influence. A Quaker missionary at a Conestoga town on the Susquehanna River in 1706 was surprised to see women speaking in council; he was told “That some Women were wiser than some Men” and that the Conestogas never did anything without the advice of one particular old woman.<sup>55</sup>

European men were troubled by the influence and independence that Indian women displayed in public meetings as well as in their private lives, and they tried to curb it.<sup>56</sup> Europeans were primarily interested in Indians as allies (or enemies) in war and as customers in the fur and deerskin trades; consequently, they expected to deal with men, the warriors and hunters, not women, who traditionally were peacemakers and farmers. Even Sir William Johnson, who married the Mohawk woman Molly Brant and understood the role of women in Iroquois politics, tried to ignore them. At a council meeting in the spring of 1762, Johnson barred women and children and invited “none but those who were Qualified for, and Authorized to proceed on business.” When the Iroquois men reminded him that it was customary for their women to be present on such occasions “being of Much Estimation Amongst Us, in that we proceed from them,” Johnson replied that, while he appreciated the women’s “Zeal & Desire to promote a good work,” it was his wish that “no more persons would Attend any meeting than were necessary for the Discharge of the business on Which they were Summoned.” In the eyes of the British superintendent, Indian women were politically

unnecessary.<sup>57</sup> But European males failed to eradicate the influence of Iroquois clan mothers; Molly Brant's influence actually increased as a result of her connection to Sir William Johnson. She remained a considerable presence in British Iroquois diplomacy even after his death in 1774: an officer rated "Miss Molly Brant's Influence" over her people as "far superior to that of all their Chiefs put together."<sup>58</sup> In some ways, the changes bombarding Indian society affected women's lives less than men's. Many women "continued to hoe their corn, raise their children, and exercise traditional kinds of power just as they always had."<sup>59</sup>

## Captives Taken, Captives Returned

While thousands of Indians were enslaved in the Spanish, French, and English colonies, Europeans who fell into Indian hands as war **captives** sometimes experienced a different fate. In February 1704 a war party of Abenakis, Mohawks from Kahnawake, and Hurons from Lorette (both on the St. Lawrence River in Quebec), together with their French allies, sacked the town of Deerfield, Massachusetts, and carried off 112 people, including the town's minister, the Rev. John Williams, and his family. As the Indians fled north along the frozen Connecticut River, they tomahawked Williams's wife who had recently given birth and could not keep up the pace. But as they continued the three-hundred-mile trek through the snow to Canada, they carried the captive children or

pulled them along on toboggans. One of the children was Williams's seven-year-old daughter, Eunice. When they reached Canada, many of the captives were adopted into French or Indian communities. John Williams was liberated after two and a half years in captivity and wrote an account of his experiences, *The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion*. In it, he expounded the Puritan view of captivity as a testing of good Protestants, an ordeal which, with God's help, they survived by resisting the torments of Indian savages and the inducements of evil Jesuit priests who tried to turn them into Catholics. But Eunice's fate said something different about the experiences of some captives in Indian society. She stayed with the Indians, converted to Catholicism, and married a Mohawk of Kahnawake. Despite repeated entreaties from her father and brother, she refused to return home. One emissary reported that Eunice was "thoroughly naturalized" to the Indian way of life and "obstinately resolved to live and dye here." Another reported that the Indians "would as soon part with their hearts" as let Eunice return home. To her family's dismay and her countrymen's consternation, Eunice Williams — although she later visited her New England relatives — lived with the Indians for more than eighty years and died among the people with whom she had made her life, her home, and her own family.<sup>60</sup> For patriarchal Puritans like John Williams, a wife or daughter taken into captivity who became a baptized Catholic, married a French or Indian man, and refused to return to New England threatened an Englishman's masculinity, the safety of his household, and the stability of the social order.<sup>61</sup>



Washing Corn After Leaching, watercolor painting by Ernest Smith, 1937. Courtesy of the Rochester Museum & Science Center, Rochester, NY.

♦ Ernest Smith, *Washing Corn after Leaching*

This picture by Seneca artist Ernest Smith portrays how Seneca women might have dressed in Mary Jemison's time. Captured by Indians in 1758 at age fifteen, Mary Jemison was adopted by Senecas and spent the rest of her life as an Iroquois woman. Her life story, which she related in her old age, was first published in 1824 and has been reprinted more than thirty times.

Other captives at other times and places followed Eunice's example. During the French and Indian War in the Ohio valley, British and French soldiers seldom took Indian captives but, even as the fighting escalated, Indians continued to take captives, and adopted many of them into their clans and communities.<sup>62</sup> Mary Jemison, who was captured and adopted by the Senecas as a teenager in 1758, married an Indian husband and raised a family. In



time, she came to share fully in the lives of Seneca women (see [Mary Jemison's account on pages 177–79](#)). Captives had to adjust to new ways in their new situations, but sometimes they brought new ideas and technologies to their captors' societies.<sup>63</sup>

Indians also, when occasion demanded, returned captives. Captives who returned to colonial society did not always come home happily. Hans Fife, a German captured by the Senecas and then delivered up to the British, “immediately made his Escape to the Senecas” and joined them fighting the British in Pontiac’s War in 1763 (see [pages 193–95](#)). After Colonel Henry Bouquet defeated the Indians of the Ohio valley at Bushy Run later that year, he dictated peace terms that required the Indians to hand over all of the captives they had taken during the recent war. The Shawnees and Delawares complied, but they reminded Bouquet that the captives “have been all tied to us by Adoption. . . . we have taken as much care of these Prisoners, as if they were [our] own Flesh, and blood.” Many of the Shawnees’ captives resisted their “liberation.” An observer who was present when the Indians delivered their captives to Bouquet said that the children had become “accustomed to look upon the Indians as the only connexions they had, having been tenderly treated by them, and speaking their language,” and “they considered their new state in the light of a captivity, and parted from the savages with tears.” Some of the adult captives were equally reluctant to return, and the Shawnees “were obliged to bind several of their prisoners and force them along to the camp; and some women, who had been delivered up, afterwards found means

to escape and run back to the Indian towns. Some, who could not make their escape, clung to their savage acquaintances at parting, and continued many days in bitter lamentations, even refusing sustenance.”<sup>64</sup>



Dartmouth College Library.

♦ **The Indians Delivering Up the English Captives to Colonel Bouquet**

“Liberating” young captives in compliance with the terms of the peace treaty proved to be a heartbreaking experience for the captives and for their adoptive Shawnee and Delaware families. This engraving by Benjamin West accompanied William Smith’s *An Historical Account of the Expedition against the Ohio Indians in the Year 1764*, published in 1766.

Women and children were more likely to remain with their Indian captors than were men, but Eunice Williams and Mary Jemison were not typical. Many women captives clung to hopes of returning home and gathering back their children. Nevertheless,

white captives who “went Indian” remained a recurrent, and for Euro-Americans a troubling, occurrence on the frontier.

# RESPONSES TO CHANGE IN THE WEST: INDIAN POWER ON THE PLAINS

While countless Indians were displaced from their homelands elsewhere during the colonial era, the Great Plains was becoming a magnet for Indian peoples ([Map 3.6](#)). As horses, introduced by Spanish invaders to the south, and guns and trade goods from French and British traders to the east and northeast spread across the Plains, many groups migrated on to the open grasslands, taking advantage of new conditions and embracing new sources of power in building a new way of life. The image of the horse-riding, buffalo-hunting Plains Indian is an enduring stereotype, but that culture emerged in response to forces unleashed by European invasion and colonialism.



Information from *The Settling of North America: The Atlas of the Great Migrations into North America from the Ice Age to Ellis Island and Beyond* by Helen Hornbeck Tanner, Janice Reiff, and John H. Long, eds.

#### ♦ Map 3.6 Movement of Peoples onto the Plains, c. 1500–1800

Long before Euro-Americans pushed west onto the Great Plains, Indian peoples had been moving into and across the vast grasslands. Some peoples, like the Quapaws, Osages, Omahas, and Poncas, followed river valleys west before horses reached the Plains. Others, like the Cheyennes, Comanches, and Lakotas, migrated deep into the Plains to take

advantage of new opportunities presented by the spread of horses. Some peoples were still in motion and competing for position on the Plains when the Euro-Americans arrived.

By the end of the eighteenth century, two broad categories of Indian peoples lived on the Great Plains: sedentary farming tribes and mobile buffalo hunters. The Mandans, Hidatsas, and Arikaras, for instance, had lived alongside the Missouri River for hundreds of years. They inhabited earth-lodge villages, cultivated extensive acreage of crops, practiced elaborate rituals, and observed rank and status within their societies. British, French, and Spanish merchants traded in their villages. Many of the nomadic buffalo-hunting peoples, such as the Lakota Sioux, Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Comanches, arrived much later.

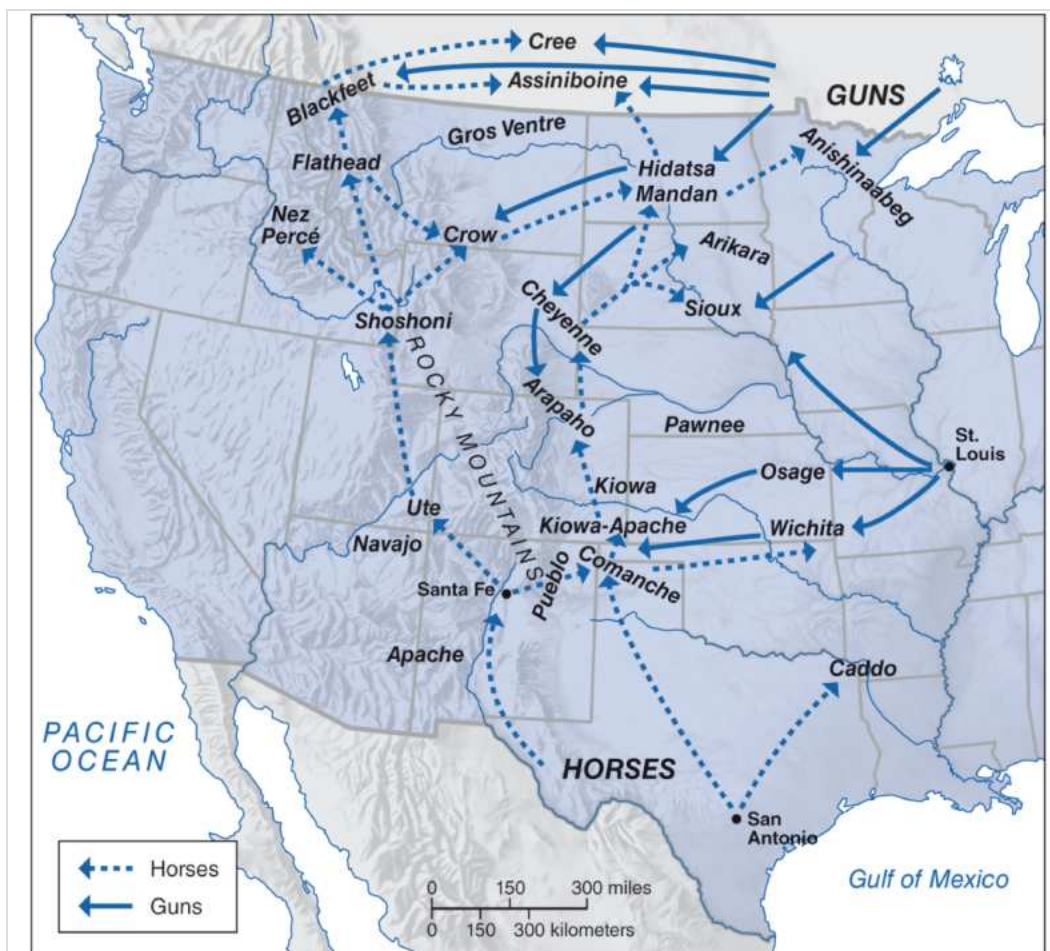
## Horses Transform the Plains

The Plains Indians' way of life was the product of interplay between their grasslands environment, vast herds of roaming buffalo, and horses. Spreading by trade and raids, horses reached virtually every tribe on the Plains by the mid-eighteenth century ([Map 3.7](#)).

Apaches traded horses to Pueblos; Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches traded them to Caddos; Wichitas and Pawnees traded them to Osages; Comanches and Utes traded them to Shoshonis. Shoshonis then traded them to Crows and to the Flatheads and Nez Perces in the Plateau region, who traded them to the Blackfeet. Blackfeet



traded them to Assiniboines. Crows, Kiowas, Arapahos, **Cheyennes**, and other tribes brought horses to the villages of the Mandans, Hidatsas, and Arikaras. The Lakotas, the western Sioux, obtained horses at the Arikara villages and traded them to their eastern Yankton and Dakota relatives.<sup>65</sup> *Sunkawakan*, the Lakota word for horse, means sacred or powerful dog. Lakota writer Joseph M. Marshall III remarks that horses did not create Lakota culture, but they “took it to levels never dreamed of.”<sup>66</sup>



Calloway, *First Peoples*, 6e, © 2019 Bedford/St. Martin's.

◆ Map 3.7 The Diffusion of Guns and Horses across the Plains, 1680–1750

In the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Indian peoples on the Great Plains incorporated into their cultures major factors of change brought by Europeans: horses, introduced by Spaniards in the Southwest, and firearms, introduced primarily by French and British traders to the northeast.

Horses transformed Plains Indians into mobile communities, capable of traveling great distances and fully exploiting the rich resources of their environment. In Cheyenne tradition, the prophet Sweet Medicine foretold the coming of the horse and how it would change people's lives: "This animal will carry you on his back and help you in many ways," he said. "Those far hills that seem only a blue vision in the distance take many days to reach now; but with this animal you can get there in a short time, so fear him not." When the first Cheyenne saw horses, sometime in the early eighteenth century, "he thought of the prophecy of Sweet Medicine, that there would be animals with round hoofs and shaggy manes and tails, and men could ride on their backs into the Blue Vision. He went back to the village and told the old Indians, and they remembered."<sup>67</sup>

The buffalo that Plains Indians now hunted from horseback provided the tribes with food, shelter, clothing, tools, and weapons; it became the economic and cultural base of the societies that developed on the Plains. Women dressed and prepared the meat, made tools from the bones, and tanned the hides, producing tipis, clothing, moccasins, and other articles. The Crow woman Pretty Shield recalled her grandmothers' talk about the hard lives they had



lived before horses and decided that horses had changed everything for the better: “there was always fat meat, glad singing, and much dancing in our villages,” she remembered nostalgically.<sup>68</sup> The new way of life emphasized the man’s role as warrior and hunter and seems to have brought an increase in polygyny in some societies, as successful hunters could afford more wives.

Although there was great diversity among the equestrian hunting tribes in their languages, social structures, and historical experiences, in comparison with the farming peoples of the Missouri River they shared some common characteristics. They depended on the buffalo for subsistence. Easily transportable skin tipis and a fluid band structure (living most of the year in relatively small bands and coming together in larger gatherings only at certain times) enabled them to follow the herds at will, and restraints on individual freedom were kept to a minimum. Public opinion and tradition exerted more influence than the words of chiefs, whose positions depended on their own prestige and the example they set. The new **horse-buffalo complex** was the source of power, prosperity, and freedom for Plains societies.

## Jostling for Position on the Plains

Horses were a mixed blessing. They brought new wealth and power, but they also brought ecological instability, economic disruption,

and social inequality.<sup>69</sup> The horse-buffalo complex was also the source of escalating conflict as the Great Plains was transformed into a huge arena of competition between rival tribes jostling for position and rich hunting territories. When the first Europeans arrived on the northern Plains in the eighteenth century they met many Shoshoni or Snake Indians. Descendants of peoples who once inhabited the Great Basin region of Nevada, the Shoshonis had moved north and east. They acquired horses early in the eighteenth century from Ute and Comanche relatives to the south and pushed onto the northern Plains. But as other groups edged onto the Plains and as the Blackfeet to the north acquired both horses and guns, the Shoshonis pulled back into the Rocky Mountains. Some Kiowa and Comanche bands were still on the northern Plains at the end of the century, but they continued their migration southward to the area of present-day Texas and Oklahoma. En route, the Comanches came into conflict with Apache bands, whom they pushed west off the Plains and into areas of Arizona and New Mexico. The Apaches and Navajos had themselves migrated from the north several hundred years before, coming into contact and conflict with the Pueblo Indians of the Southwest and with the northern frontier of Spain's empire.

Other groups entered the Plains from the east. The Crow Indians split off from their Hidatsa relatives sometime before 1700, moved onto the Plains, and eventually took up residence in the rich hunting territory of the Yellowstone region. The Cheyennes, who once lived in sedentary farming villages in Minnesota and then

North Dakota, crossed the Missouri River and took up life as mounted hunters on the Plains in the late 1700s. Moving first to the Black Hills, they swung south to the central Plains after 1800. Like American settlers who came later, the Cheyennes were drawn westward by new opportunities, but in their case the opportunities were the vast buffalo herds and “the chance to become middlemen in a sprawling trading system that reached from New Mexico to Canada.”<sup>70</sup>

## At the Confluence of Guns and Horses

By the eighteenth century, the Great Plains had become a battleground. Warriors raided for horses and fought for honor; tribes clashed over hunting grounds and resources. War became an integral part of Plains Indian life. Young men sought visions that would bring them success in battle against their enemies, joined warrior societies that encouraged and sustained their martial spirit, and participated in elaborate rituals in preparation for war. Success in war brought status and prestige. Counting coup on an enemy — touching or striking an enemy without necessarily harming him — or stealthily stealing horses from an enemy camp carried more prestige than killing or conquering. However, as intertribal competition intensified on the Plains, warfare became more deadly. European and American traders had introduced a lethal new

element: guns. As had Eastern Woodland peoples in the seventeenth century, Plains Indians in the eighteenth century found that they had to have guns to survive in an increasingly dangerous world.

Guns dispersed across the Plains through a series of networks. Like other Indians in North America, Plains Indians were accustomed to trading over long distances. Indian hunters living deep in the Plains already traveled to the Missouri River trading centers to exchange meat and leather for the corn, tobacco, and other crops grown by women in the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara villages; now bands of Crows, Cheyennes, and other tribes brought horses and meat to the villages, traded for guns and manufactured goods, and then headed back to the Plains where they traded those guns and goods to more distant neighbors (see [Map 3.7, “The Diffusion of Guns and Horses across the Plains, 1680–1750,” page 157](#)). Crow traders often traveled to a rendezvous with the Shoshonis in southwestern Wyoming; the Shoshonis in turn traded with the Nez Perces, Flatheads, and other groups in the mountains. Many of those mountain groups were in contact with Native traders at The Dalles, the great salmon fishing site on the Columbia River, who in turn dealt with European and American maritime traders on the Pacific coast.

The Sioux, living in Minnesota around the headwaters of the Mississippi, had fought for hunting territories in the western Great Lakes region against Anishinaabe and Cree enemies armed with

guns. Pressured by firearms in the forests and beckoned by horses and buffalo on the Plains, some Sioux began to move west. While the eastern Sioux — the Dakotas — remained in their Minnesota homelands, the western Sioux — the Lakotas — migrated out onto the northern and central plains, where they began to pressure other tribes and wrest control of new hunting territories there.<sup>71</sup>

## War and Diplomacy on the Southern Plains

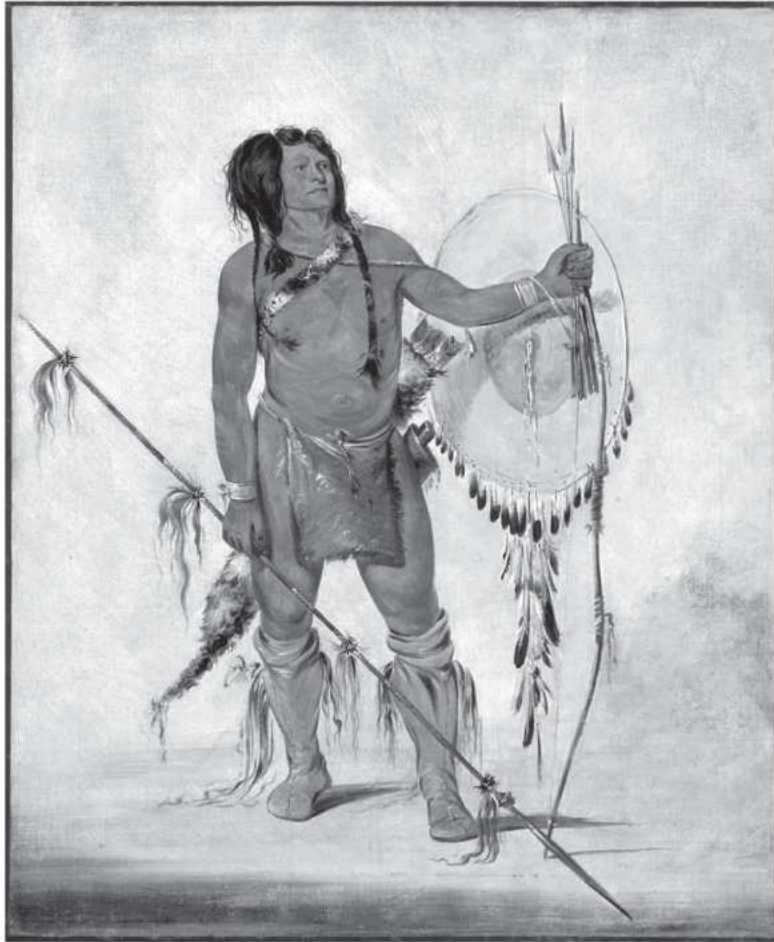
Europeans imagined extending their empires into the trans-Mississippi West although their knowledge of the physical and human geography of the vast interior remained vague and their imperial ambitions depended on establishing and maintaining alliances with powerful Indian nations.<sup>72</sup> At the end of the seventeenth century, France and Spain both had their eyes on Texas. The French saw it as an area into which they could extend the network of Indian trade and alliances they had already established in the Mississippi valley. For Spain, Texas represented a northern periphery of a great American empire, a vast borderland that might be used to thwart French intrusions and protect more valuable holdings to the south, particularly the silver mines of Mexico. Both powers had aspirations in the area, but real power lay with the Indian peoples who lived there. To a large extent, they determined which Europeans entered and operated in their country.

The **Caddos** were farming peoples living in what is now eastern Texas and Louisiana. In the century and a half since Spaniards from the de Soto expedition wandered through their country in 1542, epidemic diseases had cut their population dramatically, perhaps from as many as 200,000 to as few as 10,000 by the late seventeenth century. A huge smallpox epidemic struck the Caddos in 1691, and diseases continued to thin their numbers through the next century. Some twenty-five Caddoan communities in several geographic groupings formed three loose confederacies: the Hasinai (whom the Spaniards called *Tejas*) lived in the Neches and Angelina river valleys of eastern Texas; the Cadodachos and Nachitoches inhabited the Red River region in the north. Despite falling populations and increasing pressure from mounted Apache and Osage enemies, the Caddos remained a formidable force. They were strategically located, and far-reaching trade routes ran in and out of their villages. The French and Spanish each recognized the Caddos's position and power and courted their allegiance.

The Caddos were not unreceptive. Accustomed to making pacts of friendship with other tribes, they extended their network of trade and alliance to include Europeans, who might provide merchandise and military assistance against their enemies. When they met Europeans, Caddos smoked the calumet pipe with them, gave them gifts, and offered them their women. Europeans frequently misinterpreted this as evidence that Indians had no morals. Caddo women often functioned as diplomatic mediators, but Europeans saw their dress, body tattoos, and ritualized greetings that involved

touching as evidence of promiscuity. Frenchmen who entered Caddo country, however, seem to have overcome their qualms, easing their relationships with the local Caddos. Spain tried to break the connections that the French in Louisiana had forged with the Caddos and made efforts to win them over to a Spanish alliance. But Indian, not Spanish, power determined what happened in Texas.<sup>73</sup>

Increasingly, Spain found itself confronting a new and growing power on the southern Plains, one produced and propelled by the horses the Spaniards had introduced. Comanches and Utes advanced together on to the southern Plains out of the foothills of the Rockies. They drove most of the Apache bands off the Plains, into the Southwest desert and against the Spanish frontier. They captured and enslaved women and children from other tribes, and, like the Apaches they displaced, developed raiding economies that preyed on Spanish (and later Mexican) societies. As the Comanches and Utes consolidated their position as horse and buffalo Indians on the rich grasslands of the southern Plains, they also incorporated other peoples and built exchange networks with other tribes that enabled them to dominate trade between New Mexico and French Louisiana. By mid-century, the Ute-Comanche alliance had dissolved, and the Comanches were the dominant and growing power on the southern Plains.<sup>74</sup>



Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, DC/Art Resource, NY.

♦ **George Catlin, *His-oo-san-chees***

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the Comanches were emerging as the dominant power on the southern Plains. This Comanche warrior, known as His-oo-san-chees or Little Spaniard, was painted by the American artist George Catlin in the 1830s.

When Tomás Vélez Cachupín became governor of the Spanish province of New Mexico in 1749, he inherited a colony beset by Indian enemies on all sides. Mounted Utes, Navajos, Comanches, and Apaches raided Spanish and Pueblo communities alike. Lacking the manpower and resources to maintain a constant war effort,



Vélez Cachupín turned to diplomacy to secure the protection his province needed. In 1751 he defeated a large Comanche war party, pinning it down at a waterhole and killing almost one hundred warriors. Then he made peace, sitting down and smoking with the Comanche chiefs who visited trade fairs at the Pueblo towns. He made peace with the Utes, Navajos, and Apaches as well. He maintained that Spain had been too quick to respond with force and had alienated Indians whose friendship might have been secured by trade and diplomacy. He said, “There is not a nation among the numerous ones which live around this government in which a kind word does not have more effect than the execution of the sword.” He had employed both.<sup>75</sup> But lasting peace remained elusive, and Spanish–Comanche relations would continue to oscillate between open conflicts and cautious truces.

# CONCLUSION

European invasion and colonialism, and the forces of change they unleashed, affected Indian peoples all across the country. By the end of the seventeenth century, Indians in New England and in New Mexico waged separate wars of independence against their colonial oppressors, with different results. In the eighteenth century, Indian people became involved in recurrent wars: they fought against European colonists to protect their lands, lives, and families; they fought alongside colonists in imperial conflicts against other European powers, and they fought other Indians as allies of colonial forces or in escalating intertribal competition over hunting territory, horses, guns, and trade. The new world of warfare had far-reaching repercussions in Indian country and in Indian communities. At the same time, Indian statesmen engaged in diplomacy with the Europeans, negotiating treaties that revolved around wampum belts and indigenous rituals as well as pens and parchment. Sometimes they sold land, but they also built and maintained alliances and charted their own paths between competing European colonists, who found they needed Indian allies as well as Indian land and trade and had to learn how to do business in Indian country. Indian people had long experience in dealing with other peoples and forging new ways of life in new circumstances, and they continued to do so. By the time the United

States acquired California, Arizona, New Mexico, and parts of Utah and Colorado in 1848, Indian peoples living in those regions had been in contact with Spanish-speaking peoples for almost three hundred years. They had adopted new elements and practices — many rode horses, tended sheep and goats, carried crucifixes, spoke Spanish, wore Spanish-style clothing, and intermarried with Hispanos — but they had preserved their identities and cultures in the face of tremendous pressures. The United States would step up the pressures, but it was dealing with veterans in a long war for cultural survival.

# CHAPTER 3 REVIEW

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## KEY TERMS

Metacom

King Philip's War

Pueblo Revolt

Popé

Wampum

Covenant Chain

Six Nations

Abenakis

Seven Years' War/French and Indian War

Fort Duquesne

Treaty of Paris

Clan mothers

Captives

[Cheyennes](#)

[Horse-buffalo complex](#)

[Caddos](#)

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## REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Why did European invasion and colonialism generate escalating warfare and what effects did it have in Indian country?
2. What roles did diplomacy and treaty-making play in relations between Indians and Europeans? How did Native American and European diplomacies differ?
3. What effects did long-standing rivalries between European nations have on Native and European communities in colonial America?
4. How did the introduction of horses change life on the Great Plains?

# DOCUMENTS

## Indian Reasons for Going to War



SOMETIMES, HOW WARS are remembered and written about can be as important as how they were fought, and a “contest of words” ensues over the memory and meaning of the conflict.<sup>76</sup> It is often said that the winners write the history books, and this is especially true in the case of wars waged by and against American Indians. Getting at Indian motivations and experiences is extremely difficult in documents created by Europeans who saw the wars in their own ways and cast their Indian enemies in one-dimensional roles as treacherous savages. Occasionally, however, documents do include Native voices, faintly heard. The two documents reprinted here provide glimpses into Indian understandings and explanations of the causes of the war in testimonies recorded by European pens and filtered through the lens of European culture.

Not surprisingly, the interpretation of King Philip’s War has generated extreme views, as participants and historians recount the catastrophe and evaluate its meaning. The English at the time saw

the conflict as a civil rebellion<sup>77</sup> and laid the blame squarely on the shoulders of Metacom, whom they called King Philip. Even as the English preached the war as divine punishment for their own erring ways, they regarded Metacom as a fiend and traitor who deserved the traitor's death and dismemberment he received. Generations of American historians, accepting the Puritans' accounts of the conflict as fact, portrayed the war as a vital victory in securing the Anglo-Saxon beachhead in North America and saw it as forging a new American identity that forever excluded Indians. Indian people and most modern ethnohistorians blame Puritan land hunger, arrogance, and aggression for triggering the bloodshed. Historian Francis Jennings in 1975 renamed King Philip's War "The Second Puritan Conquest" (the first being the Pequot War) and denounced vicious and hypocritical colonists for fomenting war in a campaign to seize Indian lands.<sup>78</sup> More than three hundred years after the conflict, historians are still trying to achieve a balanced understanding of a racial war that shattered patterns of coexistence.

The English, not the Wampanoags, recorded assessments of Metacom, and their views were the primary ones available to later historians. Reverend Increase Mather, one of the leading scholars and theologians in Puritan New England, wrote two books about King Philip's War, one of them while the war was still in progress. For Mather, as for most Puritans, the war was both divine punishment and an ordeal that tested the colonists' virtue, courage, and devotion to God. In Mather's account, the Puritans brought the war on themselves by their sinful ways among one other, not by

their treatment of the Indians. Despite this placement of blame, he named the Indians as the instigators of the conflict: “The Heathen people amongst whom we live, and whose Land the Lord God of our Fathers hath given to us for a rightfull Possession, have at sundry times been plotting mischievous devices,” he wrote. Metacom was the villain and had to be destroyed. Mather later recounted Metacom’s grisly end at the hands of the English and their Indian allies: “And in that very place where he first contrived and began his mischief, was he taken and destroyed, and there was he . . . was cut into four quarters, and is now hanged up as a monument of revenging Justice, his head being cut off and carried away to Plymouth, his Hands were brought to Boston. So let all thine Enemies perish, O Lord!”<sup>79</sup>

Although no Indian voices could challenge Mather’s in the wake of the bloody war, Metacom himself had already provided an Indian explanation of the causes of the conflict. In June 1675, just about a week before the war broke out, Rhode Island deputy governor John Easton and a delegation from his colony met with Metacom in an effort to mediate the Indians’ escalating dispute with the United Colonies of New England (Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, and Connecticut). This effort to stop the drift to war failed, but the meeting did produce a record of the Indians’ accumulating grievances against the colonists. Contrary to other English writers who claimed Metacom was intent on war, Easton depicted him as a leader backed into a corner yet still willing to try and negotiate a solution that might restore justice, preserve land, and secure safety



for his people without resorting to violence, which he acknowledged was “the worst way.”<sup>80</sup>

In 1681 Governor Otermín attempted to retake New Mexico from the Pueblos, who had defended their independence in the war of 1680 (see [“The Pueblo War of Independence,” pages 137–39](#)). Divisions had quickly surfaced among the Pueblos, and the town of Isleta welcomed the returning Spaniards. But elsewhere Pueblo resistance remained strong, and Otermín was able to do little more than interrogate captured Indians as to their reasons “for rebelling, forsaking the law of God and obedience to his Majesty, and committing such grave and atrocious crimes.” The Indians said “that the uprising had been deliberated upon for a long time.” Some placed blame on Popé or the devil. Others cited continued Spanish oppression and said “they were tired of the work they had to do for the Spaniards . . . and that, being weary, they rebelled.” One eighty-year-old man, whose life spanned the era of Spanish colonial rule, declared “that the resentment which all the Indians have in their hearts has been so strong, from the time this kingdom was discovered, because the religious and the Spaniards took away their idols and forbade their sorceries and idolatries.” He had “heard this resentment spoken of since he was of an age to understand.”<sup>81</sup>

A twenty-eight-year-old Indian named Juan, from the Pueblo of Tesuque, provided information about the rebellion after Spanish priests absolved him and had him swear an oath to tell the truth.

They recorded his answers in the document that follows the account of King Philip's War.

**JOHN EASTON *Metacom Explains the Causes of "King Philip's War," from A Relacion of the Indyan Warre (1675)***

For forty years' time reports and jealousies of war had been very frequent that we did not think that now a war was breaking forth, but about a week before it did we had cause to think it would. Then to endeavor to prevent it, we sent a man to Philip [Metacom] that if he would come to the ferry we would come over to speak with him. About four mile we had to come thither. Our messenger come to them, they not aware of it behaved themselves as furious but suddenly appeased when they understood who he was and what he came for. He called his council and agreed to come to us came himself unarmed and about forty of his men armed. Then five of us went over. Three were magistrates. We sat very friendly together. We told him our business was to endeavor that they might not receive or do wrong. They said that was well they had done no wrong, the English wronged them, we said we knew the English said they [the Wampanoag] wronged them and the Indians said the English wronged them but our desire was the quarrel might rightly be decided in the best way, and not as dogs decided their quarrels. The Indians owned that fighting was the worst way then they propounded how right might take place, we said by arbitration. They said all English agreed against them and so by arbitration they had had much wrong, many square miles of land so taken from

them for English would have English Arbitrators, and once they were persuaded to give in their arms, that thereby jealousy might be removed and the English having their arms would not deliver them as they had promised, until they consented to pay 100 pounds, and now they had not so much land or money, that they were as good be killed as leave all their livelihood. We said they might choose a Indian king,<sup>o</sup> and the English might choose the governor of New York that neither had cause to say either were parties in the difference. They said they had not heard of that way and said we honestly spoke so we were persuaded if that way had been tendered they would have accepted. We did endeavor not to hear their complaints, said it was not convenient for us now to consider of, but to endeavor to prevent war, said to them when in war against English blood was spilled that engaged all Englishmen for we were to be all under one king.<sup>o</sup> We knew what their complaints would be, and in our colony had removed some of them in sending for Indian rulers in what the crime concerned Indians lives which they very lovingly accepted and agreed with us to their execution and said so they were able to satisfy their subjects when they knew an Indian suffered duly, but said in what was only between their Indians and not in townships that we had purchased, they would not have us prosecute and that they had a great fear to have any of their Indians should be called or forced to be Christian Indians. They said that such were in everything more mischievous, only dissemblers, and then the English made them not subject to their kings, and by their lying to wrong their kings. We knew it to be true, and we promising them that however in government to

Indians all should be alike and that we knew it was our kings will it should be so, that although we were weaker than other colonies, they having submitted to our king to protect them others dared not otherwise to molest them. So they expressed they took that to be well, that we had little cause to doubt but that to us under the king they would have yielded to our determinations in what any should have complained to us against them, but Philip charged it to be dishonesty in us to put off the hearing the complaints; therefore we consented to hear them. They said they had been the first in doing good to the English, and the English the first in doing wrong, said when the English first came their king's father<sup>o</sup> was as a great man and the English as a little child, he constrained other Indians from wronging the English and gave them corn and showed them how to plant and was free to do them any good and had let them have a 100 times more land, then now the king had for his own people, but their king's brother when he was king came miserably to die by being forced to court as they judged poisoned,<sup>o</sup> and another grievance was if 20 of their honest Indians testified that a Englishman had done them wrong, it was as nothing, and if but one of their worst Indians testified against any Indian or their king when it pleased the English that was sufficient. Another grievance was when their kings sold land the English would say it was more than they agreed to and a writing must be proof against all them, and sum of their kings had done wrong to sell so much. He left his people none and some being given to drunkenness the English made them drunk and then cheated them in bargains, but now their kings were forewarned not for to part with land for nothing in

comparison to the value thereof. Now whom the English had owned for king or queen they [the English] would disinherit, and make another king that would give or sell them their land, that now they had no hopes left to keep any land. Another grievance the English cattle and horses still increased that when they removed 30 miles from where English had anything to do, they could not keep their corn from being spoiled, they never being used to fence, and thought when the English bought land of them that they would have kept their cattle upon their own land. Another grievance the English were so eager to sell the Indians liquors that most of the Indians spent all in drunkenness and then ravaged upon [plundered] the sober Indians and they did believe often did hurt the English cattle, and their kings could not prevent it. We knew before these were their grand complaints, but then we only endeavored to persuade that all complaints might be righted without war, but could have no other answer but that they had not heard of that way for the Governor of York and an Indian king to have the hearing of it. We had cause to think if that had been tendered it would have been accepted. We endeavored that however they should lay down their arms for the English were too strong for them. They said then the English should do to them as they did when they were too strong for the English. So we departed without any discourteousness, and suddenly had letter from Plimouth Governor they intended in arms to conform [subjugate] Philip, but no information what that was they required or what terms he refused to have their quarrel decided, and in a weeks time after we had been with the Indians the war thus begun.

◦ The English often called Indian chiefs “kings,” although the term creates a misleading impression of the power and position of Native leaders.

◦ *when in war . . . under one king*: Once war broke out, the English would be united against the Indians.

◦ Philip’s father, Massasoit.

◦ Wamsutta (see [page 133](#)).

*SOURCE*: John Easton, “A Relacion of the Indyan Warre,” (1675; publ. 1858), as modernized and reprinted in *Narratives of the Indian Wars, 1675–1699*, ed. Charles H. Lincoln (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1913), 8–12.

### ***Declaration of the Indian Juan (1681)***

Having been questioned according to the tenor of the case, and asked for what reasons and causes all the Indians of the kingdom in general rebelled, returning to idolatry, forsaking the law of God and obedience to his Majesty, burning images and temples, and committing the other crimes which they did, he said that what he knows concerning this question is that not all of them joined the said rebellion willingly; that the chief mover of it is an Indian who is a native of the pueblo of San Juan, named El Popé, and that from fear of this Indian all of them joined in the plot that he made. Thus he replied.

Asked why they held the said Popé in such fear and obeyed him, and whether he was the chief man of the pueblo, or a good Christian, or a sorcerer, he said that the common report that circulated and still is current among all the natives is that the said

Indian Popé talks with the devil, and for this reason all held him in terror, obeying his commands although they were contrary to the orders of the señores governors, the prelate and the religious, and the Spaniards, he giving them to understand that the word which he spoke was better than that of all the rest; and he states that it was a matter of common knowledge that the Indian Popé, talking with the devil, killed in his own house a son-in-law of his named Nicolás Bua, the governor of the pueblo of San Juan. On being asked why he killed him, he said that it was so that he might not warn the Spaniards of the rebellion, as he intended to do. And he said that after the rebellion was over, and the señor governor and captain-general had left, defeated, the said Indian Popé went in company with another native of the pueblo of Taos named Saca through all the pueblos of the kingdom, being very well pleased, saying and giving the people to understand that he had carried out the said uprising, and that because of his wish and desire the things that had happened had been done, the religious and the people who died had been killed, and those who remained alive had been driven out. He [the deponent] said that the time when he learned of the rebellion was three days before it was carried out.

Asked how the said Indian, Popé, convoked all the people of the kingdom so that they obeyed him in the treason, he said that he took a cord made of maguey fiber and tied some knots in it which indicated the number of days until the perpetration of the treason. He sent it through all the pueblos as far as that of La Isleta, there remaining in the whole kingdom only the nation of the Piros who

did not receive it; and the order which the said Popé gave when he sent the said cord was under strict charge of secrecy, commanding that the war captains take it from pueblo to pueblo. He [the deponent] learned of this circumstance after the kingdom was depopulated.

Asked to state and declare what things occurred after they found themselves without religious or Spaniards, he said that what he, the declarant, knows concerning this question is that following the departure of the señor governor and captain-general, the religious, and the Spaniards who were left alive, the said Indian, Popé, came down in person with all the war captains and many other Indians, proclaiming through the pueblos that the devil was very strong and much better than God, and that they should burn all the images and temples, rosaries and crosses, and that all the people should discard the names given them in holy baptism and call themselves whatever they liked. They should leave the wives whom they had taken in holy matrimony and take any one whom they might wish, and they were not to mention in any manner the name of God, of the most holy Virgin, or of the Saints, on pain of severe punishment, particularly that of lashing, saying that the commands of the devil were better than that which they taught them of the law of God. They were ordered likewise not to teach the Castilian language in any pueblo and to burn the seeds which the Spaniards sowed and to plant only maize and beans, which were the crops of their ancestors. And he said that all the nations obeyed in everything except in the command concerning Spanish seeds,



which some of them sowed because of their fondness for the Spaniards. Thus he replied.

Asked whether they thought that perhaps the Spaniards would never return to this kingdom at any time, or that they would have to return as their ancestors did, and in this case what plans or dispositions they would make, and what else he knew about this matter, he said that they were of different minds regarding it, because some said that if the Spaniards should come they would have to fight to the death, and others said that in the end they must come and gain the kingdom because they were sons of the land and had grown up with the natives.

*SOURCE:* Declaration of the Indian Juan, December 18, 1681, in Charles Wilson Hackett, ed., *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín's Attempted Reconquest, 1680–1682*, 2 vols. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1942), vol. 2, 233–35. Reprinted by permission.

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. What information do these documents convey about the causes of the revolts and the situation Indian peoples faced in New England and New Mexico?
2. Were there any parallels or commonalities in causation and in Pueblo and New England Algonquian experiences of colonialism?

3. What do the documents reveal about the Indian people's grievances, fears, and understanding of the colonists? What do they reveal about the colonists' understanding of Indian grievances and the causes of conflict?
4. What values and problems do the documents present as historical sources?

## An English Treaty and a Penobscot Response



EARLY TREATIES INVOLVED A BLENDING of European and Native American traditions of conducting diplomacy. Indian nations had their own ways of establishing, maintaining, and renewing relationships with other nations, and their negotiations involved rituals of exchanging gifts, wampum, and words. When Indian peoples met Europeans in treaty councils, they attached importance to the protocols, to what was said, and to the agreements that were reached. The “treaty” was the whole meeting and they would remember, and retell for future generations, what was said and done there. For Europeans, what mattered most was what was written down; for them the treaty was the document that recorded the terms of the agreement and bore the signatures of the participants, and they would refer to the written treaty as a legal document that gave them title to Indian lands and that bound the Indian peoples to its terms.

Treaty documents drawn up by Europeans constituted only the summary of lengthy proceedings with Indian delegates in formal councils. Misunderstandings, mistranslations, and even deliberate distortions and deceptions sometimes crept into the final text. In 1727, the English finalized a treaty with several bands of Abenaki Indians at Casco Bay in what is now Maine. As was usual in English treaties with Eastern Indians, the language and the terms of the treaty placed blame for past hostilities squarely on the shoulders of the Indians and depicted the Indians as rebellious subjects begging peace from their sovereign King George. This testimony by a Penobscot who participated in the Casco Bay negotiations is extremely valuable in that it gives a detailed account of the deliberations from the Indians' perspective and points to the gulf that could exist between what Indian delegates remembered saying and what English treaty makers recorded. Loron, alias Sauguaarum or Sagourrab, Alexis, François Xavier, Meganumbee, and others were delegates from the Penobscot, Norridgewock, Passamaquoddy, Maliseet, and other tribes that the English called "Eastern Indians."

### ***Treaty between the Abenaki Indians and the English at Casco Bay (1727)***

#### THE SUBMISSION AND AGREEMENT OF THE DELEGATES OF THE EASTERN INDIANS

Whereas the several Tribes of the Eastern Indians Viz. The Penobscot, Nerridgawock, St. Johns, Cape Sables, and other Tribes Inhabiting within His Majesties Territories of *New England* and

*Nova Scotia*, who have been engaged in the present War, from whom we, Saguaarum alias Loron, Arexis, Francois Xavier, & Meganumbee, are Delegated and fully Impowered to enter into Articles of Pacification with His Majesties Governments of the *Massachusetts-Bay, New-Hampshire* and *Nova Scotia*, have contrary to the several Treaties they have Solemnly entred into with the said Governments, made an Open Rupture, and have continued some Years in Acts of Hostility against the Subjects of His Majesty King GEORGE within the said Governments.

They being now sensible of the Miseries and Troubles they have involved themselves in, and being desirous to be restored to His Majesties Grace and Favour, and to Live in Peace with all His Majesties Subjects of the said Three Governments, and the Province of *New York* and Colonies of *Connecticut* and *Rhode Island* and that all former Acts of Injury be forgotten, have Concluded to make, and we do by these Presents in the Name and Behalf of the said Tribes, make Our Submission unto His most Excellent Majesty GEORGE by the Grace of GOD of *Great Britain, France* and *Ireland*, KING Defender of the Faith, &c. in as Full and Ample Manner, as any of our Predecessors have heretofore done.

And we do hereby promise and engage with the Honourable WILLIAM DUMMER Esq; as he is Lieutenant Governour and Commander in Chief of His Majesties Province of the *Massachusetts Bay* and with the Governours or Commanders in Chief of the said Province for the Time being, *That is to say*.

We the said Delegates for and in behalf of the several Tribes abovesaid, Do Promise and Engage, that at all times for Ever, from and after the Date of these Presents, We and They will Cease and Forbear all Acts of Hostility, Injuries and Discords towards all the Subjects of the Crown of *Great Britain*, and not offer the least Hurt, Violence or Molestation to them or any of them in their Persons or Estates, But will hence forward hold and maintain a firm and constant Amity and Friendship with all the English, and will never confederate or combine with any other Nation to their Prejudice.

That all the Captives taken in this present War, shall at or before, the Time of the further Ratification of this Treaty be restored without any Ransom or Payment to be made by them or any of them.

That His Majesty's Subjects the English shall and may peaceably and quietly enter upon, improve and for ever enjoy all and singular their Rights of Land and former Settlements, Properties and Possessions within the Eastern parts of the said Province of the *Massachusetts Bay*, together with all Islands, Isletts, Shoars, Beaches and Fishery within the same, without any Molestation or Claims by us or any other Indians, and be in no ways Molested, Interrupted or Disturbed therein. Saving unto the *Penobscot*, *Nerridgawock*, and other Tribes within His Majesties Province aforesaid, and their Natural Decendants respectively, all their Lands, Liberties and Properties not by them conveyed or Sold to or

Possessed by any of the English subjects as aforesaid, as also the Privilege of Fishing, Hunting, and Fowling as formerly.

That all Trade and Commerce which hereafter may be Allowed betwixt the English and Indians, shall be under such Management and Regulation as the Government of the *Massachusetts* Province shall Direct.

If any Controversie or Difference at any time hereafter happen to arise between any of the English and Indians for any real or supposed Wrong or Injury done on either side, no Private Revenge shall be taken for the same but proper Application shall be made to His Majesties Government upon the place for Remedy or Redress thereof in a due course of Justice.

We Submitting Our selves to be Ruled and Governed by His Majesty's Laws, and desiring to have the Benefit of the same.

We also the said Delegates, in Behalf of the Tribes of Indians, inhabiting within the French Territories, who have Assisted us in this War, for whom we are fully Impowered to Act in this present Treaty, Do hereby Promise and Engage, that they and every of them shall henceforth Cease and Forbear all Acts of Hostility Force and Violence towards all and every the Subjects of His Majesty the King of Great Britain.

We do further in Behalf of the Tribe of the *Penobscot* Indians, promise and engage, that if any of the other Tribes intended to be

Included in this Treaty, shall notwithstanding refuse to Confirm and Ratifie this present Treaty entred into on their Behalf and continue or Renew Acts of Hostility against the English, in such case the said *Penobscot* Tribe shall joine their Young Men with the English in reducing them to Reason.

In the next place we the aforementioned Delegates Do promise and engage with the Honourable John Wentworth Esq; as He is Lieut. Governour and Commander in Chief of His Majesties Province of *New Hampshire*, and with the Governours and Commander in Chief of the said Province for the time being, that we and the Tribes we are deputed from will henceforth cease and forbear all Acts of Hostility, Injuries & Discords towards all the Subjects of His Majesty King GEORGE within the said Province. And we do understand and take it that the said Government of *New Hampshire* is also included and comprehended in all and every the Articles aforegoing excepting that respecting the regulating the Trade with us.

And further we the aforementioned Delegates do Promise and Engage with the Honourable Lawrance Armstrong Esq; Lieutenant Governour and Commander in Chief of His Majesties Province of *Nova Scotia* or *L'Acadie* to live in peace with His Majesties Good Subjects and their Dependants in that Government according to the Articles agreed on with Major Paul Mascarene commissioned for that purpose, and further to be Ratified as mentioned in the said Articles.

That this present Treaty shall be Accepted Ratified and Confirmed in a Publick and Solemn manner by the Chiefs of the several Eastern Tribes of Indians included therein at *Falmouth* in *Casco Bay* some time in the Month of *May* next. *In Testimony* whereof we have Signed these Presents, and Affixed Our Seals. Dated at the Council Chamber in *Boston* in *New England*, this Fifteenth Day of December, Anno Domini, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Twenty-five, Annoque Regni Regis GEORGIJ, Magnæ Britanniae, &c. Duodecimo.

Done in the presence of the Great and General Court or Assembly of the Province of the *Massachusetts Bay* aforesaid, being first Read distinctly, and Interpreted by Capt. *John Gyles*, Capt. *Samuel Jordan*, and Capt. *Joseph Bane*, Sworn Interpreters.

Attest J. Willard, Secr.

SOURCE: "Indian Treaties," *Collections of the Maine Historical Society* (1856), 4:118–84.

### **LORON SAUGUAARUM *An Account of Negotiations Leading to the Casco Bay Treaty* (1727)**

I Panaouamskeyen, do inform ye — ye who are scattered all over the earth take notice — of what has passed between me and the English in negotiating the peace that I have just concluded with them. It is from the bottom of my heart that I inform you; and, as a proof that I



tell you nothing but the truth, I wish to speak to you in my own tongue.

My reason for informing you, myself, is the diversity and contrariety of the interpretations I receive of the English writing in which the articles of peace are drawn up that we have just mutually agreed to. These writings appear to contain things that are not, so that the Englishman himself disavows them in my presence, when he reads and interprets them to me himself.

I begin then by informing you; and shall speak to you only of the principal and most important matter.

First, that I did not commence the negotiation for a peace, or settlement, but he, it was, who first spoke to me on the subject, and I did not give him any answer until he addressed me a third time. I first went to Fort St. George to hear his propositions, and afterwards to Boston, whither he invited me on the same business.

We were two that went Boston: I, Laurance Sagourrab, and John Ehennekouit. On arriving there I did indeed salute him in the usual mode at the first interview, but I was not the first to speak to him. I only answered what he said to me, and such was the course I observed throughout the whole of our interview.

He began by asking me, what brought me hither? I did not give him for answer — I am come to ask your pardon; nor, I come to acknowledge you as my conqueror; nor, I come to make my

submission to you; nor, I come to receive your commands. All the answer I made was that I was come on his invitation to me to hear the propositions for a settlement that he wished to submit to me.

Wherefore do we kill one another? he again asked me. 'Tis true that, in reply, I said to him — You are right. But I did not say to him, I acknowledge myself the cause of it, nor I condemn myself for having made war on him.

He next said to me — Propose what must be done to make us friends. 'Tis true that thereupon I answered him — It is rather for you to do that. And my reason for giving him that answer is, that having himself spoken to me of an arrangement, I did not doubt but he would make me some advantageous proposals. But I did not tell him that I would submit in every respect to his orders.

Thereupon, he said to me — Let us observe the treaties concluded by our Fathers, and renew the ancient friendship which existed between us. I made him no answer thereunto. Much less, I repeat, did I, become his subject, or give him my land, or acknowledge his King as my King. This I never did, and he never proposed it to me. I say, he never said to me — Give thyself and thy land to me, nor acknowledge my King for thy King, as thy ancestors formerly did.

He again said to me — But do you not recognize the King of England as King over all his states? To which I answered — yes, I

recognize him King of all his lands; but I rejoined, do not hence infer that I acknowledge thy King as my King, and king of my lands. Here lies my distinction — my Indian distinction. God hath willed that I have no King, and I be master of my lands in common.

He again asked me — Do you not admit that I am at least master of the lands I have purchased? I answered him thereupon, that I admit nothing, and that I knew not what he had reference to.

He again said to me — If, hereafter, any one desire to disturb the negotiation of the peace we are at present engaged about, we will join together to arrest him. I again consented to that. But I did not say to him, and do not understand that he said to me, that we should go in company to attack such person, or that we should form a joint league, offensive and defensive, or that I should unite my brethren to his. I said to him only, and I understand him to say to me, that if any one wished to disturb our negotiation of peace, we would both endeavor to pacify him by fair words, and to that end would direct all our efforts.

He again said to me — In order that the peace we would negotiate be permanent, should any private quarrel arise hereafter between Indians and Englishmen, they must not take justice into their own hands, nor do any thing, the one to the other. It shall be the business of us chiefs to decide. I again agreed with him on that article, but I did not understand that he alone should be judge. I

understood only that he should judge his people, and that I would judge mine.

Finally he said to me — There's our peace concluded; we have regulated every thing.

I replied that nothing had been yet concluded, and that it was necessary that our acts should be approved in a general assembly. For the present, an armistice is sufficient. I again said to him — I now go to inform all my relatives of what has passed between us, and will afterwards come and report to you what they'll say to me. Then he agreed in opinion with me.

Such was my negotiation on my first visit to Boston.

As for any act of grace, or amnesty, accorded to me by the Englishman, on the part of his King, it is what I have no knowledge of, and what the Englishman never spoke to me about, and what I never asked him for.

On my second visit to Boston we were four: I, Laurence Sagourrab, Alexis, Francois Xavier and Migounambe. I went there merely to tell the English that all my nation approved the cessation of hostilities, and the negotiation of peace, and even then we agreed on the time and place of meeting to discuss it. That place was Caskebay, and the time after Corpus Christi.

Two conferences were held at Caskebay. Nothing was done at these two conferences except to read the articles above reported. Every thing I agreed to was approved and ratified, and on these conditions was the peace concluded.

One point only did I regulate at Caskebay. This was to permit the Englishman to keep a store at St. Georges; but a store only, and not to build any other house, nor erect a fort there, and I did not give him the land.

These are the principal matters that I wished to communicate to you who are spread all over the earth. What I tell you now is the truth. If, then, any one should produce any writing that makes me speak otherwise, pay no attention to it, for I know not what I am made to say in another language, but I know well what I say in my own. And in testimony that I say things as they are, I have signed the present minute which I wish to be authentic and to remain for ever.

*SOURCE: E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State New York, 15 vols. (Albany, N.Y.: Weed, Parsons, 1855), 9:966–67*

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. What are the terms of the treaty that the Indians, by affixing their marks, appear to have agreed to?

2. What is the tone of the language in the treaty? Does it seem to be an agreement between equals?
3. How does Loron Sauguaarum critique and “correct” the terms written down in the formal document of the treaty? How does his response alter our understanding of the treaty?
4. What factors might explain the discrepancies between what the Indians said they said and what the English wrote down in the final treaty?

## Imperial Conflict and the Senecas



INDIANS WHO FOUGHT IN THE COLONIAL WARS were neither pawns nor powerless. They assessed the situations, weighed their options, and made their own decisions, and the foreign policies of Indian nations played a large part in shaping the outcome of imperial conflicts. At the same time, imperial conflicts had far-reaching repercussions in Indian country, bringing war to Indian communities and sometimes affecting the location and even the composition of those communities. The two documents reprinted here illustrate different aspects of colonial conflict as it played out among the Senecas, both in the words of individuals who were adopted Senecas. Tanaghrisson (d. 1754) seems to have been Catawba by birth, captured with his mother in an Iroquois raid. As

was common practice to bolster falling populations and replace lost kin, a Seneca family adopted him, at which point he became a Seneca. Mary Jemison (c. 1742–1833), a white woman, was captured by Shawnees in 1758 at the height of the French and Indian War, and was adopted by the Senecas, at which point she became a Seneca.

Tanaghrisson was a pivotal Native player in the escalating imperial clash in the Ohio country in the middle of the eighteenth century. The French and the British both claimed the region, but so did the Iroquois League, which sent “half kings” as ambassadors to represent its interests among the multiple Indian nations — Shawnees, Delawares, Miamis, Wyandots, and others — who lived there. Tanaghrisson was a “half king,” and was often known by that title. Officially, he represented the Iroquois League, but like the Ohio tribes he wanted greater independence and pursued his own ambitions. Like most Indian people, he wanted access to traders and their merchandise but wanted to keep his country free of soldiers and settlers.

When the French began to build a chain of forts along the Allegheny and Ohio rivers in 1753, Tanaghrisson traveled to the new fort at Presque Isle on Lake Erie and warned the French commander, the Sieur de Marin, to advance no farther. Marin was not intimidated and threatened to crush anyone who resisted him. Two months later Lieutenant Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia sent a young militia officer, George Washington, to formally

demand that the French withdraw from the Ohio country. Along the way, Washington was to establish relations with influential chiefs and gather information about the French forts and forces in the Ohio country. He sought out Tanaghrisson.

Washington was twenty-one and had no experience in Indian diplomacy. Tanaghrisson was in his fifties, an experienced warrior and diplomat. He had tattoos on his face, chest, and arms, and probably wore a mixture of Native and European clothing. He gave Washington directions to the French fort. Then he described the meeting he had had with Sieur de Marin. The interpreter translated Tanaghrisson's words from Seneca to English; Washington jotted down notes, and, back home in Virginia, reproduced the speech in the journal of his mission that he prepared, hurriedly in one night, for Governor Dinwiddie. Tanaghrisson's speech provides a strong statement of Indian rights and power in the face of European colonialism, although it is questionable whether or not he delivered his statement as boldly to a French commander in a French fort as he did to a young Virginian in his own village. Rather than an accurate record of what Tanaghrisson actually said, it is an impressionable young man's recollection of what an interpreter told him the Indian said he had said.

The French ignored both Tanaghrisson's warning and Washington's summons to withdraw. A year later Washington and Tanaghrisson were involved in a bloody skirmish with a party of



French soldiers that sparked the French and Indian War, which spread to become a global conflict known as the Seven Years' War.

Indian warriors took hundreds of white people captive during the war, and many captives stayed with the Indians after the war was over. People who survived captivity and returned home often wrote or related narratives of their experiences in which they, or their editors, portrayed Indians as bloodthirsty savages who scalped and tortured men, tomahawked children indiscriminately, and subjected women to “unspeakable horrors.” Some twentieth-century writers and filmmakers perpetuated such images of Indian savagery. Although many captives suffered violent treatment, Indian captors often had another purpose. They frequently took captives with the intention of adopting them into their family and community.

Indians in the northeastern woodlands took captives to assuage the grief of bereaved relatives and appease the spirits of deceased kinsfolk. War parties often made raids for the specific purpose of taking captives, and they sometimes brought extra clothing and moccasins for the prisoners they expected to seize. With escalating losses to war and diseases in the wake of European invasion, captive-taking became a way of maintaining population levels as well as patching holes torn in the social fabric of kin- and clan-based Indian communities: captives were often adopted to fill the specific place of a deceased relative. The imperial wars waged between England and France from 1689 to 1763 introduced an

additional incentive for taking captives, as the French bought prisoners to ransom to the English. During the French and Indian War, Indians abducted more than 1,600 people from New England alone, carrying them north to Canada. Some of the captives did not survive the ordeal — they succumbed to hardships of travel, hunger, or disease or were killed by their captors. Many of those who survived the grueling journey northward were sold to the French and later ransomed to the English. Some made new lives for themselves in Canada. Others were adopted into Indian communities.

The captives' fates and experiences varied according to their age, gender, and health; the character and feelings of their captors; and chance. Older people, adult males, and crying infants might be tomahawked and left for dead, but women and children were often treated with consideration once the raiding party escaped pursuit. Indian warriors generally treated kindly those captives who were likely to be adopted. Contrary to popular fears, Indian warriors in the Eastern Woodlands did not rape female captives. Warriors ritually prepared for war and invoked spiritual assistance; preserving the purity of their war medicine demanded sexual abstinence, while intercourse with someone who might be adopted into one's clan constituted incest. "None of the Indians were disposed to show insults of any nature," former captive Susanna Johnson recalled.<sup>82</sup> Hard travel in moccasins in harsh weather and over rugged terrain, irregular meals and unfamiliar diet, and

separation from family and home all took a toll on captives. But these experiences also initiated them into a new way of life.

Once the trek into Indian country was over, captives faced new ordeals. Arriving at a village, they might be made to run a gauntlet between two ranks of Indians brandishing sticks and clubs. Indians mourning relatives might vent their grief by demanding that a captive be tortured to death. But often they dressed and painted the captives in Indian style and ritually adopted them into a family to fill the place of deceased relatives. Time and the wealth of kinship relations that captives found in Indian society healed many wounds. Some captives preferred not to return home even when the opportunity arose, and most found things they admired in Indian society. Many women appear to have found life in an Indian community more rewarding than the isolation and hard work that was the common lot of a wife on the colonial frontier.

Accurate information about and viewpoints from Native American women in colonial times are extremely scarce, and historians usually have tried to reconstruct the experiences of Indian women through words written by European men. One of the few exceptions is the life story of Mary Jemison. After she was captured and adopted, Mary married an Indian husband and raised a family. In time and in cultural allegiance she became a Seneca, sharing fully the lives of eighteenth-century Seneca women. She lived most of her life in the Genesee country of western New York, the Seneca heartland, and became known as the “white woman of

the Genesee.” After the American Revolution, Mary had the chance to return to white society but refused. By the time she died, she had had two husbands (one a Delaware, the other a Seneca), she had borne eight children (only three of whom survived her), and she had thirty-nine grandchildren and fourteen great-grandchildren. Jemison is still a prominent name among the Senecas.

In her old age, Mary Jemison dictated her story. Though the narrative of her life is flawed by the intrusive influence of her nineteenth-century writer, it nevertheless provides us with a rare opportunity to read the words of a woman who was living in Indian country in times of colonial conflict. Her narrative after she went through an adoption ceremony gives insights into the ways in which — by adoption, acceptance, kind treatment, and family ties — she became a Seneca.

### **TANAGHRISSEON *Speech Defying the French***

Fathers, it is you that are the Disturbers in this Land, by coming and building your Towns, and taking it away unknown to us, and by Force.

Fathers, We kindled a Fire a long Time ago, at a Place called Montreal, where we desired you to stay, and not to come and intrude upon our Land. I now desire you may dispatch to that Place; for be it known to you, Fathers, that this is our Land, and not yours.

Fathers, I desire you may hear me in Civilness; if not, we must handle that Rod which was laid down for the Use of the obstreperous. If you had come in a peaceable Manner, like our Brothers the English, we should not have been against your trading with us, as they do; but to come, Fathers, and build great Houses upon our Land, and to take it by Force, is what we cannot submit to.

Fathers, Both you and the English are white, we live in a Country between; therefore the Land belongs to neither one nor t'other: But the Great Being above allowed it to be a Place of Residence for us; so Fathers, I desire you to withdraw, as I have done our Brothers the English; for I will keep you at Arms length: I lay this down as a Trial for both, to see which will have the greatest Regard to it, and that Side we will stand by, and make equal Sharers with us. Our Brothers the English have heard this, and I come now to tell it to you, for I am not afraid to discharge you off this Land.

*SOURCE: The Diaries of George Washington, vol. 1. Donald Jackson, ed.; Dorothy Twohig, assoc. ed. The Papers of George Washington (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976), 137–38. Available online at The George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, as well as in The Journal of Major George Washington (Williamsburg, 1754; facsimile edition; Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1959), 7.*

### **MARY JEMISON (DICKEWAMIS) *A Narrative of Her Life* (1824)**

In the course of that ceremony, from mourning they became serene — joy sparkled in their countenances, and they seemed to rejoice

over me as over a long lost child. I was made welcome amongst them as a sister to the two Squaws before mentioned, and was called Dickewamis; which being interpreted, signifies a pretty girl, a handsome girl, or a pleasant, good thing. That is the name by which I have ever since been called by the Indians.

I afterwards learned that the ceremony I at that time passed through, was that of adoption. The two squaws had lost a brother in Washington's war,<sup>o</sup> sometime in the year before, and in consequence of his death went up to Fort Pitt, on the day on which I arrived there, in order to receive a prisoner or an enemy's scalp, to supply their loss.

It is a custom of the Indians, when one of their number is slain or taken prisoner in battle, to give to the nearest relative to the dead or absent, a prisoner, if they have chanced to take one, and if not, to give him the scalp of an enemy. On the return of the Indians from conquest, which is always announced by peculiar shoutings, demonstrations of joy, and the exhibition of some trophy of victory, the mourners come forward and make their claims. If they receive a prisoner, it is at their option either to satiate their vengeance by taking his life in the most cruel manner they can conceive of; or, to receive and adopt him into the family, in the place of him whom they have lost. All the prisoners that are taken in battle and carried to the encampment or town by the Indians, are given to the bereaved families, till their number is made good. And unless the mourners have but just received the news of their bereavement,

and are under the operation of a paroxysm of grief, anger and revenge; or, unless the prisoner is very old, sickly, or homely, they generally save him, and treat him kindly. But if their mental wound is fresh, their loss so great that they deem it irreparable, or if their prisoner or prisoners do not meet their approbation, no torture, let it be ever so cruel, seems sufficient to make them satisfaction. It is family, and not national, sacrifices amongst the Indians, that has given them an indelible stamp as barbarians, and identified their character with the idea which is generally formed of unfeeling ferocity, and the most abandoned cruelty.

It was my happy lot to be accepted for adoption; and at the time of the ceremony I was received by the two squaws, to supply the place of their brother in the family; and I was ever considered and treated by them as a real sister, the same as though I had been born of their mother.

During my adoption, I sat motionless, nearly terrified to death at the appearance and actions of the company, expecting every moment to feel their vengeance, and suffer death on the spot. I was, however, happily disappointed, when at the close of the ceremony the company retired, and my sisters went about employing every means for my consolation and comfort.

Being now settled and provided with a home, I was employed in nursing the children, and doing light work about the house. Occasionally I was sent out with the Indian hunters, when they

went but a short distance, to help them carry their game. My situation was easy; I had no particular hardships to endure. But still, the recollection of my parents, my brothers and sisters, my home, and my own captivity, destroyed my happiness, and made me constantly solitary, lonesome and gloomy.

My sisters would not allow me to speak English in their hearing; but remembering the charge that my dear mother gave me at the time I left her, whenever I chanced to be alone I made a business of repeating my prayer, catechism, or something I had learned in order that I might not forget my own language. By practising in that way I retained it till I came to Genesee flats, where I soon became acquainted with English people with whom I have been almost daily in the habit of conversing.

My sisters were diligent in teaching me their language; and to their great satisfaction I soon learned so that I could understand it readily, and speak it fluently. I was very fortunate in falling into their hands; for they were kind good natured women; peaceable and mild in their dispositions; temperate and decent in their habits, and very tender and gentle towards me. I have great reason to respect them, though they have been dead a great number of years.

The town where they lived was pleasantly situated on the Ohio, at the mouth of the Shenanjee: the land produced good corn; the woods furnished a plenty of game, and the waters abounded with fish. Another river emptied itself into the Ohio, directly opposite



the mouth of the Shenanjee. We spent the summer at that place, where we planted, hoed, and harvested a large crop of corn, of an excellent quality.

I had then been with the Indians four summers and four winters, and had become so far accustomed to their mode of living, habits and dispositions, that my anxiety to get away, to be set at liberty, and leave them, had almost subsided. With them was my home; my family was there, and there I had many friends to whom I was warmly attached in consideration of the favors, affection and friendship with which they had uniformly treated me, from the time of my adoption. Our labor was not severe; and that of one year was exactly similar, in almost every respect, to that of the others, without that endless variety that is to be observed in the common labor of the white people. Notwithstanding the Indian women have all the fuel and bread to procure, and the cooking to perform, their task is probably not harder than that of white women, who have those articles provided for them; and their cares certainly are not half as numerous, nor as great. In the summer season, we planted, tended and harvested our corn, and generally had all our children with us; but had no master to oversee or drive us, so that we could work as leisurely as we pleased. We had no ploughs on the Ohio; but performed the whole process of planting and hoeing with a small tool that resembled, in some respects, a hoe with a very short handle.

Our cooking consisted in pounding our corn into samp or hommany, boiling the hommany, making now and then a cake and baking it in the ashes, and in boiling or roasting our venison. As our cooking and eating utensils consisted of a hommany block and pestle, a small kettle, a knife or two, and a few vessels of bark or wood, it required but little time to keep them in order for use.

Spinning, weaving, sewing, stocking knitting, and the like, are arts which have never been practised in the Indian tribes generally. After the revolutionary war, I learned to sew, so that I could make my own clothing after a poor fashion; but the other domestic arts I have been wholly ignorant of the application of, since my captivity. In the season of hunting, it was our business, in addition to our cooking, to bring home the game that was taken by the Indians, dress it, and carefully preserve the eatable meat, and prepare or dress the skins. Our clothing was fastened together with strings of deer skin, and tied on with the same.

In that manner we lived, without any of those jealousies, quarrels, and revengeful battles between families and individuals, which have been common in the Indian tribes since the introduction of ardent spirits amongst them.

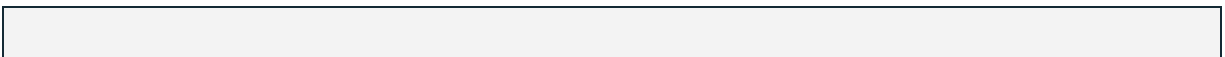
The use of ardent spirits amongst the Indians, and the attempts which have been made to civilize and christianize them by the white people, has constantly made them worse and worse; increased their vices, and robbed them of many of their virtues; and

will ultimately produce their extermination. I have seen, in a number of instances, the effects of education upon some of our Indians, who were taken when young, from their families, and placed at school before they had had an opportunity to contract many Indian habits, and there kept till they arrived to manhood; but I have never seen one of those but what was an Indian in every respect after he returned. Indians must and will be Indians, in spite of all the means that can be used for their cultivation in the sciences and arts.

One thing only marred my happiness, while I lived with them on the Ohio; and that was the recollection that I had once had tender parents, and a home that I loved. Aside from that consideration, or, if I had been taken in infancy, I should have been contented in my situation. Notwithstanding all that has been said against the Indians, in consequence of their cruelties to their enemies — cruelties that I have witnessed, and had abundant proof of — it is a fact that they are naturally kind, tender and peaceable towards their friends, and strictly honest; and that those cruelties have been practiced, only upon their enemies, according to their idea of justice.

<sup>9</sup> The Seven Years' War, although in Iroquois memory, Washington is more often associated with the war of the Revolution, during which he earned the name "Town Destroyer."

SOURCE: Colin G. Calloway, *The World Turned Upside Down: Indian Voices from Early America*, 2nd edition, pages 82–85.



## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. Indians who fought in the so-called French and Indian War sided mainly with the French, sometimes with the British, sometimes with one and then the other. Does Tanaghrisson's speech reveal any consistent motivations and strategies in the Indians' war efforts and foreign policies?
2. What is the tone of Tanghrisson's speech? What are the causes of tension, and who is responsible for the conflict, in his view?
3. European males typically depicted Indian women as living in unrelenting hardship, and colonial literature often told of European women being raped and abused when captured by Indians. What indications does Mary Jemison give that the lives of women — Indian or European — in Seneca society were rather different?
4. What information does Jemison offer about Indian societies and intercultural interaction in early America?
5. What values, and limitations, do these documents have as historical sources for understanding the goals and experiences of Seneca people in tumultuous times?

# PICTURE ESSAY

## Indian Diplomats in Eighteenth-Century London



POCAHONTAS WAS THE MOST FAMOUS Indian visitor to England, but she was not the first. Pocahontas and the Powhatan delegation in 1616 followed on the heels of three captured Mi'kmaqs presented to the king in 1502; four Inuit (all of whom died) in 1576–77; three Virginia Indians in the 1580s; five Wabanakis kidnapped on the coast of Maine in 1605; an Indian abducted from Martha's Vineyard in 1611; and Squanto a few years later (see [page 88](#)). In the eighteenth century, Indian delegates visited London, Paris, and Madrid, where powers competed for their allegiance. Among the Indian emissaries to London were four “Mohawk Kings” in 1710; delegations of Creeks, Cherokees, and Mohegans in the 1730s; more Cherokees in 1762; Samson Occom (raising funds for the future Dartmouth College) several years later; and Joseph Brant (Molly Brant's brother) before and after the American Revolution. Through the nineteenth century London saw Indian ministers, delegates, and members of various troupes and Wild West shows. Like early explorers and colonists in America, Indians who crossed the

Atlantic to England “discovered” new lands and people. In the streets, factories, pubs, palaces, and churches of Britain, they experienced new frontiers and zones of contact. The British press covered their visits, often in considerable detail. Indians were curiosities and sometimes celebrities. In some cases, they had their portraits painted.<sup>83</sup>

In 1710 “four Mohawk kings” visited the court of Queen Anne, on an embassy designed to secure Mohawk allegiance for a pending British invasion of Canada. They were not kings (and one of them was actually a Mahican), but they were treated as visiting dignitaries. In addition to their audience with the queen, they met with representatives of the Church of England, attended the theater and opera, and saw the sights. The queen commissioned John Verelst, a Dutch artist working in England, to paint individual portraits of each chief. The paintings were then engraved in mezzotint and sold. The engraving of Tac Yec Neen Ho Gar Ton, or Hendrick, “Emperor of the Six Nations” ([Figure 3.1](#)), shows him dressed “in the English manner,” with black coat, breeches, and buckled shoes, and wearing a scarlet cloak trimmed with gold; the forested background suggests the North American “wilderness,” and the wolf behind his leg conveys his clan. The wampum belt signifies the alliance being cemented by the visit.<sup>84</sup>



*Tac Yec Neen Ho Gar Ton, Emperor of the Six Nations, 1710 (oil on canvas)/Verelst, Johannes or Jan (b. 1648–fl. 1719)/Private Collection/Bridgeman Images.*



◆ Figure 3.1 John Verelst, *Tac Yec Neen Ho Gar Ton, Emperor of the Six Nations* (1710)

In 1730 a delegation of seven Cherokees visited London to make a treaty of alliance, and once again an engraving was made to commemorate the occasion ([Figure 3.2](#)). The original caption below the picture informed viewers that the delegates were “Cloth’d with these Habits out of the Royal Wardrobe” for a visit to Windsor Castle. The Cherokees were also identified individually by name. The youth at the far right is Attakullakulla, the Little Carpenter (see [pages 226–28](#)). As an adult, Attakullakulla frequently expressed his desire to visit England again.



Granger, NYC.



◆ Figure 3.2 Isaac Basire, *Seven Cherokees* (1730)

In 1734 a delegation of Creek Indians led by the Yamacraw chief Tomochichi traveled to London with General James Oglethorpe to meet the Trustees of Georgia and King George II. In this section of a larger group portrait painted over the course of several weeks by William Verelst ([Figure 3.3](#)), Tomochichi stands in the center with right arm extended, while Oglethorpe hands a book to Tomochichi's nephew, Toonahowi. Tomochichi's wife, Senaukey, accompanied her husband on his transatlantic voyage. Like earlier visitors, the Creek delegates toured London and went to the theater. For their audience with the king, they were prevailed upon to shed their Native clothing and dress "appropriately." The Indians evidently were impressed by London, but not too impressed. According to one earl, Tomochichi "observed we knew many things his Country men did not, but doubted if we were happier, Since we live worse than they, and they more innocently."<sup>85</sup> One of the delegates died in London.

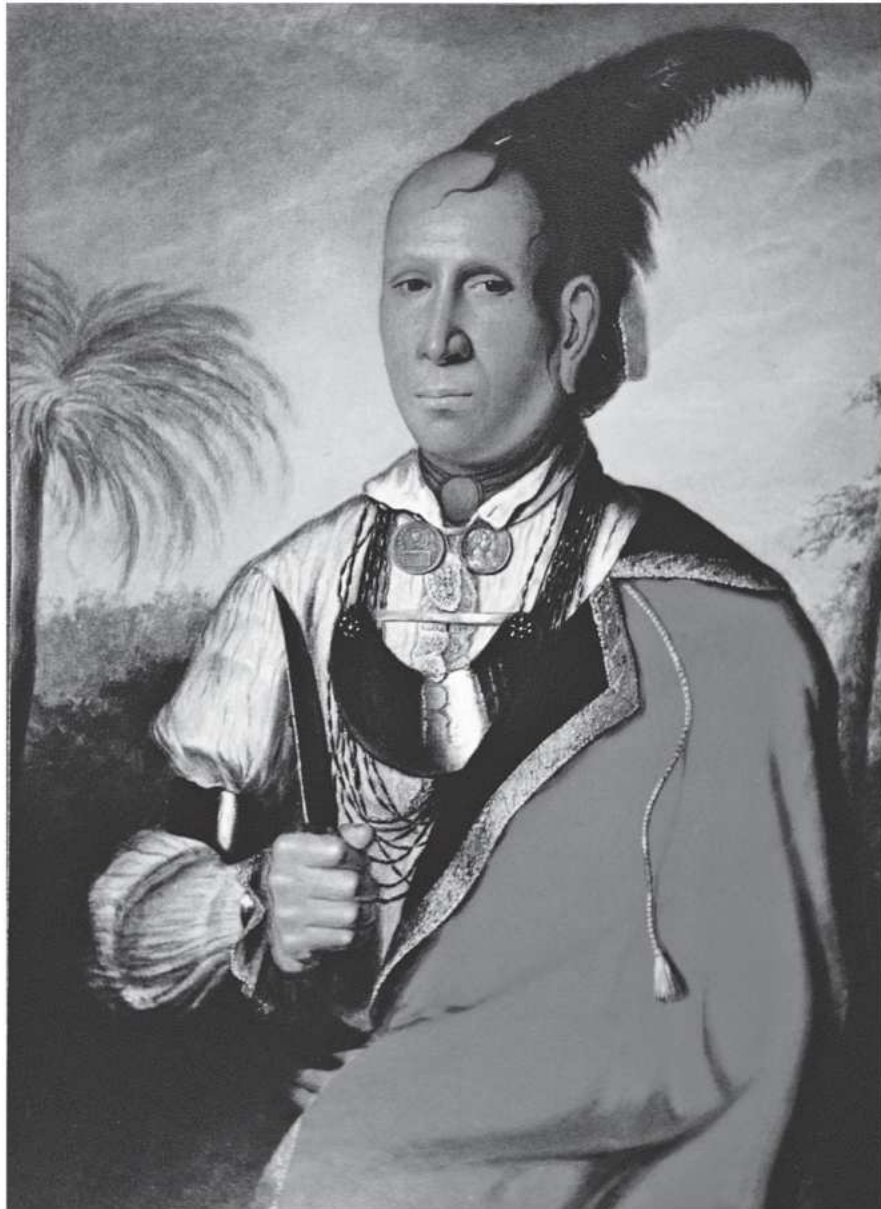


Granger, NYC.

♦ Figure 3.3 William Verelst, *Creek Delegation Meets the Trustees of Georgia* (1734)

After the Anglo-Cherokee War of 1759–61, Lieutenant Henry Timberlake accompanied three Cherokee chiefs to London to help secure the peace that had been made. In addition to the usual attentions, the three young men apparently attracted “groupies” and inspired ribald verse.<sup>86</sup> As this portrait of Cunne Shote by Francis Parsons shows ([Figure 3.4](#)), the Cherokees were given white English shirts and red cloaks, and Cunne Shote wears a gorget around his neck engraved with “G. R. III.” ([King] George III Reigns).

Yet the scalp lock, lacerated ear lobe, and clutched knife convey Cunne Shote's Cherokee identity, or his exoticism for English audiences.



*Cunne-Shote* (c. 1715–1810) 1762 (oil on canvas)/Parsons, Francis (fl. 1760–80)/PETER NEWARK'S PICTURES/Private Collection/Bridgeman Images.

◆ Figure 3.4 Francis Parsons, *Cunne Shote* (1762)

Samson Occom was a Mohegan Indian minister who had been educated by the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock at his Indian Charity School in Lebanon, Connecticut. In 1765 Wheelock sent Occom to Britain on a rather different diplomatic mission: to raise money for a new school to be built in the heart of the Indian country. Sailing from Boston two days before Christmas, Occom spent six weeks at sea (about average for the time; the westward voyage across the Atlantic took even longer) and arrived in London in February. Taking a walk on his first Sunday evening in the city, he “Saw Such Confusion as I never Dreamt of — there was Some at Churches Singing & Preaching, in the Streets some Cursing, Swearing & Damning one another, others was hollowing, Whistling, talking, giggling, & Laughing, & Coaches and footmen passing and repassing, Crossing and Cross-Crossing, and the poor Begars Praying, Crying, and Beging upon their knees.”<sup>87</sup> He met King George III and the archbishops of Canterbury and York and saw the city’s sights (Westminster Abbey, the Tower of London). He was the first Indian minister to visit Britain, and he attracted large congregations wherever he preached. In all, Occom delivered more than three hundred sermons in England and Scotland and raised about £12,000 for Wheelock’s new school — the future Dartmouth College. This portrait of Occom ([Figure 3.5](#)), likely commissioned by the Earl of Dartmouth, was painted while he was in England and was later made into a print for mass distribution.



*The Reverend Mr. Samson Occom*, engraved by Jonathan Spilsbury, 1768 (mezzotint)/Chamberlin, Mason (1727–87) (after)/MICHAEL GRAHAM-STEWART/Private Collection/Bridgeman Images.

◆ Figure 3.5 Jonathan Spilsbury, after Mason Chamberlain, *The Reverend Mr. Samson Occom* (1768)

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. Few Indian visitors recorded their impressions on paper, but what might eighteenth-century London have looked like to

Native Americans? Like the United States in later years, the British government assumed that Indian visitors to the nation's capital would be awed by the power, wealth, and population of the city, but what things in eighteenth-century London might Indian visitors have been less impressed by?

2. What meanings might the British have attached to adorning Indian visitors in scarlet cloaks and other items of European clothing? What do other symbols in the portraits stand for?
3. What do these images reveal, or fail to reveal, about the relationships between these Indian travelers and their British hosts?

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## CHAPTER 4

# Revolutions East and West

1763–1800



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### FOCUS QUESTION

In what ways was the era of the American Revolution revolutionary for Indian peoples in different regions of the continent?

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**1763**

Treaty of Paris ends French empire in North America

**1763**

Britain's Royal Proclamation prohibits settlement on Indian lands west of the Appalachian Mountains

**1763–1765**

Pontiac's War

**1768**

Treaty of Fort Stanwix: Iroquois cede lands south of Ohio River to Sir William Johnson

**1769**

First Franciscan mission established in California

**1774**

Lord Dunmore's War between the Shawnees and Virginia

**1775**

Treaty of Sycamore Shoals: Richard Henderson's purchase from the Cherokees

**1776–1783**

American Revolution

**1778**

Treaty of Fort Pitt between the Delawares and the United States; first treaty between United States and Indians

**1778**

Captain James Cook begins English trade with Northwest Coast peoples

**1779**

General John Sullivan invades Iroquoia

**1783**

Peace of Paris: Britain recognizes the independence of its thirteen former colonies

**1779–1784**

Smallpox pandemic spreads from Mexico to Canada

**1784**

Treaty of Fort Stanwix between the Iroquois and the United States

**1785**

Treaty of Fort McIntosh between Ohio tribes and the United States

**1786**

New Mexico governor Juan Bautista de Anza makes peace with the Comanches

**1786**

Treaty of Fort Finney between the Shawnees and the United States

**1786**

Northwestern tribes send message to Congress that land sales must be approved by all tribes

**1787**

Northwest Ordinance pledges United States to conduct Indian affairs with “the utmost good faith”

**1789**

Congress assigns Indian affairs to the War Department

**1789**

U.S. Constitution gives Congress sole power to regulate commerce with Indian tribes

**1790**

Congress passes the first Indian Trade and Intercourse Act

**1790**

Northwestern tribes defeat General Josiah Harmar

**1790**

Treaty of New York with the Creeks; first treaty under the U.S. Constitution.

**1791**

Northwestern tribes defeat General Arthur St. Clair

**1791–1793**

George Vancouver trades with Indian peoples on Pacific Northwest Coast

**1794**

Anthony Wayne defeats northwestern tribes at Fallen Timbers

**1794**

First U.S.–Indian treaty providing education for Indians (Oneidas, Tuscaroras, and Stockbridges)

**1795**

Treaty of Greenville: northwestern tribes cede most of Ohio to United States

**1799**

The Russian American Company takes control of the Alaskan coast



# WORLDS TURNED UPSIDE DOWN

BY 1763 DIRECT AND INDIRECT CONTACT with Europeans had generated far-reaching changes throughout the Eastern Woodlands and across the Great Plains. Conflict and competition had escalated everywhere, as Indians resisted increasing encroachment on their lands and ways of life, as tribes fought for hunting territories and slaves and for access to trade goods, firearms, and horses, and as European wars for empire spilled over into Indian country and involved Indian warriors. After more than half a century of conflict with France, Britain emerged as the victorious colonial power in eastern North America. At the Peace of Paris in 1763, more American territory changed hands than at any other treaty, before or since. France ceded Canada and its claims east of the Mississippi to Britain, and it transferred Louisiana to Spain, mainly to keep it out of the hands of the British. The European nations exchanged huge swaths of territory without consulting the indigenous nations who lived there, but they could not ignore the reality that Indian peoples and Indian power still dominated most of the continent.<sup>1</sup> Britain and Spain both set about trying to govern their hugely expanded empires in North America, and in doing so, both had to try and regulate the frontier and deal with Indian nations that were also adjusting to, and in some cases, creating far-reaching changes.

Britain's efforts initiated a series of unanticipated events that culminated in the American Revolution.<sup>2</sup>

## Pontiac's War: Indians Confront a New Empire

Indian tribes east of the Mississippi that had traded and allied with the French now found that they had to deal with the representatives of King George. Many British officials regarded the Indians as a defeated people and, with the war won, saw little reason to cultivate their allegiance. The Iroquois could no longer play the English and the French against each other, and with peace a flood of English settlers invaded Indian lands. Inevitably, conflict ensued. In one of the most famous Indian wars for independence, named after the Ottawa chief **Pontiac**, tribes in the Great Lakes and the Ohio valley regions rallied against the British.

Indians resented the new British presence and power. They had expected the British to enhance their diplomacy with gifts, as the French had, but Britain, on the brink of financial ruin at the end of the most expensive war it had ever fought, cut back on what it considered to be extraneous and costly niceties. Jeffery Amherst, the commander of the British army in North America at the end of the French and Indian War, exacerbated the Indians' worst fears. Arrogant and ignorant of Indian ways, Amherst viewed an empire as

something to be governed, not negotiated over and cultivated by maintaining a mutually beneficial relationship with Indians. He demanded the return of prisoners, many of whom had been adopted and were now, in Indian eyes, Indians. His soldiers and his forts threatened Indian lands, and British traders entered Indian villages for profit, not for an exchange between allies. Amherst prohibited all gift giving at the western posts and placed restrictions on the amounts of powder and lead traded to Indians. By sending in troops and withholding gifts, he sent a clear message, reinforced by the language of British officers: Britain intended to reduce the Indians to submission and take over their land. But Indians were not about to accept Englishmen in the place of the French who had been ousted from their lands.<sup>3</sup>

A Delaware prophet named Neolin gave spiritual force to Indian discontent and gained a following, preaching that Indian people could redeem themselves only by casting off alien influences and returning to traditional ways.<sup>4</sup> Pontiac turned growing anti-British sentiment into direct action by calling for the expulsion of the redcoats from Indian country. Most of the western posts were garrisoned by a handful of soldiers, isolated from supply and support and often dependent on Indian hunters for provisions. In 1763 Indian warriors responding to Pontiac's call captured every British fort west of the Appalachians except Niagara, Detroit, and Fort Pitt, to which they laid siege. Indians in the borderlands around Michilimackinac, where Lakes Huron and Michigan meet, prevented the war from spreading because they were more

concerned with maintaining trade networks than with the threat of settlers on their lands,<sup>5</sup> but elsewhere the Indians drove the redcoats back on almost every front, and backcountry settlers fled east to escape Indian raiding parties. However, the combination of European military superiority and disease among the Indian forces eventually turned the tide. Colonel Henry Bouquet and his troops fought off an Indian attack at the Battle of Bushy Run in western Pennsylvania in October 1763, and in an act of germ warfare, Indians who came to the besieged garrison at Fort Pitt were given blankets from a smallpox hospital. Indian hating escalated: in December 1763 Scotch-Irish frontiersmen in Pennsylvania known as the Paxton Boys slaughtered peaceful Conestoga Indians in an act of racial hatred and later marched on Philadelphia in an act of frustration at their colonial government's failure to defend its frontiers.<sup>6</sup>



The Library Company of Philadelphia, [www.librarycompany.org](http://www.librarycompany.org).

♦ ***Massacre of the Indians at Lancaster by the Paxton Boys in 1763 (1841)***

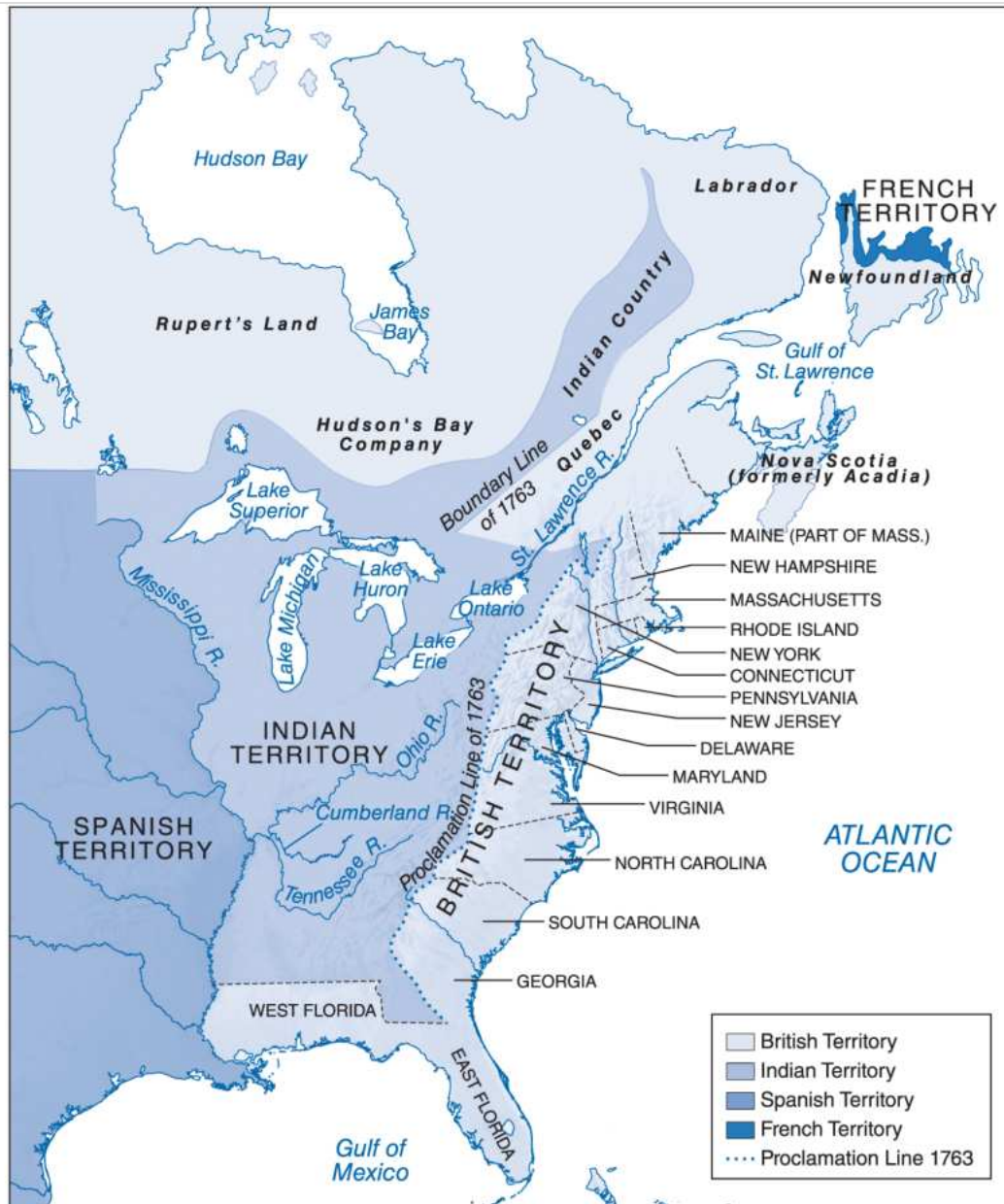
Two days after Christmas 1763, the “Paxton Boys,” who had killed six Indians at Conestoga two weeks earlier, rode into Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and murdered fourteen Indians who had taken refuge in the workhouse.

Normally considered an aftermath to the French and Indian War, Pontiac’s War was really a continuation of that conflict, as Indian fighters who had not been defeated refused to accept the conditions of peace that Britain imposed and France accepted. A dozen years before American colonists declared independence, American

Indians fought for their independence against the British and compelled them to think seriously about the place of Native peoples in the British Empire. Britain's response prompted another war of independence.

## Attempting to Draw a Line

In 1763 the British attempted to regulate the frontier and avoid further Indian wars of resistance by prohibiting settlement on Indian lands west of the Appalachian Mountains. The **Royal Proclamation** issued in October of that year established the Appalachians as the boundary line between Indian and colonial lands and stipulated “that no private Person do presume to make any Purchase from the said Indians”<sup>7</sup> ([Map 4.1](#)). Only the crown's representatives acting in formal council with Indian nations could negotiate land transfers, and only licensed traders would be permitted to operate in Indian country. The government hoped such measures would prevent future Indian wars. But, like the Indian chiefs who were unable to control their young warriors, the distant British government was unable to prevent its subjects from encroaching on Indian lands. The government kept an army in America — and expected American colonists to help maintain it by paying their share of taxes — but British forces in the West constituted a very thin red line, and even when the army tried to eject squatters, its efforts were inadequate to the task.



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#### ♦ Map 4.1 Proclamation Line of 1763

At the Treaty of Paris in 1763, which ended the Seven Years' War, France ceded its North American territorial claims to Britain. France had already ceded its lands west of the Mississippi to Spain to keep them out of British hands.



The Royal Proclamation did little to placate Indian-hating frontier settlers, and it infuriated members of the colonial elite who had investments in western lands that could not be realized now that the sale of those lands was illegal. Land speculators such as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Arthur Lee, and Patrick Henry saw tyranny in Britain's interference with their freedom to make a fortune out of Indian lands; a new British and Indian barrier threatened to replace the old French and Indian barrier. Washington began to contemplate separating from the empire he had served in the French and Indian War. Writing to a friend and business associate in 1767, he said:

I can never look upon that Proclamation in any other light (but this I may say between ourselves) than as a temporary expedient to quiet the Minds of the Indians & [one that] must fall of course in a few years especially when those Indians are consenting to our Occupying the Lands. [A]ny Person therefore who neglects the present opportunity of hunting out good Lands & in some Measure Marking & distinguishing them for their own (in order to keep others from settling them) will never regain it.<sup>8</sup>

The British themselves did not intend the proclamation line to be a permanent barrier. The king's agents, meeting with Indian tribes in formal and open council, could negotiate cessions of land to the crown that would push the line westward. However, when Sir William Johnson met with the Iroquois at Fort Stanwix in 1768, he



exceeded his authority and purchased a huge tract of land from the assembled Indian delegates. Most of the land the Iroquois sold was south of the Ohio River — hunting territory claimed by the Shawnees and Cherokees, who were not at the treaty negotiations. The Iroquois delegates deftly diverted colonial expansion away from their own land but lost prestige among western tribes who regarded the Fort Stanwix treaty as an act of betrayal.<sup>2</sup> (See [Map 4.8, “Cherokee Land Cessions in the Colonial and Revolutionary Eras, 1721–1785,” page 227.](#)) Combined with new boundary lines negotiated with the Cherokees at the Treaty of Hard Labor that same year and at the Treaty of Lochaber in 1770, the Fort Stanwix cession thrust a wedge into the heart of Indian country. Colonists swarmed into Kentucky, confident that these lands had been duly ceded, and clashed with Shawnee and Cherokee warriors determined to defend their hunting grounds against trespassers.

Continued encroachment on Shawnee land produced open conflict with the Virginians in 1774 in a war named after Lord Dunmore, the colonial governor of Virginia. The Shawnee chief Cornstalk argued against war but led his warriors at the Battle of Point Pleasant at the junction of the Ohio and Kanawha rivers in present-day West Virginia. After a day-long battle the Shawnees were defeated and made peace, reaffirming the Ohio River as their boundary, but hostilities had hardly ceased before the American Revolution broke out. The Shawnees and their neighbors would once again fight for their lands.

# INDIANS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Indian people during the Revolution were fighting for their freedom just as much as Americans were. But from the very start of the conflict, Americans portrayed Indians as enemies of freedom. In the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson clearly described their role. Jefferson wrote that among his other oppressive acts, Britain's King George III had "endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions." Inscribed in the founding document of the United States, almost a sacred text, Jefferson's words placed Indians on the wrong side of the struggle for liberty and on the wrong side of history from the very beginning of the Revolution. In this view, while Americans fought for their rights and freedoms, Native Americans, the vicious pawns of a tyrannical king, fought against them. The reality was much more complex.

## Indian Loyalties Divided

The Declaration of Independence announced the separation of thirteen former colonies from the British Empire. It took eight years of often bitter fighting to make independence a reality. Like George Washington, many men who had fought for the crown in the French and Indian War now fought against the king's troops. Others remained loyal to the king, and still others found themselves undecided, caught between the two sides. Both the Americans and the British tried to enlist Indian allies. The American Revolution was a source of considerable confusion to Indian peoples: the British appeared to have fallen to fighting among themselves. At first most Indians chose to remain neutral in what they regarded as a family quarrel. "We must be Fools indeed to imagine that they regard us or our Interest who want to bring us into an unnecessary War," said the Seneca chief Guyasuta or Kayashuta.<sup>10</sup> But diplomatic and economic pressures rendered neutrality difficult and dangerous. Different motives prompted different groups, but most Indians who fought in the Revolution sided with the British. They recognized that the war was a contest for Indian land as well as for American independence, and their experiences of the land hunger of American settlers convinced them that their best hopes of survival lay in supporting the crown. In Indian eyes, aggressive Americans posed a greater threat than did a distant king to their land, their liberty, and their way of life.

While most Indians eventually allied with the British, Indians in New England who were surrounded by American neighbors mostly supported the Patriot cause. Indians from Massachusetts and

Connecticut fought at Bunker Hill. Rebecca Tanner, a Mohegan, lost five sons who served in the American army during the war.<sup>11</sup> Warriors from the mission town of Stockbridge in western Massachusetts were among the first Indians to fight in the conflict, joining Washington's army at the siege of Boston in 1775. They suffered heavy casualties throughout the war, only to find that their American neighbors had taken over their lands and most of their town while they were away fighting. Other Indian towns in New England also sustained heavy casualties but secured few rewards for their services.

Indian people knew that Indian lands were at stake in the Revolution. By the war's outbreak in 1775, the Cherokees in the Southeast had seen their territory whittled away in a series of treaties (see [Map 4.7, page 221](#)), and land speculators and settlers were swarming the ceded lands. Young Cherokee men, frustrated by their fathers' policies of selling land and determined to prevent further erosion of the Cherokee homeland, seized the outbreak of the Revolution as an occasion to drive trespassers off their lands. They staged a coup during the war negotiations at Chota in May 1776, joining northern Shawnee, Delaware, and Mohawk delegates who called for resistance against the revolutionary colonists (see ["Report from Cherokee Country," pages 230–31](#)). Cherokee warriors attacked frontier settlements the following month, but they did so on their own, without British support and against the advice of British agents who urged them to wait until they could coordinate with His Majesty's troops. American forces immediately retaliated,

burning Cherokee towns and forcing Cherokee chiefs to sue for peace, which they did at the cost of ceding even more land.<sup>12</sup>

Many Cherokees, led by a war chief named Dragging Canoe, migrated rather than make peace with the Americans and kept up the fight from new towns they built around Chickamauga Creek in southwestern Tennessee. American campaigns against the Chickamauga Cherokees sometimes struck the villages of those Cherokees who had made peace, which were closer and offered easier targets than those of the Chickamaugas. The Revolution left the Cherokee Nation devastated and divided, but the Chickamaugas remained defiant and continued to fight against American dominance until 1795.

The Revolution also shattered the unity of the Iroquois Confederacy, the Six Nations in upstate New York who had managed to keep their ancient league intact throughout the French and Indian wars. The Mohawks, led by war chief Joseph Brant, supported the crown, as did most of the Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, but the Oneidas and Tuscaroras leaned toward the colonists, due in no small measure to the influence of their missionary, Samuel Kirkland, who favored breaking with the Church of England. (See [“An Oneida Declaration of Neutrality \(1775\),” pages 229–30](#)). At the Battle of Oriskany in 1777, Oneidas fought alongside the Americans, while Mohawks and Senecas fought with the British, a devastating development in Iroquois society that was built around clan and kinship ties. Like the

Cherokees, many Iroquois lost their homes during the Revolution. Mohawks were driven from the Mohawk Valley, and Oneidas fleeing retaliation lived in squalid refugee camps around Schenectady, New York. In the fall of 1779, responding to raids on the frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania, George Washington dispatched an American expedition to burn out the Iroquois. General John Sullivan's army marched through the heart of Iroquois country, burned some forty towns, cut down orchards, destroyed crops, "and left nothing but the bare soil and timber." The Indians pulled back as **Sullivan's expedition** advanced but returned to find their homes laid waste. Mary Jemison, who was living with the Senecas at the time, remembered in her old age that "we found that there was not a mouthful of any kind of sustenance left, not even enough to keep a child one day from perishing with hunger." That winter, the snow fell to a depth of five feet, and the weather became so bitterly cold "that almost all the game upon which the Indians depended for subsistence, perished, and reduced them almost to a state of starvation through that and three or four succeeding years."<sup>13</sup> (For more of Mary Jemison's experience, see ["A Narrative of Her Life," pages 177–79](#).) Deprived of food and shelter, Iroquois refugees crowded around the British garrison at Fort Niagara. But Niagara stood at the end of a long supply line that was closed during the winter months when vessels from Montreal and Quebec could not navigate the ice-bound Great Lakes. The refugees at Niagara endured exposure, starvation, sickness, and misery during one of the coldest winters on record.



*VCG Wilson/Corbis via Getty Images.*

♦ ***Joseph Brant, by Gilbert Stuart, 1786***

The Mohawk Joseph Brant (1743–1807) was probably the most famous Indian of his day. He sat for portraits by such noted artists as George Romney and Charles Willson Peale as well as by Stuart. Educated at Eleazar Wheelock's Indian Charity School in Connecticut, Brant was bilingual and literate, and assisted in translating the gospel into Mohawk. He visited England twice, was received at court, and befriended the Prince of Wales. He was the protégé of Sir William Johnson, who married Brant's sister Molly. Brant became a war leader on the British side during the Revolution and led his people to the Grand River after the war. Though bitterly disappointed by Britain's abandonment of its Indian allies in 1783, he continued to play a pivotal role in relations between the northeastern Indians, the British, and the new United States.

At the end of the war, many Iroquois relocated north of the new border to Canada rather than stay in New York and deal with the Americans. Joseph Brant and his followers settled on lands set aside for them by the British government on the Grand River in Ontario, the genesis of the Six Nations Reserve. Others — Senecas at Tonawanda and Buffalo Creek, for example — remained on their ancestral homeland and rebuilt their communities. American soldiers who had accompanied Sullivan told of the fertile lands they had marched through, and American settlers and land speculators eagerly awaited the end of the war. Former masters of the region, the Iroquois soon were struggling to survive in a new world dominated by Americans.

The Revolution turned the Ohio valley into a fiercely contested war zone. Henry Hamilton, the British commander at Detroit, and George Morgan, the American agent at Fort Pitt, competed for the allegiance of the tribes. The Shawnee chief Cornstalk had led his warriors in Lord Dunmore's War, but now he counseled a neutral stance and worked to cultivate peaceful relations with the Americans. Seized under a flag of truce at Fort Randolph, Cornstalk was murdered by American militia in 1777. Most Shawnees made common cause with the British, who had been telling them they could expect nothing less than annihilation at the hands of the Americans, although Cornstalk's sister, Nonhelema, continued to work for peace and assisted the Americans. Kentucky militia crossed the Ohio River almost every year to raid Shawnee villages. In 1782 the Indians lured Daniel Boone and the Kentucky militia



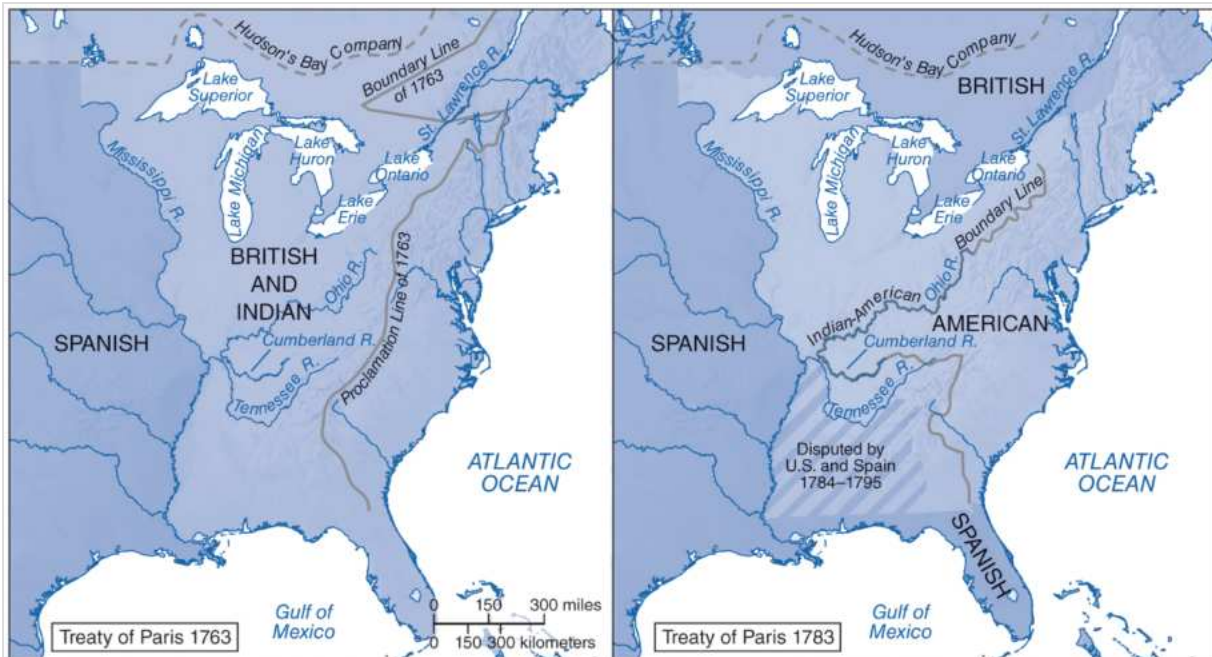
into an ambush and routed them at the Battle of Blue Licks. About half of the Shawnees migrated west to present-day Missouri, which was claimed by Spain. Those who remained moved their villages farther and farther away from American assault. By the end of the Revolution, most Indian people living in Ohio were concentrated in the northwestern region.

Like their Shawnee neighbors, the **Delawares** were initially reluctant to take up arms or support the British. In fact, the Delaware chief White Eyes led his people in making the Treaty of Fort Pitt in 1778, the first written Indian treaty concluded by the new United States. The Delawares and the U.S. Congress agreed to a defensive alliance, but that alliance was short-lived: later that year, American militiamen, who evidently regarded all Indians as enemies, murdered White Eyes, their best friend in the Ohio Indian country. The government claimed that he had died of smallpox, but the damage was done. Like the Shawnees, most Delawares took up the hatchet and made Britain's war their own. Americans struck back, blindly. In 1782 a force of Pennsylvania militia marched into the town of Gnadenhütten in Ohio, a community of Delaware Indians who had converted to the Moravian faith. The Delawares were Christians and pacifists, but the militia recognized them only as their Delaware enemy. The Americans divided the residents into three groups — men, women, and children. Then, with the Indians kneeling before them singing hymns, the militiamen took up butchers' mallets and bludgeoned to death ninety-six people.

Delaware warriors exacted brutal revenge when American soldiers fell into their hands.

## Treaties of Peace and Conquest

In the East, the fighting between the redcoats, the rebels, and their Indian allies effectively ended after the British general Lord Cornwallis surrendered to Washington's army and their French allies at Yorktown in 1781. In the West, Indians continued their wars for independence, but in 1783, at the Treaty of Paris, an exhausted Britain recognized the independence of the United States and acknowledged American sovereignty over all territory south of the Great Lakes, east of the Mississippi, and north of Florida. There were no Indians at the **Peace of Paris** and Indians were not mentioned in its terms. In effect, Britain abandoned its Indian allies to the mercy of the Americans. Indians were furious and incredulous when they learned that their allies had sold them out and given away their lands. Many Indians had fought for the king throughout the war, but they were neither represented nor included in the peace treaty. Now they faced a new power that regarded them as defeated enemies who had forfeited both lands and rights ([Map 4.2](#)). The Iroquois were "thunderstruck" when they heard of the peace terms, and the Mohawk chief Joseph Brant, who had fought for the British throughout the war, was enraged and "cast down" to be betrayed by "Our Allies for whom we have so often freely Bled."<sup>14</sup>



Calloway, *First Peoples*, 6e, © 2019 Bedford/St. Martin's.

#### ♦ Map 4.2 Changing Territorial Claims, 1763–1783

Twenty years after the treaty that ended the Seven Years' War, another Treaty of Paris ended the War of American Independence, and Britain ceded territory east of the Mississippi, south of the Great Lakes, and north of Florida to the new United States. In all of these agreements, the bulk of the territories transferred were Indian homelands, and Indian power stood between paper claims and actual possession of the lands.

The Peace of Paris brought little peace in Indian country. In the summer of 1784, more than two hundred Indians — Iroquois, Shawnees, Cherokees, Creeks, and others — who were visiting St. Louis told the Spanish governor they were already feeling the effects of the American victory: “The Americans, a great deal more ambitious and numerous than the English, put us out of our lands, forming therein great settlements, extending themselves like a plague of locusts in the territories of the Ohio River which we inhabit.” For them, the American victory meant continued warfare

and hunger; it was, they said, “the greatest blow that could have been dealt us.”<sup>15</sup> American veterans who had seen fertile lands while campaigning in Indian country were eager to return and occupy them.

European colonial powers had learned to deal with Indian peoples by mastering their languages and the protocols of council-fire diplomacy, dealing with the Indians on their own terms, and lubricating negotiations with a steady supply of gifts and alcohol. Like the French before them, the British had come to understand that compromise, conciliation, and respectful dealings were generally more effective than force (or the threat of force) in a world where Indian power was significant and where Indian nations usually had a choice of European allies. The British had developed a policy whereby transfers of Indian lands were supposed to occur only in open council between tribal delegates and the king’s authorized agents, although the crown was unable to enforce this policy on the borders of colonial settlement. The American colonists had fought for independence from Britain in part for the freedom to acquire Indian lands that had been barred to them by British policies. Like Britain before it, the new United States preferred to achieve its goals by treaty rather than by war and to obtain Indian lands by purchase rather than by risky and expensive military action, and it too lacked the ability to enforce its policies on distant and turbulent frontiers. Older Indian chiefs and federalist leaders tried to counsel moderation and restore order to

the frontier after the bloodletting of the Revolution, but militants on both sides resented and resisted their efforts.<sup>16</sup>



Portrait of Ki-on-twog-ky, 1796 (oil on canvas)/Bartoli, F. (fl. 1796)/  
NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY/ Collection of the New York Historical  
Society, USA/Bridgeman Images.

♦ **F. Bartoli, *Portrait of Ki-on-twog-ky* (1796)**

The Allegany Seneca chief Ki-on-twog-ky or Cornplanter (c. 1740–1836) was also sometimes called John Abeel or Obail after his father, a Dutch trader. He fought against the Americans during the Revolution but then pursued a policy of cooperation with the new nation, signing treaties and helping to keep the Iroquois neutral in the war with the Northwestern confederacy in the 1790s. For his services, Pennsylvania granted Cornplanter “and his heirs forever” 1,500 acres of former Seneca land. This “Cornplanter grant,” as it was known, was flooded by the Kinzua Dam in 1965 (see [page 455](#)).

With the British defeated, the United States was eager to impress on the tribes that a new era had dawned, and that the Americans were people not to be trifled with. Commissioners from “the Thirteen Fires” (the original thirteen states) traveled into Indian country and employed the rhetoric and symbols of council-fire diplomacy, but they never deviated from their purpose: to obtain tribal acquiescence to the claim that the United States had acquired all territory east of the Mississippi by right of conquest (see [the scale of their success on Map 4.3, page 206](#)). At Fort Stanwix, New York, in the fall of 1784, U.S. commissioners with troops at their backs met with the Seneca chief Cornplanter and other delegates from the Six Nations. Sixteen years earlier, the Iroquois had been co-participants in the largest Indian treaty council in colonial America and had transferred lands they claimed but did not occupy. Now commissioners from the United States, New York, and Pennsylvania were after Iroquois land and told the Iroquois, “You are a subdued people.” The Americans said they were masters of all Indian lands “and can dispose of the Lands as we think proper or most convenient to ourselves.” They demanded huge cessions of Iroquois country as the price of peace. Still divided by the war and now abandoned by their British allies, the Iroquois delegates agreed to cede much of the Seneca land in western New York and Pennsylvania as well as all their territory west of Pennsylvania, giving six hostages to guarantee their compliance.<sup>17</sup> When the delegates returned home they were met with scorn. The Six Nations in council refused to ratify the proposed treaty, but the United States proceeded as if the treaty were valid. Even the Oneidas and

Tuscaroras, two of the Iroquois nations that had supported the Americans during the war, found their lands, too, were soon under pressure from settlers, land speculators, and state and federal agents. Indians from Stockbridge and elsewhere in New England moved west at the end of the war and built new Christian Indian communities on land set aside for them by the Oneidas, but they too were dispossessed and pushed farther west, first to Indiana and then to Wisconsin. As New Yorkers gobbled up Indian lands by treaty and chicanery, Indian communities showed signs of collapse and racial attitudes became entrenched. It became commonplace for “white people to say ‘dirty as an Indian,’ ‘as lazy as an Indian,’ ‘as drunk as an Indian,’ ‘lie like Indians,’ ” reported an Oneida who saw what was happening. “And we Indians can only say ‘Cheat like a white man.’ ”<sup>18</sup>

In January 1785 at Fort McIntosh in western Pennsylvania, U.S. commissioners met with delegates from the Wyandots, Anishinaabeg, Delawares, and Ottawas and demanded large cessions of land. When the Indians objected that the king of England had no right to transfer their lands to the United States, the Americans reminded them they were a defeated people. The Indian delegates attached their names to a treaty that was dictated to them. However, the Shawnees refused to attend. They had resisted expansion across the Ohio since the 1760s and knew from past experience that peace could only be bought with land. The Americans realized that no peace in the West would last if it did not

include the Shawnees and dispatched emissaries to Shawnee villages.

In January 1786 more than two hundred Shawnees finally met the American commissioners at **Fort Finney**, where the Great Miami River meets the Ohio River in southwestern Ohio. Most of them were Maquachakes, the most conciliatory division of the tribe whose traditional responsibilities included healing and negotiation. The negotiations at Fort Finney graphically illustrate the contrast between the old and new ways of conducting diplomacy in Indian country. The Shawnees approached the treaty grounds in ceremonial fashion, and the proceedings opened with traditional speeches of welcome, smoking peace pipes, and dining. But this was not a meeting between equals, and the American commissioners were in no mood for conciliation. General Richard Butler had fought with Colonel Bouquet against the Shawnees and Delawares in 1764 and was a veteran of the Revolutionary War. George Rogers Clark, the other American commissioner, had made a name for himself as an Indian fighter during the Revolution and led assaults on Shawnee villages in 1780 and 1782. At the siege of Vincennes in 1779, he had tomahawked Indian prisoners within sight of the British garrison and tossed their still-kicking bodies into the river. “To excel them in barbarity,” Clark declared, “is the only way to make war upon Indians.”<sup>19</sup> He had little patience for the protocols of Indian diplomacy as practiced by the British and the French, preferring instead to dictate terms with the threat of force. “I am a man and a Warriour and not a councillor,” he told Indians on



the Wabash River in 1778; “I carry in my Right hand war and Peace in my left.”<sup>20</sup> The Americans were determined to negotiate from a position of strength. When the Shawnees balked at the terms of the treaty, the Americans threw the Shawnees’ wampum belt onto the ground and threatened them with destruction. Moluntha, a Maquachake chief, urged his people to reconsider, and they grudgingly accepted the American terms.

But there was to be no peace for the Shawnees. Many who did not attend the treaty were outraged by the terms, and some refused to give up their captives as required by the treaty. Younger warriors accused Moluntha and the older chiefs of selling out to the Americans. Before the year was over, Kentucky militia raided Shawnee country again. At Moluntha’s village, the old chief, carrying a copy of the treaty he had made at Fort Finney, met the militia, while his people hoisted an American flag. The Kentuckians destroyed the town and killed Moluntha in cold blood.

In the South, **Alexander McGillivray** of the Creeks headed a confederacy of tribes whose united power represented a considerable force in the decade after the Revolution. McGillivray was the son of a Scottish trader who provided him an education in Charleston, South Carolina, and a French-Creek mother who gave him membership in the influential Wind clan. McGillivray tried to protect Creek lands and independence in a region of competing and threatening international, intertribal, and state ambitions. He refused to recognize any claims of the United States to Creek lands

based on the 1783 treaty with Britain because the Indians took no part in the treaty. In 1784 he signed a treaty with Spain at Pensacola, securing Spanish trade and protection of Creek lands. The United States signed its first treaty with the other major southeastern tribes — the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws — at Hopewell in Georgia in the winter of 1785–86, reaffirming tribal boundaries in an effort to avoid all-out war on the southern frontier. In 1790, at the invitation of George Washington, McGillivray led a delegation of Creek chiefs to the new nation's capital in New York, where they met with the new president and signed a treaty in which the United States guaranteed Creek territorial boundaries. But the southern states posed a more immediate threat than Congress, and Georgia continued to encroach on Creek and Cherokee lands ([Map 4.3](#)).



Calloway, *First Peoples*, 6e, © 2019 Bedford/St. Martin's.

#### ♦ Map 4.3 U.S. Treaties and Indian Land Cessions to 1810

Although individual states exerted pressure on the southern tribes, the new U.S. government devoted most of its energy to acquiring Indian lands beyond the Ohio River and to defeating the multitribal coalitions that resisted American expansion there. Treaties, by which Indian nations sold lands or ceded them in return for peace, became major instruments in the United States' policy of national expansion.

# INDIANS CONFRONT AN EXPANDING NATION

Fully expecting another war with the young republic, the British in Canada maintained alliances with Indians for years after the Revolution, but tribes south of the new international border now had to deal primarily with the United States. At the start of the Revolution, despite American entreaties and assurances, the Indians had worried and the British had warned that the Americans were only interested in taking the Indians' lands and lives. The Shawnees' experiences in 1786 demonstrated that those worries and warnings were well founded. Shawnees became leaders in forging a multitribal coalition that resisted American expansion for a dozen years after the Revolution.

## The United States Develops an Indian — and a Land — Policy

Once the United States had won its liberty from Britain, it began to build its own domain in the territory that Britain had transferred at the Peace of Paris in 1783 — lands inhabited by Indian peoples but which the United States now claimed by right of conquest. These

territories were a vital national resource that would provide land for the new nation's citizens, fill an empty treasury, and guarantee a future of continuous growth and prosperity. But the government's formulation and implementation of national policy was frequently hampered and frustrated.

The United States regarded its expansion as inevitable, even divinely ordained, and recognized that its growth would entail dispossessing the original Indian inhabitants. Many government leaders were conscious of their country's position as a new republic on the world stage and wanted to ensure that national expansion was pursued honorably, but the drive to acquire land overwhelmed most moral scruples. Although George Washington, his secretary of war Henry Knox, Thomas Jefferson, and other good men of the founding fathers' generation wrestled with how to deal honorably with Indian people, the taking of Indian land was never in doubt. After the long war against Britain, the U.S. government had no money; its only resource was the land the British had ceded. Acquiring actual title to that land and transforming it into "public land" that could be sold to settlers was vital to the future, even the survival, of the new nation. Having won its independence from the British Empire, the United States turned to building an empire of its own — "an empire of liberty," Jefferson called it. In this empire, all citizens shared the benefits. But — and this was a question that plagued the nation and the national conscience for generations — who qualified as citizens? Did African Americans? Did women? Did Native Americans? And how could Americans claim to deal

honorably with Indian people at the same time as they built their nation on Indian lands?

The Declaration of Independence provided answers: hadn't Indians fought against American rights and freedoms at the moment of the nation's birth? They could not now expect to share those rights and freedoms that had been won at so much cost. The United States had no obligation to include Indians in the body politic or to protect Indian lands. But the Declaration also made clear that Indians were "savages," and Washington, Jefferson, and others believed that the United States did have an obligation to "civilize" them. The United States must and would take the Indians' lands; that was inevitable. But it would give them civilization in return, and that was honorable. In the years following the Revolution, American settlers invaded Indian country; so too, at different times and places, did American soldiers, Indian agents, land speculators, treaty commissioners, and missionaries.



*Hulton Archive/Getty Images.*

♦ **The Wyoming “Massacre,” by Alonzo Chappel, 1858**

Later depictions of Indian violence and atrocities during the Revolution perpetuated the impression that Native Americans who fought alongside the British were, in the words of the Declaration of Independence, “merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages sexes, and conditions.”

The new United States followed the British example in Indian relations: they set up an Indian department, established rules for the sale and transfer of Indian lands, and tried to regulate the advance of the frontier. The U.S. Constitution established national authority over the conduct of Indian relations, permitting only the federal government to negotiate and make treaties with Indian nations. The War Department assumed responsibility for Indian affairs, and the first secretary of war, Henry Knox, proved relatively humanitarian in his dealings with Indians. In the 1780s, with dust from the Revolution not quite settled on the frontiers, it made sense

for Indian affairs to be under the jurisdiction of the War Department. Furthermore, the United States in the 1780s was still an infant power, with hostile European neighbors on its northern and southern borders. Both the British in Canada and the Spanish in Florida continued to encourage and support Indian tribes within the United States' territory in resisting American expansion, while the young nation lacked the military resources and economic strength to establish control over its frontiers. The Indian Office, later known as the Bureau of Indian Affairs, was established in 1824; not until 1849 was it transferred from the War Department to the Department of the Interior.

Indian policy and the machinery for conducting Indian relations evolved slowly over time.<sup>[21](#)</sup> However, a clear and consistent objective of the United States' Indian policy from the end of the American Revolution to the Indian removals of the 1830s was the acquisition of lands between the Appalachians and the Mississippi, lands that the federal government bought "parcel by parcel." Like Europeans before them, Americans not only acquired the land but also established the legal framework by which they, and not the Indians, would own it.<sup>[22](#)</sup>

Further complicating the government's land policy were conflicting colonial charters; because of them, seven of the original states had land claims stretching to the Mississippi valley. The parties involved agreed that these claims should be ceded to the national government for the common good before the Articles of



Confederation went into effect in 1781, and that the lands lying beyond those boundaries should fall into the public domain. By 1786 the states had ceded most of the lands north of the Ohio River. Southern states proved less compliant, however. Virginia retained claims to Kentucky, North Carolina did not cede Tennessee until 1789, and Georgia did not relinquish its claims to the territory of Alabama and Mississippi until 1802. Thus, in the early years of the republic national expansion focused north of the Ohio, since the government had no lands to sell in the South.

In 1787 the **Northwest Ordinance** proclaimed that the United States would observe “the utmost good faith” in its dealings with Indian people and that their lands would not be invaded or taken except in “just and lawful wars authorized by Congress.” But the ordinance also laid out a blueprint for national expansion: the Northwest Territory was to be divided into districts that, after passing through territorial status, would become states. Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin eventually entered the Union as states carved from the Northwest Territory. Indians who resisted American expansion soon found themselves subjected to “just and lawful wars.”

In an effort to regulate conditions on the frontier and reaffirm that conduct of Indian affairs was reserved to the federal government, not the states, Congress passed the **Indian Trade and Intercourse Act in 1790**. Only licensed traders were permitted to operate in Indian country, and no transfers of Indian land were valid

without congressional approval. The Trade and Intercourse Acts were renewed periodically until 1834. But, like the British after 1763, the fledgling U.S. government failed to control its own citizens on distant frontiers. Frontier settlers, squatters, and speculators seldom shared their government's concern for expansion with honor — all they wanted was expansion. Individual states, resentful of attempts by the federal government to restrict their rights, frequently made treaties that never received congressional approval.

## Indians Build a United Defense

For Native Americans, the policies of the new nation translated into a dual assault on their lands and cultures, which were inextricably linked. They fought back, challenging the policies that threatened to transform their homelands into national real estate. “Our lands are our life and our breath,” declared the Creek chief Hallowing King in 1787. “If we part with them, we part with our blood.”<sup>23</sup> Giving up land meant more than shrinking a tribe's territorial base: it reduced the people's mobility and restricted the range of resources available to them, and it uprooted them from ancestral places to which they felt bound by communal traditions and stories. Tribes disputed American claims to their homelands, killed trespassers, and sometimes inflicted stunning defeats on American armies. Indian resistance continued to limit American expansion

for many years. While American power was relatively weak after the Revolution, Indian power remained formidable in much of the western territory the United States claimed. Indian tribes usually acted in the specific interests of family and band rather than as a “race,” but in times of crisis, Indian peoples often cooperated in impressive displays of unity.

In the 1780s the **Northwestern Indian confederacy** rejected treaties signed by individual tribes and refused to accept any American settlement west of the Ohio River. Delegates from the Iroquois, Hurons, Delawares, Shawnees, Ottawas, Anishinaabeg, Potawatomis, Miamis, and Wabash River tribes assembled in council at the mouth of the Detroit River in December 1786. They sent a message to Congress, assuring the Americans of their desire for peace, but insisting that “as landed matters are often the subject of our councils with you, a matter of the greatest importance and of general concern to us,” any cession of lands “should be made in the most public manner, and by the united voice of the confederacy; holding all partial treaties as void and of no effect.”<sup>24</sup> The confederacy prepared to resist American expansion, by armed force if necessary.

Early American efforts at a military solution met with little success. In 1790 General Josiah Harmer invaded Indian country with some 1,500 men, but the warriors of the western tribes, ably led by the Miami war chief Little Turtle and Blue Jacket of the Shawnees, inflicted a decisive defeat. Worse was to come. In 1791

the Indian confederacy routed an American army under General Arthur St. Clair in the heaviest defeat Indians ever inflicted on the United States. St. Clair suffered over nine hundred casualties, with some six hundred dead, at a time when the young republic had neither the manpower nor the resources to sustain such losses.<sup>25</sup> American claims to Indian land by right of conquest looked empty. For a time it seemed as if the United States would negotiate a compromise agreement with the Indian tribes of the Old Northwest. However, while the Americans rebuilt their army, deep divisions appeared in Indian ranks, divisions that American commissioners exacerbated. Cornplanter led a Seneca delegation to meet with Washington in Philadelphia and Joseph Brant recommended that the western tribes reach a settlement with the United States. Brant and the Iroquois continued to exert influence in Indian country after the Revolution, but many of the western tribes regarded them with increasing suspicion. Western warriors who had already defeated two American armies rejected the idea of compromise (see [“Message to the Commissioners of the United States,” pages 233–35](#)).

Meanwhile, Congress was appropriating \$1 million to raise, equip, and train a new army, the Legion of the United States, to be led by General Anthony Wayne against the Indian alliance. Little Turtle began to incline toward peace and his son-in-law William Wells, a white captive who had been adopted and fought against the Americans in St. Clair’s defeat, switched sides and served as a scout and interpreter for Wayne.<sup>26</sup> By the time Wayne and his army

entered Indian country in 1794, the confederacy of northwestern tribes was no longer united. On the west bank of the Maumee River, south of Lake Erie, a reduced Indian force confronted Wayne's troops in a tangle of trees felled by a tornado. Outnumbered and outgunned, the Indians were driven from the field by the American cannon, cavalry, and bayonets. "We were driven by the sharp end of the guns of the Long Knives," recalled one Indian leader of the Battle of Fallen Timbers. "Our moccasins trickled with blood in the sand, and the water was red in the river."<sup>27</sup>

They fled to a nearby British fort, where they believed they would receive assistance. They were mistaken. Britain, faced with trouble in Europe and a revolutionary government in France, was not interested in another war in America. The fleeing Indians found the gates of the fort barred against them. The lack of British support dispirited the Indians more than the actual battle at Fallen Timbers, where their losses were relatively light. In 1795, at the **Treaty of Greenville**, more than a thousand Indian delegates accepted Wayne's terms and ceded to the United States two-thirds of present-day Ohio and part of Indiana. In return, the Indians were promised a lasting boundary between their lands and American territory. With the war for the Ohio country over, many Indians turned to more subtle forms of resistance in what remained of their homelands, compromising where they had no choice, adapting and adjusting to changes, and preserving what they could of Indian life and culture in a nation that was intent on eradicating both.



*The Treaty of Greenville on August 3, 1795 (oil on canvas), 1805/American School (19th century)/CHICAGO HISTORY MUSEUM/Chicago History Museum, USA/Bridgeman Images.*

◆ ***The Treaty of Greenville, August 1795***

The artist, who may have been a member of Wayne's staff, depicts the Miami chief Little Turtle addressing Wayne and his officers, while a scribe takes notes on bended knee.

# UPHEAVALS IN THE WEST

The era that brought the Revolution in the East also brought revolutionary changes to the West. The Spanish monarchy implemented a series of reforms, and Spanish colonial officials in the late eighteenth century tried to develop more enlightened Indian policies.<sup>28</sup> Indian nations empowered with guns and horses altered balances of power on the Great Plains. Indians in California entered Franciscan missions amid a world of disrupted lifeways and plummeting populations. Indians on the Northwest Coast became involved in a rush for sea otter pelts that brought the outside world to their shores. They witnessed the clash of imperial ambitions at their coastline, dealt with Russian, Spanish, British, and American ships, and became connected to a trade network that embraced Europe, Hawaii, and China. Like other peoples throughout the West, they also died in huge numbers as a massive smallpox epidemic raged from Mexico to Canada, a human catastrophe that occurred at the same time as the American Revolution but that has been largely ignored in American history.

## Emerging and Colliding Powers on the Plains

Indian power had always limited European ambitions and affected European decisions in the interior of the continent. The Osages dominated the region between the Arkansas and Red rivers for much of the eighteenth century. They exploited their trade with the French to expand their power over rival tribes and dictated the terms on which Europeans entered their domain. Spaniards and French alike treated the Osages with healthy respect and courted their friendship.<sup>29</sup> When Spain attempted to solidify and extend imperial authority on its northern frontiers, it collided with an emerging **Comanche empire** on the southern plains. It was not an empire like the British imperial system or the “empire of liberty” that Jefferson envisioned; Comanche dominance rested on buffalo, horses, and grasslands, operated along networks of exchange and kinship, and relied on coexistence and coercion rather than conquest and colonization. Nevertheless, Comanche military prowess, commercial reach and economic power, incorporation of other peoples, and political and cultural influence challenged and eclipsed Spain’s empire. The Comanches maintained alliances with the Wichitas, confined the Osages to the east, and pushed the Apaches south and west. They raided at will deep into Texas, New Mexico, and Spain’s other northern provinces, carrying off captives and livestock and draining and diverting the limited resources Spain could afford for frontier defense.<sup>30</sup>

Despite Governor Cachupín’s efforts to cultivate peace with the Comanches, Spanish–Comanche relations continued to be marred by hostilities. In 1779 Governor Juan Bautista de Anza defeated and



killed the Comanche chief Cuerno Verde (Green Horn). Realizing that years of fighting could have been avoided if Spain had always treated the Comanches “with gentleness and justice,” Anza quickly moved to restore peace.<sup>31</sup> Following Native diplomatic protocols that involved exchanging gifts and having Comanche women act as mediators, Spaniards and Comanches made peace in Texas in 1785 and in New Mexico the following year.<sup>32</sup> Recent losses to disease may also have induced Comanches to make peace (see [page 222](#)).

Spaniards then enlisted Comanche support in a no-holds-barred war against the Apaches, who had been pushed up against Spain’s northern frontier by Comanche expansion and who raided Spanish settlements as an integral part of their economy. Spaniards waged unrelenting war against “hostile” Apaches. They paid bounties for Apache ears and shipped Apache captives to slavery in the Caribbean; chain gangs of Apache prisoners trekked south to Mexico City; from there, many were sent to Vera Cruz and on to Havana. At the same time, Spain tried to resettle Apache people and supported those who agreed to live in peace near presidios and accepted Christian “civilization.” Drought and military pressure pushed many Apaches to live near Spanish presidios in settlements that resembled the reservations the U.S. later established near military posts in the West.<sup>33</sup> But Western Indian resistance, though shifting in its composition and power balance, remained a formidable force against Spanish expansion, and Comanche and Apache raids would continue long after Mexico won its independence from Spain in 1821.

Farther north, another growing Native power that would come to match Comanche dominance in the South was pushing west and establishing its hold on the northern and central Plains. According to a Sioux winter count<sup>o</sup> kept by American Horse, in 1775–76, while George Washington was capturing Boston and Congress was declaring independence, a Lakota named Standing Bull discovered the Black Hills, a site of sacred significance and spiritual power for the Sioux. As the Lakota bands — the Oglala, Hunkpapa, Brulé or Sicangu, Miniconjou, Sans Arc, Two Kettle, and Sihaspa or Blackfeet Sioux — asserted their power, they pushed Omahas, Otos, Missouris, Iowas, Pawnees, and Cheyennes to the south and west, seizing hunting territories to support their large populations.<sup>34</sup>

Horses and guns also shifted the balance of power on the northwestern plains. Although the Shoshonis originated in the Great Basin area of Nevada, a great drought in the fourteenth century triggered a series of population movements out of the region. Groups of Shoshoni speakers drifted across the Rocky Mountains in the early sixteenth century. While their Comanche relatives moved south, the Shoshonis moved north and east. They obtained horses from Utes and Comanches by about 1700 and moved onto the buffalo-rich plains of Wyoming and Montana in increasing numbers. They appear to have extended as far north as the Saskatchewan River, where they came into conflict with the Blackfeet by the 1730s. At first, the Shoshoni cavalry had the advantage and pushed the Blackfeet northward. However, firearms soon offset Shoshoni wealth in horses.

As the **Blackfeet** began to close the gap on the Shoshonis in terms of horse power, they built up their arsenals of firearms and steel weapons, trading first with Cree and Assiniboine middlemen and then directly with the French, British, and Canadian traders who came to their country in growing numbers. After the French ceded Canada, British fur trading companies had an open field and competition flourished. The Northwest Company challenged the monopoly of the old Hudson's Bay Company by sending traders west to seek out new customers and new sources of furs. The Hudson's Bay Company followed suit. In 1774 it established Cumberland House on the border of Saskatchewan and Manitoba, and by the 1790s rival Northwest and Hudson's Bay Company posts were competing for trade with the Blackfeet. Cree and Assiniboine Indians who had operated as middlemen between western tribes and trading posts on the shores of Hudson Bay now moved west to maintain their role in the expanding fur trade.<sup>35</sup> With plenty of access to trade, the powerful Blackfeet played off rival traders to their advantage and controlled the trade routes, preventing guns from reaching the Shoshonis. Smallpox hit both the Blackfeet and the Shoshonis in 1781 (see [pages 236–37](#)), killing between one-third and one-half of the people and interrupting hostilities for several years. However, by 1800, the Blackfeet and their allies had succeeded in pushing the Shoshonis off the Plains and into the Rocky Mountain ranges of western Wyoming and Idaho, where the American explorers Meriwether Lewis and William Clark met them five years later. The Shoshonis welcomed American traders into their country; the new source of firearms allowed them to confront

Blackfeet and other enemies on equal terms again in the nineteenth century.<sup>36</sup>



Blackfeet Warrior on Horseback, c. 1833–43 (pencil, pen & w/c on paper)/Bodmer, Karl (1809–93)/NEWBERRY LIBRARY/  
Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois, USA/Bridgeman Images.

♦ **Karl Bodmer, *Blackfeet Warrior on Horseback* (c. 1833–43)**

Mounted and well-armed Blackfeet warriors defeated the Shoshonis and established themselves as the most formidable power on the northern Plains by 1800.

◌ Calendars, usually on hide, that marked each year with the symbol for a memorable event. See Dohasan calendar on [page 334](#) for an example.

# California Missions

California Indians did not feel the full impact of European contact until 1769. That year the Franciscan missionary Father Junípero Serra founded the first Catholic mission in Upper California, at San Diego. By 1823 there were twenty-one **Spanish missions** between San Diego and San Francisco ([Map 4.4](#)). Many Indian people moved to the missions to seek refuge from the devastating demographic and ecological disruptions that followed in the wake of European contact. In the missions they lived a regulated existence that revolved around work and religion: breakfast, religious instruction, Mass, morning work, noon prayer and meal, siesta, afternoon work, choir or catechism, dinner, and evening activities. Priests imposed Catholic family structures and rules on Indians who had previously lived in extended kin groups. They segregated unmarried men and women into separate dormitories at night to enforce Catholic moral codes, imposed strict labor regimens, and resorted to whipping, branding, and solitary confinement to keep Indians on the path to “civilization and salvation.” Indians at the missions were a source of labor: “nearly everything grown, manufactured, or consumed in the region’s missions, presidios, and pueblos was to a great extent produced by laboring Indians.” But Indian people at the missions managed to hold on to important elements of their culture, and they also developed their own forms of labor. Many made their own economic arrangements with soldiers and settlers, working as blacksmiths, carpenters, potters, and masons in California’s

emerging colonial society.<sup>37</sup> As it had among the Pueblos in 1680, Franciscan oppression, backed by the Spanish military and combined with the disruption of traditional lifeways and economies, produced suffering and resentment that occasionally burst out into open violence.



Calloway, *First Peoples*, 6e, © 2019 Bedford/St. Martin's.

#### ♦ Map 4.4 Franciscan Missions in California

The chain of twenty-one missions established by Franciscans between 1769 and 1823.

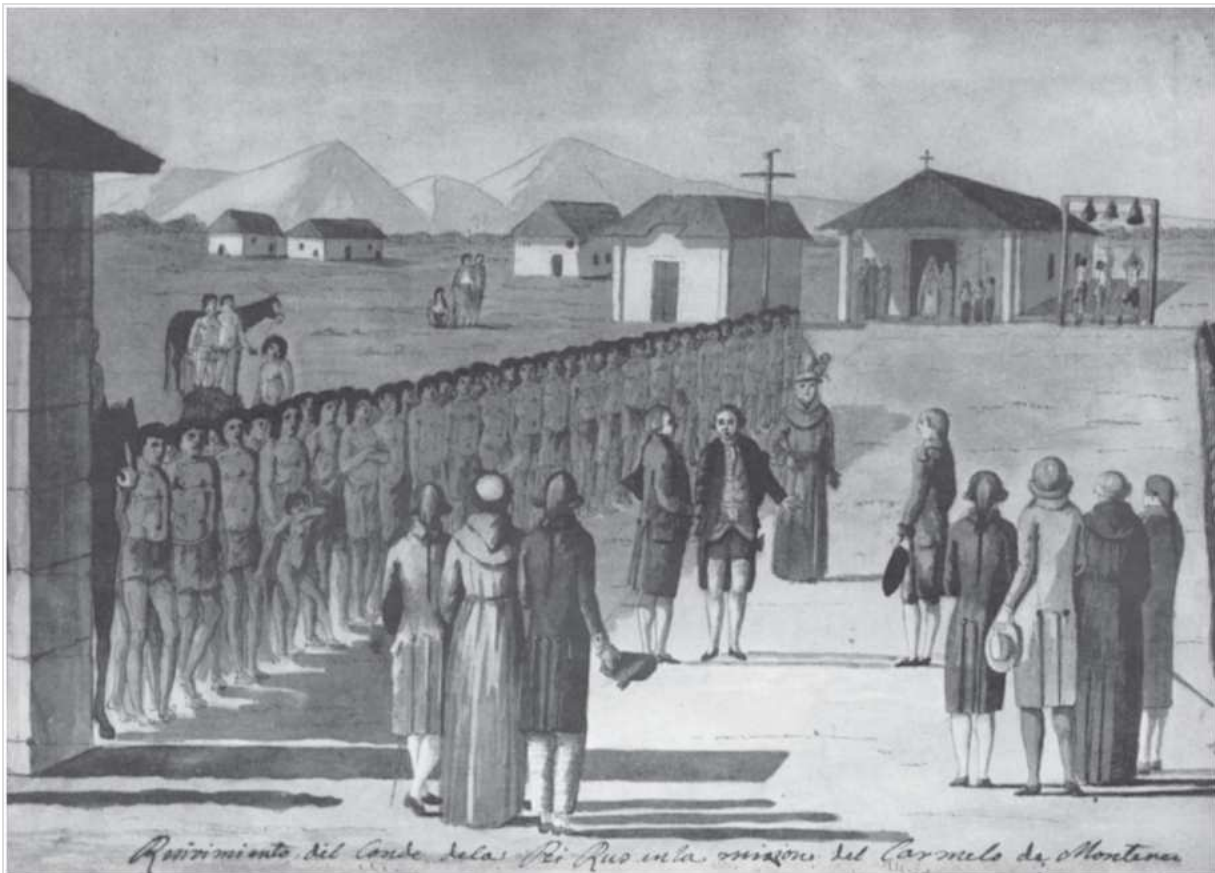
Missionaries labored to save Indian souls but brought misery to Indian lives. Missionaries pictured their neophytes as docile and submissive and themselves as benevolent fathers, but the mission system was backed by force and violence. Many Indians saw the

missionaries as thieves, witches, and sexual predators. Priests tried to alter Native patterns of sexuality and marriage and ostensibly enforced strict moral codes, but they also sometimes abused Indian women. Spanish soldiers often committed rape. Venereal disease spread through mission communities. Mission Indians were usually powerless to resist but not always. Many ran away, while others turned to violence. Kumeyaay warriors attacked the settlement at San Diego in 1769, and in 1775 about eight hundred Indians from a number of villages attacked the mission in an outbreak of violence sparked at least in part by Spanish abuses of Indian women.<sup>38</sup>

Mission populations rose between 1769 and the end of the century, but the increase stemmed from congregating converts in one place and masked a broader demographic collapse. Mission Indians died in epidemics of measles (in 1769) and smallpox (in 1781–82). Social controls and social disruption produced psychological trauma. Abortions, miscarriages, and deaths in childbirth reduced fertility rates among women. Poor diet, overcrowding, and unsanitary conditions produced appalling infant mortality rates, often with nine out of ten children dying before the age of eight. At the San Francisco mission, an Indian named Uichase buried four wives, whom he had married one after the other as each died, and had ten children, none of whom lived past the age of three. In places where mortality rates were so high, the missions depended on recruitment to maintain population levels.<sup>39</sup> As had Indians in New England, New Mexico, and elsewhere, Indians in California often adapted to (and in turn adapted) the new



religion to help them survive in a chaotic new world, but the treatment accorded Indian people in the California missions prompted outrage and controversy when Serra, the founder of the California mission system, was considered for canonization in the late twentieth century.



The Granger Collection, New York.

#### ♦ Mission Indians of California

Indian converts at the Spanish mission at Carmel, California, line up to receive visiting Frenchmen in 1786. Spanish priests worked to produce dutiful congregations of “mission Indians.” However, beneath the appearance of order and contentment depicted on occasions such as this, Indians in Spanish missions often suffered hunger, disease, and abuse. One of the French visitors compared the mission to a slave plantation. Indians frequently ran away from the missions and sometimes resorted to violent resistance.



# The Pacific Northwest Pelt Rush

Farther north on the Pacific Coast, Native peoples had little direct contact with Europeans and Americans until the late eighteenth century, and the intruders there came for the Indians' furs rather than their souls. Long and hazardous routes around Cape Horn at the southern tip of South America protected the Indians from European and Yankee seaborne traffic; vast distances and mountain walls limited contact by land. Chinook and Clatsop Indians at the mouth of the Columbia, however, moved easily across the water in long, sturdy canoes. They traded inland with other Indian peoples and acquired items from half a continent away at the busy portage market at The Dalles.<sup>40</sup> Northwest Coast people were not isolated, but they were isolated for a time from direct contact with Europeans. That changed dramatically in the last quarter of the eighteenth century ([Map 4.5](#))



*Information from One Vast Winter Count: The Native American West before Lewis and Clark by Colin G. Calloway.*

#### ♦ Map 4.5 The Northwest Coast in the Late Eighteenth Century

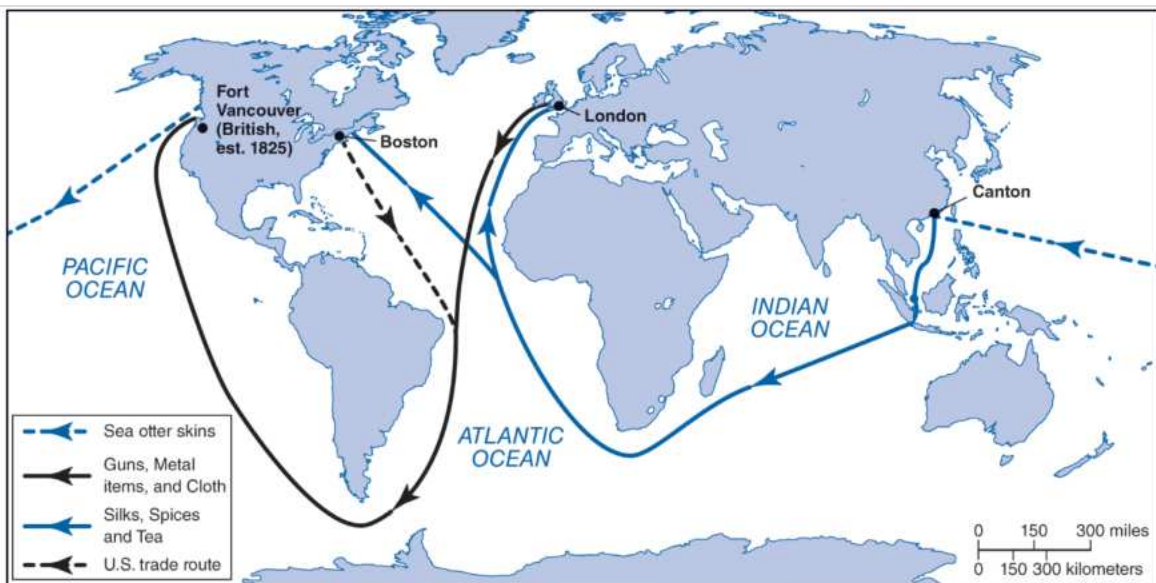
The Northwest Coast in the late eighteenth century, showing major Native groups and key locations in the sea otter trade.

The Spanish had sent occasional voyages up the Pacific Coast, but Russian activity in the area prompted them to focus their attention. Russian interest in the Northwest Coast represented the

culmination of an expansion eastward across Siberia that had begun in the seventeenth century. Vitus Bering, a Dane in the czar's service who explored the Asian shoreline northward and gave his name to the straits, reached the Aleutian Islands off the coast of present-day Alaska in 1741. The expedition traded for sea otter pelts from the Natives and sold them for nearly one thousand rubles each in Chinese markets. The profits to be made unleashed a rush of *promyshleniki*, Russian fur traders, mainly from Siberia, to the Aleutian chain. They abused the Natives and forced the men to hunt for sea otter pelts by holding their women hostage.

Spanish expeditions sailed north from Monterey in response to rumors of Russians on the coast of what Spain regarded as part of Alta, California. In an international chain reaction, the British set sail to find out what the Spaniards were up to, and to assert their claims to the area and search for the western opening of the Northwest Passage that was believed to provide an all-water route to the Pacific and the wealth of the Orient.<sup>41</sup> In July 1776, just days after American colonists signed the Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia, Captain James Cook left England with two ships, *Resolution* and *Discovery*. Cook's crews sailed around the Cape of Good Hope, past Australia and Tasmania, and on to New Zealand; dropped anchor at Tahiti; and then sailed to Hawaii, becoming the first Europeans to visit the islands. They reached the northwest coast of America in the spring of 1778. The local Indians came alongside the ships in their canoes and traded sea otter pelts. Cook then pushed north along the coast of Alaska. When the ships

returned to Hawaii, Cook was killed by angry Natives, but his crew carried on to Siberia and China, where they sold fifteen hundred beaver pelts as well as sea otter furs. Returning to England after fifty months at sea, they completed what has been called the greatest voyage in the age of sail. They also returned with news that there were fortunes to be made in the **sea otter trade**.<sup>42</sup> John Ledyard, a young New Englander who had sailed with Cook, published his own account of the voyage in an effort to promote American participation in the trade; “[S]kins which did not cost the purchaser sixpence sterling sold in China for 100 dollars,” he announced.<sup>43</sup>



Calloway, *First Peoples*, 6e, © 2019 Bedford/St. Martin's.

#### ◆ Map 4.6 The Global Sea Otter Trade

In the late eighteenth century, Indian peoples on the Northwest Pacific Coast became producers and consumers in a commerce that spanned the world. They hunted sea otter pelts and traded them for manufactured goods conveyed by ships from Britain and New England; those ships then carried the pelts to China and traded them for silk and spices before returning home.

Sea otters became the key to great fortunes in England and New England, and Northwest Coast Indian villages were soon busy ports of call in an enormous trade network involving three continents. British and Yankee merchants loaded ships with manufactured goods, sailed around the tip of South America and up to the Pacific Northwest Coast, and exchanged their goods for sea otter pelts. When their holds were stuffed with pelts, the merchants sailed their ships to Hawaii, where they often spent the winter, and then on to Chinese ports. In China, warm and glossy sea otter fur became a status symbol of the royal family, mandarins, and wealthy classes. The sea captains sold their otter skins at huge profits and bought silks, spices, and tea, items that commanded high prices back home.<sup>44</sup> As the competition increased, the countries vying for a stake sometimes clashed. In 1789 English and Spanish claims collided in Nootka Sound, off the coast of British Columbia. Spaniards seized English ships, and for a moment the two nations were poised on the brink of war. Even so, the influx of sailors on the coast continued unabated. By one count, at the height of the maritime trade in 1792, thirty-two vessels visited the coastal area: eight Spanish, thirteen British, five American, four Portuguese, one French, and one ship sailing under the Swedish flag, with an unknown number of Russian vessels operating off the coast of Alaska.<sup>45</sup> Northwest Coast Indians became participants in a trade system that spanned the globe and they came into contact with crews that included Russians, English, Scots, “Boston men” from coastal New England, Spaniards, Portuguese, Hawaiians, Hindus, Filipinos, Malays, and Chinese.

As other nations probed the coasts of Alaska, Russia redoubled its efforts to secure the sea otter trade. In 1784 Grigory Shelikhov established a settlement on Kodiak Island after subjugating the Alutiiq inhabitants. He petitioned the Russian government to grant his company a monopoly and asked that missionaries be sent. The first group of Russian Orthodox missionaries arrived at Kodiak in 1794, and in 1799 the state granted a monopoly to the Russian American Company (RAC). The RAC took control, but government regulations prohibiting abuse of the Natives were regularly ignored. Pushing southeast along the coast, Russians opened trade relations with the Tlingits in the late 1780s. In 1799 Alexander Baranov, general manager of the RAC, shifted the company's base of operations to a site a few miles north of present-day Sitka. But the powerful Tlingits, who numbered some ten thousand at the turn of the century, proved formidable customers and adversaries. In 1802 Tlingits attacked and burned the Russian outpost at St. Michael.<sup>46</sup>

The world began to close in from land and sea. Scotsman Alexander Mackenzie, in the employ of the Northwest Company, became the first white man to cross the continent north of Mexico when he reached the Pacific in July 1793.<sup>47</sup> But the Americans ultimately dominated. In 1792 Captain Robert Gray, the first American to circumnavigate the globe, became the first non-Indian to enter the mouth of the *Columbia Rediviva*.<sup>48</sup> By 1800 the Americans had transformed the Northwest Coast into what one historian called a trade suburb of Boston. The next year, American vessels outnumbered British ships on the coast twenty-two to one.<sup>49</sup>

By the time Lewis and Clark reached the Pacific in 1805, Northwest Coast peoples were used to seeing Americans.

Indians embraced the maritime trade. The new materials, tools, and goods contributed to an artistic blossoming even as their cultures experienced the shock of contact. Many goods were acquired as prestige items to be given away at potlatches. Northwest Coast peoples quickly became shrewd dealers and discriminating consumers. They obliged ships' captains to participate in, or at least tolerate, a considerable amount of ceremony as a prerequisite to trade and to accede to the custom of reciprocal gift giving. They might accept beads and trinkets as gifts, but once they got down to business they wanted metal goods and clothing. Native chiefs manipulated competition between different traders, monopolized profitable roles as middlemen by preventing tribes farther inland from dealing directly with the ships, and sometimes resorted to violence to protect their borderlands, resources, and trading positions.<sup>50</sup>

Yet no matter how Northwest Coast Indians endeavored to direct the tide, the floodgates of change were open. Along with tools and goods, they acquired alcohol, guns, and new diseases. Overhunting produced glutted markets, fluctuating prices, and depletion of the very source on which the trade rested. Before the mid-eighteenth century, sea otters ranged from Baja California to Alaska; by the turn of the century they were on the way to becoming an endangered species. As Indian men devoted more energy to hunting

and chiefs traded pelts for sheets of copper and other goods that could be given away for status at potlatch ceremonies, they spent less time whaling and salmon fishing, which meant they stored less food for the winter.<sup>51</sup> Native women played prominent roles in the trade, although Europeans most often commented on their sexual roles. Some Euro-American seafarers reported that Northwest Coast women displayed chastity before contact with the trade ships, and there is no evidence that prostitution existed in these societies before the sea otter trade created the demand, but Northwest Coast women quickly became renowned for easy sex and sex in trade. Northwest Coast Indians often held war captives and their descendants as slaves, and as demand increased, they began trafficking in the sexual services of their slave women, providing sexual laborers as an item of trade and perhaps also diverting the worst consequences of colonial sexual encounters away from their own families.<sup>52</sup> Venereal disease became rampant among the Natives of the lower Columbia. Alcohol also made deadly inroads.

When George Vancouver sailed through the Strait of Juan De Fuca in 1792, he found grim evidence of diseases imported from the outside world. Many of the Indians bore the marks of smallpox, and Vancouver's crew found abandoned villages littered with bones and skeletons scattered along the beach of Discovery Bay. It was obvious that some disaster had struck the region.<sup>53</sup> From a conservative estimate of more than 180,000 in 1774, the Indian population of the Northwest Coast had dropped to 35,000 or 40,000 just a century later.<sup>54</sup> What had started as a limited, mutually



beneficial trade relationship had spiraled into a cataclysmic upheaval for the peoples of the Northwest Coast.

## Smallpox Used Them Up

Disease caused upheaval throughout the West. During the American Revolution, while rebels and redcoats killed each other by the hundreds in the East, a great smallpox pandemic killed Indian people by the thousands in the West. As it had in colonial times, smallpox plagued Boston, Philadelphia, Charleston, and other eastern cities and struck American armies and Woodland Indian villages. But death tolls in the East paled in comparison to the horrors in the West. The **1779–1784 smallpox epidemic** reached from South America to the Saskatchewan River, from Puget Sound to Hudson Bay ([Map 4.7](#)). It was certainly not the first epidemic to ravage the West, but it was more extensive than any before or since.



Information from *Pox Americana* by Elizabeth Fenn. Hill and Wang, a division of Farrar, Straus and Giroux, LLC.

#### ◆ Map 4.7 The Smallpox Pandemic, 1779–1784

After a smallpox epidemic broke out in Mexico City late in 1779, the disease spread rapidly across the West, often following the same routes by which horses had spread northward.

The epidemic struck first in Mexico City, where it killed an estimated eighteen thousand people between September and December 1779. From there it spread in all directions: to the silver mining districts of northern Mexico; to Guatemala in 1780–81; to Colombia in 1781–83; to Ecuador in 1783.<sup>55</sup> Infected families from Sonora carried the disease to Baja California. Spanish priests

watched it spread like wildfire through the missions; some inoculated their congregations, but most watched helplessly as people died of disease or starved as fields lay untended. Indians who fled from the mission deathtraps into the mountains carried smallpox to the non-Christian Indians who lived there. The disease spread from Mexico along the *camino real* and other trails to New Mexico, where more than five thousand people died in 1780–81. So many people perished that Governor Anza urged reducing the number of missions in New Mexico. Hopis there told Anza they expected the epidemic to exterminate them. In 1785 a band of Comanches reported that two-thirds of their people had recently died of smallpox.<sup>56</sup>

The disease spread far and fast along well-traveled trade channels, following roughly the same routes by which horses spread across the West and racing across two-thirds of the continent in two to three years. Shoshonis in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains in present-day Idaho told the explorers Lewis and Clark that they could travel to Spanish trade sites in just ten days; a Shoshoni who became infected with smallpox while trading for horses could be back home before the symptoms erupted. And the Shoshonis were major traders in the diffusion of horses through the Northwest. As horses spread north across the West, manufactured goods filtered in via the Mandan and Hidatsa villages on the Missouri, from French traders operating among the Wichitas and Caddos, and from British and Yankee merchant ships on the Northwest Coast. Indian middlemen shuttled between Indians and

Europeans and between Indians and Indians. Traditional trading centers became the hubs of vast exchange networks that connected Indian peoples across half a continent and beyond. When the rival Hudson's Bay and Northwest companies built a string of trading posts stretching west to the Saskatchewan River, they created a series of stepping-stones by which disease would leap from the northern Plains back to the bay. When smallpox hit village farmers, they died in huge numbers; when it hit mobile hunters, they carried it to other groups. People who fled the dreaded disease infected their allies and the relatives who took them in.

The epidemic became a turning point in relations between the semi-sedentary farming tribes on the upper Missouri and the Sioux. The Mandans, Hidatsas, and Arikaras held a commanding position on the Great Bend of the upper Missouri prior to 1780 and their power and numbers had blocked Sioux expansion. An estimated twenty-four thousand Arikaras lived in numerous villages in the mid-eighteenth century, but they lost 75 to 80 percent of their population in the epidemic, and the survivors huddled into just a couple of villages. The Mandans, who numbered about nine thousand people in the middle of the eighteenth century, told Lewis and Clark in 1805 that twenty-five years before they had inhabited half a dozen villages but had been reduced to just two by repeated attacks from Sioux and smallpox. Reeling from massive losses and internal discord, the survivors retreated north, opening the way for the Sioux to circumvent them, move west across the Missouri, and

establish themselves as the dominant power on the northern and central Plains.<sup>57</sup>

Once smallpox hit the Missouri River trading villages, it spread quickly to the Indians of the northern forests. Sioux winter counts referred to 1779–80 as “Smallpox Used Them Up Winter.”<sup>58</sup> The Crows, regular visitors to the Hidatsa villages, caught the disease. They told traders that they had totaled two thousand lodges before smallpox came and were since reduced to three hundred lodges.<sup>59</sup> From the Crows the disease appears to have spread west to the Flatheads or Salish, although Shoshonis just as likely transmitted it there. As much as half of the Salish population died. The Salish passed it on to the Pend d’Oreilles, Kalispels, Kutenais, Spokanes, and Colvilles, and on down the Columbia River to the Northwest Coast. The Shoshonis transmitted it to the Blackfeet. Thousands of people died on the Canadian plains. The Chipewyans in the central subarctic lost about 90 percent of their population. It spread east to Hudson Bay, where traders’ journals recorded Indians dying every day.

Smallpox was especially deadly for children and pregnant women. When Englishman Nathaniel Portlock arrived in the Sitka area of Alaska in 1787, he met an old Tlingit man who had pockmarks on his face and “ten strokes tattooed on one of his arms, which I understood were marks for the number of children he had lost.”<sup>60</sup> Children who survived the disease itself often died of starvation and neglect when smallpox claimed their parents. Deaths

in the younger population reduced the number of individuals surviving to reproductive age and produced a decrease in births twenty or twenty-five years later. The survivors of the 1779–83 epidemic acquired immunity, thus they were spared when another epidemic hit later on, but their children were not. Traditional healers and healing rituals were powerless in the face of the disaster; in fact, the common medical treatment of sweating in a lodge and then plunging into cold water often proved fatal to smallpox victims. Survivors had to regroup socially and politically as well as psychologically and emotionally. Sometimes small groups of survivors from larger stricken populations congregated to form new communities. Some communities tried to rebuild their populations through large-scale adoptions. Societies struggled to redefine their political structures and patterns of leadership. Despair added to the death toll, as many survivors without family or community lost the will to live. An Oglala winter count by American Horse marks the year 1784 with the suicide of a smallpox victim: the man sat in his tipi, sang his death song, then shot himself.<sup>61</sup>

After the Revolution, the new American nation turned its eyes west. The West had felt the reverberations of revolution in the East, but it was also experiencing upheavals of its own. Missionaries and traders had reached the Pacific Coast. Balances of power had shifted between Indian nations as well as between European nations. And smallpox had ravaged the country. To Americans who had just won their independence from the British Empire, it seemed that God had cleared the way for His chosen people to build their own empire in

the West, just as He had when the Pilgrims landed in Massachusetts Bay in 1620 in the wake of an epidemic that had depopulated the East Coast.

# CONCLUSION

The period from 1763 to 1800 was one of momentous change in North America. Britain attempted unsuccessfully to administer the new American empire it had acquired at the end of the French and Indian War; thirteen of Britain's former colonies fought a war of independence and established a republic, and the new United States embarked on a path westward that meant taking Indian land. Indian peoples east of the Mississippi were caught up in the Revolutionary War, with some fighting on both sides but most siding with the Crown. After the Revolution, many tribes united to protect their lands and liberties against American aggression and scored significant victories before the United States inflicted significant defeat. West of the Mississippi, Indian peoples competed for new sources of wealth and power and a massive smallpox epidemic sent shock waves reverberating through their world. North America in 1800 was a very different place from what it had been just forty years before.



# CHAPTER 4 REVIEW

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## KEY TERMS

Pontiac

Royal Proclamation, (1763)

Sullivan's expedition

Delawares

Peace of Paris (1783)

Alexander McGillivray

Northwest Ordinance (1787)

Indian Trade and Intercourse Act in 1790

Northwestern Indian confederacy

Treaty of Greenville

Comanche empire

Blackfeet

Spanish missions

[Sea otter trade](#)

[1779–1784 smallpox epidemic](#)

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## REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What was the purpose and effect of the Royal Proclamation of 1763?
2. Who was vying for Indian support before and during the American Revolution, and what did each potential ally offer or threaten?
3. How did Indian nations unify or divide in response to American land policy?
4. What distinguished Native American experiences in the East from those in the West in the latter half of the eighteenth century?

# DOCUMENTS

## The Revolution Divides the Iroquois and the Cherokees



IN THE MONTHS LEADING UP TO the Revolution, most Indians hoped to stay out of the struggle. Tribal circumstances differed, but eventually most Native peoples were pushed or pulled into the conflict and most suffered disastrous consequences. Among the Iroquois, the Seneca chief Goyasuta, who had played a leading role in Pontiac's War, worked tirelessly to keep his people out of this war and rejected British efforts to enlist Iroquois support. "We will not suffer either the English or Americans to march an army through our country," he declared; "we will mind our Business and not join either side."<sup>62</sup> The Oneidas were also determined to stay out of the war, and in June 1775, their chiefs issued a declaration of neutrality. Neutrality had served the Iroquois well in past conflicts between Britain and France, but it did not work this time. As one Onondaga chief explained: "Times are altered with us Indians. Formerly the Warriors were governed by the wisdom of their uncles the Sachems but now they take their own way & dispose of themselves without

consulting their uncles the Sachems — while we wish for peace and they are for war.”<sup>63</sup>

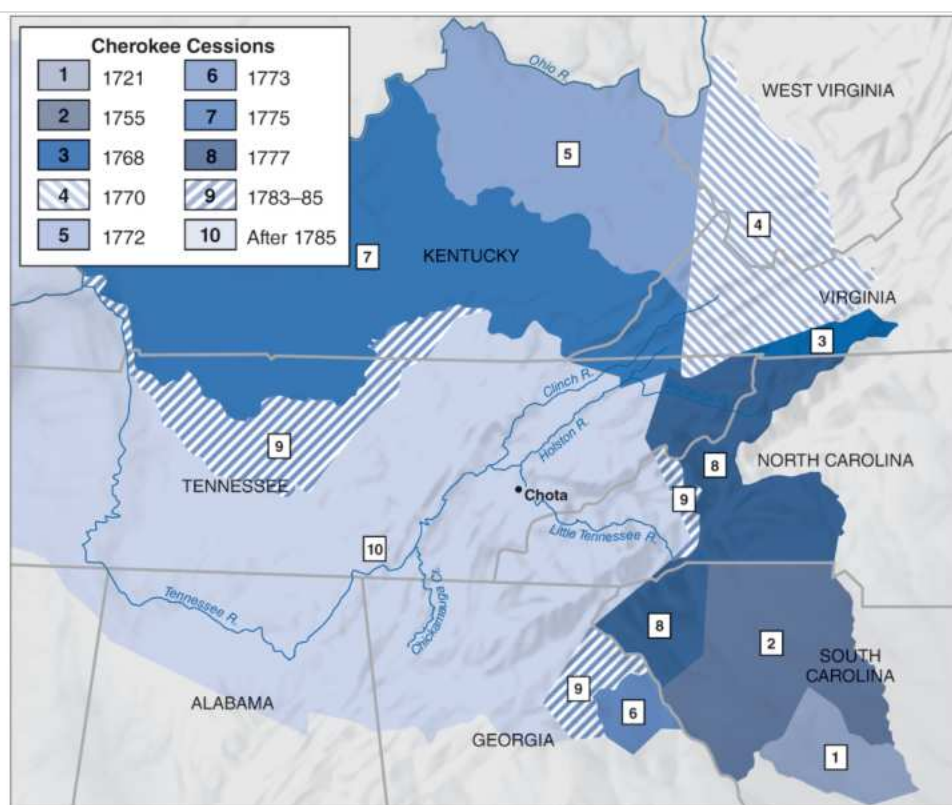
The Oneidas’ neutrality quickly broke down. Their geographic location meant they had had long contact with colonists and developed close ties with them as the Oneidas came to rely more on farming, animal husbandry, and trade. (Of the Iroquois tribes only the Mohawks were farther to the east and the Oneidas occupied a key portage site known as the Carrying Place.) In addition, as the document reprinted here shows, the Oneidas’ missionary Samuel Kirkland was an important conduit between the Oneidas and the Americans. As teenagers, Kirkland and the Mohawk chief Joseph Brant had been friends at Eleazar Wheelock’s school in Lebanon, Connecticut. But as tensions escalated between Britain and its American colonies, Brant reaffirmed his ties to the Crown and the Church of England while Kirkland adhered to the Congregationalist religion and the Patriot cause. With the outbreak of the Revolution, Brant and Kirkland became bitter enemies. Each exerted his influence in the tug-of-war for Indian allegiance: Brant helped to bring the Mohawks out for the King’s cause; Kirkland generated divisions within the Oneidas but swayed the tribe to support the colonists.<sup>64</sup> Ultimately, the Oneidas felt they had no choice: they split with most of the Iroquois confederacy and sided with the patriots.

In the summer of 1775 an Oneida chief named Skenandoah accompanied Kirkland to Boston, where George Washington was

besieging a British army. In the summer of 1777 when the British launched a campaign to cut off New England from the other colonies, Oneida warriors rallied to assist their patriot neighbors and resist the invasion of the Oneida homeland. Ambushed by the British and their Mohawk and Seneca allies at the Battle of Oriskany, the Americans suffered heavy casualties and as many as thirty Oneidas died in a fight that pitted Iroquois against Iroquois. Mohawks and Oneidas subsequently destroyed one another's villages and, although Iroquois warriors generally avoided killing one another during the remainder of the war, the American Revolution became an Iroquois civil war.<sup>65</sup> In the spring of 1778, Skenandoah and a group of Oneidas journeyed more than 250 miles from their homes in upstate New York to join Washington's bedraggled little army at Valley Forge. They brought corn to the starving troops and, so the story goes, an Oneida woman named Polly Cooper showed Continental soldiers how to prepare hulled corn soup. In 1779 American armies invaded Iroquois country and burned the towns and crops of the Oneidas' former allies. The Oneidas did not fare much better. The war forced them from their towns and, contrary to the assurances of their American allies, they lost most of their New York homelands in the postwar land rush.

In the southeast, the Cherokee Indians experienced revolutionary changes long before the American Revolution. Traditional subsistence practices and settlement patterns changed as Cherokees participated in the deerskin trade and adopted English styles of farming and domesticating animals. English traders

funneled new goods, new values, and deadly alcohol into Cherokee communities. Some Cherokees began to traffic in and eventually own African slaves. Cherokee political structure became more unified as English colonial governments insisted that the various Cherokee towns function as a single tribe. Smallpox hit the Cherokee population hard in 1738, and it returned in 1759. British armies burned Cherokee crops and villages in 1760 and 1761. And Cherokee lands were steadily whittled away ([Map 4.8](#)).



Information from Charles C. Royce, *The Cherokee Nation of Indians* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1887), 256.

#### ♦ Map 4.8 Cherokee Land Cessions in the Colonial and Revolutionary Eras, 1721–1785

By the outbreak of the American Revolution, when their delegates assembled at Chota, the Cherokees had seen their lands whittled away in a series of treaties. The Treaty of Sycamore Shoals in 1775 that gobbled up most of the remaining Cherokee land in Kentucky (No. 7) was

especially devastating. The Cherokee decision to go to war, and the restoration of peace, did little to stem the pressures on Cherokee land.

The tempo of Cherokee land loss increased dramatically in the decade before the Revolution. In 1768 Iroquois delegates to the Treaty of Fort Stanwix with Sir William Johnson handed away Cherokee hunting lands north of the Tennessee River. That same year, the Treaty of Hard Labor in South Carolina fixed boundaries to Cherokee territory. Cherokee chiefs met with colonial officials from North and South Carolina and drew a border between their respective lands by burning marks on a strip of trees, but constant pressure from colonial settlers compelled the Cherokees to agree to new limits two years later at the Treaty of Lochaber. The surveyors lopped off another chunk of Cherokee land when they ran the treaty line. In 1772 Virginia demanded another cession of everything east of the Kentucky River. No matter how much land Cherokees gave up, settlers kept coming: Cherokees complained that they could “see the smoke of the Virginians from their doors.”<sup>66</sup>

In March 1775, a group of North Carolina land speculators led by Richard Henderson pulled off one of the biggest real estate deals in frontier history at Sycamore Shoals on the Watauga River in Tennessee. The Cherokee chiefs Attakullakulla (Little Carpenter), Oconostota, and Savunkah (the Raven of Chota) sold Henderson 27,000 square miles of territory between the Cumberland River in the south and the Kentucky River in the north in exchange for a cabin full of trade goods. The deal contravened the Royal

Proclamation of 1763 as well as Cherokee tribal law, and the chiefs later declared that Henderson had deceived them as to what they were signing. Settlers were soon filling up the ceded lands, and the Cherokees found themselves cut off from both the Ohio River and their Kentucky hunting grounds. Even then the invasion of Cherokee lands did not stop: settlers encroached on the Watauga and upper Holston rivers in northeastern Tennessee. (See [Map 4.3, “United States Treaties and Indian Land Cessions to 1810,” page 206.](#))

The older chiefs may have been trying to buy time for their people by creating a buffer zone of ceded territory between Cherokees and colonists, but younger Cherokees bitterly resented the recurrent sacrifice of homeland and hunting grounds. Attakullakulla's son, Dragging Canoe (Chincanacina), stormed out of the negotiations at Sycamore Shoals and is reputed to have warned Henderson that he would make the lands “dark and bloody.” He told British deputy superintendent of Indian affairs Henry Stuart “that he had no hand in making these Bargains but blamed some of their Old Men who he said were too old to hunt and who by their Poverty had been induced to sell their Land but that for his part he had a great many young fellows that would support him and that were determined to have their Land.”<sup>67</sup> The outbreak of the American Revolution seemed to offer the younger warriors the opportunity, with British support, to drive invaders off their homelands, but first they had to challenge the authority of the older chiefs and gain the upper hand in the councils of the Cherokee Nation.



Their opportunity to make this challenge came in May 1776 when a delegation of Shawnee, Delaware, Mohawk, and other Indians from the north arrived at Chota, the Cherokee capital or “beloved town” on the Little Tennessee River. Their faces painted black, they urged the Cherokees to join them in a war of united resistance against the Americans. Delegates from the various Cherokee towns assembled at the council house to hear the northern Indians’ talk. Henry Stuart and Alexander Cameron, the British agent to the Overhill Cherokees, were also there.<sup>o</sup> John Stuart, British superintendent for the Southern Indians, who had taken refuge at St. Augustine, had sent his brother Henry to Chota. Henry had a difficult mission: to arm the Cherokees in readiness for war against the colonists, but to restrain them until the British could coordinate their attacks in the southern colonies. Like the older chiefs, the British did not want the Cherokees to go to war — yet.

But recurrent losses of Cherokee territory had undermined the prestige of the older chiefs. When Dragging Canoe and the younger warriors accepted the war belt the northern Indians offered them, they seized authority from the chiefs and reversed their policies of appeasement. Cherokee warriors attacked American settlements on the Watauga River the following month.

The war was a disaster for the Cherokees. American expeditions from Georgia, Virginia, and the Carolinas marched into Cherokee country, burning towns and destroying cornfields. As Cherokee

refugees fled the smoking ruins of their towns, the compromising older chiefs began to reassert their influence and open negotiations for peace. The Americans granted them peace, but at a price: the Cherokees lost more than five million acres in treaties with Georgia, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. Dragging Canoe and his followers refused to be party to the treaties and retreated to the southwestern reaches of Cherokee country, building new towns on the Chickamauga River and fracturing the ancient balance between old and young in Cherokee society. The Chickamauga Cherokees, as they became known, continued their war against the Americans. The Americans retaliated, often without making a distinction between different groups of Cherokees: in 1780 they burned Chota itself.

By the end of the Revolution, the Cherokees' population had dropped to perhaps ten thousand people; they had lost three-quarters of their territory and more than half of their towns had been destroyed. Their world was in chaos. The Chickamaugas made common cause with militant factions among the Creeks and Shawnees and continued to resist American expansion. Other Cherokees, closer to the Americans and with bitter memories of the war, preferred to try to survive by peace. In 1785 the Cherokees signed the Treaty of Hopewell, their first treaty with the United States. Many tried to earn themselves a place in the new nation by following a path of accommodation and controlled change. It worked — for a time.

Henry Stuart's presence at Chota in May 1776 and his report on the momentous council meeting that occurred there affords us a rare glimpse of the change that the American Revolution generated in Cherokee society. Stuart clearly wanted to portray his own efforts in a good light, but his account reminds us that Indian people who fought in the American Revolution did so for their own, not for British, reasons. Cherokees were struggling to survive in a world that was crumbling around them, and they attempted different strategies in their struggle. Continued pressure on their lands had pushed the Cherokees to the brink of disintegration by 1776. The traditional division between young and old, warrior and councillor, that had served for generations to preserve balance in Cherokee society became the fault line around which the nation split and from which a new tribe would emerge.

[↗](#) The British segmented the Cherokees into four main divisions: the Overhill Towns in the north on the Little Tennessee and Tellico rivers, the Valley and Middle Towns in the Blue Ridge region, and the Lower Towns in South Carolina.

### ***An Oneida Declaration of Neutrality (1775)***

*A Speech of the Chiefs and Warriors of the ONEIDA Tribe of INDIANS, to the four NEW-ENGLAND Provinces, directed to Governour TRUMBULL; and by him to be communicated:*

As our younger brothers of the *New-England Indians*, (who have settled in our vicinity) are now going down to visit their friends, and to move up parts of their families that were left behind, with this

belt by them, we open the road wide, clearing it of all obstacles, that they may visit their friends and return to their settlements here in peace, We *Oneidas* are induced to this measure on account of the disagreeable situation of affairs that way; and we hope, by the help of *God*, that they may go and return in peace. We earnestly recommend them to your charity through their long journey.

Now we more immediately address you, our brother, the Governour and the Chiefs of *New-England*.

*Brothers!* We have heard of the unhappy differences and great contention betwixt you and old *England*. We wonder greatly, and are troubled in our minds.

*Brothers!* Possess your minds in peace respecting us *Indians*. We cannot intermeddle in this dispute between two brothers. The quarrel seems to be unnatural; you are two brothers of one blood. We are unwilling to join on either side in such a contest, for we bear an equal affection to both of you, *Old* and *New-England*. Should the great King of *England* apply to us for our aid, we shall deny him. If the Colonies apply, we will refuse. The present situation of you two brothers is new and strange to us. We *Indians* cannot find nor recollect in the traditions of our ancestors the like case or a similar instance.

*Brothers!* For these reasons possess your minds in peace, and take no umbrage that we *Indians* refuse joining in the contest; we

are for peace.

*Brothers!* Was it an alien, a foreign Nation, which struck you, we should look into the matter. We hope, through the wise government and good pleasure of *God*, your distresses may soon be removed, and the dark cloud be dispersed.

*Brothers!* As we have declared for peace, we desire you will not apply to our *Indian* brethren in *New-England* for their assistance. Let us *Indians* be all of one mind, and live in peace with one another, and you white people settle your own disputes betwixt yourselves.

*Brothers!* We have now declared our minds; please write to us that we may know yours.

We, the sachems, warriors, and female governesses of *Oneida*, send our love to you, brother Governour, and all the other chiefs in *New-England*.

Signed by

Chief Warriors of *Oneida*.

William Sunoghsis

Viklasha Watshaleagh

William Kanaghquassea

Peter Thayehcase

Germine Tegayavher

Nickhes Ahsechose

Thomas Yoghtanawca

Adam Ohonwano

Quedellis Agwerondongwas

Handerchiko Tegahpreahdyen

Johnks Skeanender

Thomas Teorddeatha

Caughnawaga, June 19, 1775.

Interpreted and wrote by *Samuel Kirkland*, Missionary

*SOURCE:* Peter Force, ed., *American Archives* (Washington, D.C., 1837–52), series 4, vol. 2: 1116–7.

<https://archive.org/details/AmericanArchives-FourthSeriesVolume2peterForce?>

**HENRY STUART *Report from Cherokee Country* (1776)**

The principal Deputy for the Mohawks and six Nations began. He produced a belt of white and purple Whampum with strings of white beads and purple whampum fixed to it; He said he supposed there was not a man present that could not read his Talk; the back settlers of the Northern Provinces whom he termed the Long Knife had without any provocation come into one of their Towns and murdered their people and the son of their Great Beloved Man; that what was their case one day might be the case of another Nation another day; That his Nation was fighting at this time and that he was sent by them to secure the friendship of all Nations for he considered their interests as one, and that at this time they should forget all their quarrels among themselves and turn their eyes and their thoughts one way. The Belt was delivered to Chincanacina.

The principal Deputy of the Ottowas produced a white Belt with some purple figures; they expressed their desire of confirming a lasting bond of true friendship with all their red Brethren; that they were almost constantly at war one Nation against another, and reduced by degrees, while their common enemies were taking the advantage of their situation; that they were willing & they hoped every Nation would be the same to drop all their former quarrels and to join in one common cause, and that altho' the Trade to their Nation and all the other Northern Nations had been stopped, that their friends, the French in Canada, had found means to supply them and would assist them. Chincanacina received this Belt.

The Talk of the Nations was much to the same effect, he produced a white Belt and it was received by the Raven.

There was only a boy of the Delaware Nation. The Talk was now to be finished by the Shawnees Deputy, formerly (as I am informed) a noted French partizan. He produced a War Belt about 9 feet long and six inches wide of purple Whampum strewn over with vermilion. He began with pathetically enumerating the distresses of his own and other Nations. He complained particularly of the Virginians who after having taken away all their Lands and cruelly and treacherously treated some of their people, had unjustly brought war upon their Nation and destroyed many of their people; that in a very few years their Nation from being a great people were now reduced to a handful; that their Nation possessed Lands almost to the Sea Shore and that the red people who were once Masters of the whole Country hardly possessed ground enough to stand on; that the Lands where but lately they hunted close to their Nations were thickly inhabited and covered with Forts & armed men; that wherever a Fort appeared in their neighbourhood, they might depend there would soon be Towns and Settlements; that it was plain, there was an intention to extirpate them, and that he thought it better to die like men than to diminish away by inches; That their Fathers the French who seemed long dead were now alive again; that they had supplied them plentifully with ammunition, arms and provisions and that they promised to assist them against the Virginians; that their cause was just and that they hoped the Great Being who governs everything would favour their cause; that now is



the time to begin; that there is no time to be lost, and if they fought like men they might hope to enlarge their Bounds; that the Cherokees had a Hatchett which was brought in six years ago & desired that they would take it up and use it immediately; That they intended to carry their Talks through every Nation to the Southward and that that Nation which should refuse to be their Friends on this occasion should forever hereafter be considered as their common enemy and that they would all fall on them when affairs with the White People should be settled.

The Belt was received by Chincanacina. It was some minutes before any one got up to give his Assent which was to be done by laying hold of the Belt. At last a Head man of Chilhowie who had lived long in the Mohawk Nation and whose wife had constantly lived in Sir William Johnson's house was the first who rose up to take the Belt from Chincanacina. He sung the war song and all the Northern Indians joined in the chorus. Almost all the young warriors from the different parts of the Nation followed his example, though many of them expressed their uneasiness at being concerned in a war against the white people. But the principal Chiefs, who were averse to the measure and remembered the Calamities brought on their Nation by the last war, instead of opposing the rashness of the young people with spirit, sat down dejected and silent.

*SOURCE: William L. Saunders, ed., The Colonial Records of North Carolina, vol. 10 (Raleigh, N.C.: State Printer, 1890), 777–84.*

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## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. What do these documents reveal about the pressures and dilemmas Indian communities faced at the beginning of the Revolution?
2. What do the documents reveal about the workings of inter- and intratribal politics in an era of crisis?
3. Was neutrality ever a viable option for Indian peoples during the Revolution? What would you have done in their situation?
4. Henry Stuart was watching events from the wings but was vitally interested in their outcome; in what ways could this have affected the reliability of his report? Samuel Kirkland served as interpreter for the Oneidas on this and many other occasions; in what ways might Kirkland have affected the tone and content of the Oneidas' communications with the Americans?

## An Indian Solution to the Conflict over Indian Lands



IN 1791 THE NORTHWEST INDIAN CONFEDERACY smashed Arthur St. Clair's army. As Anthony Wayne rebuilt the army and prepared

for another invasion, the United States pursued diplomatic options in the hope of avoiding war by wringing concessions from the Indians, or simply to divide the confederacy in preparation for the next round of conflict. In the fall of 1792, the noted Seneca orator Red Jacket carried a message to the western tribes, saying the Americans would be willing to compromise and might accept the Muskingum River as the boundary line. But the Shawnees and their allies had defeated both Harmar's and St. Clair's armies and saw no need to compromise now. A Shawnee chief named Painted Pole told Red Jacket to "speak from your heart and not from your mouth," and, picking up the strings of wampum on which Red Jacket had spoken, he threw them at the feet of the Seneca delegation.

In the spring of 1793, while Wayne advanced into Indian country, three American commissioners traveled north to meet the Indian nations in council at Lower Sandusky in northwestern Ohio. Delegates from the various tribes held their own discussions before meeting with the commissioners. Joseph Brant suggested ceding land east of the Muskingum River as a compromise solution, but few other Indians were prepared to back down now from their insistence on the Ohio River boundary. Two British Indian agents, Alexander McKee and Matthew Elliott, both of whom had Shawnee wives, were present at the councils and evidently exerted their influence to back Indian resistance. Messages passed back and forth between the Indians and the commissioners, but the talks went nowhere. The Americans were not likely to concede while General Wayne was preparing for war, and with Wayne's army on

the move, the Indian peoples suspected the United States was not serious about making peace. The Shawnees demanded that the Ohio boundary established at Fort Stanwix in 1768 be restored and that American settlements north of the Ohio be removed. The commissioners said that was out of the question: the Indians had ceded the lands north of the Ohio by treaty, and American settlers were already living there.

After two weeks of fruitless negotiations, the Indians sent the commissioners a message in which they reviewed the recent history of treaty relations with the United States and then, tongue in cheek, offered a formula for peace. Delegates from all the tribes, except for Brant and the Iroquois, affixed their marks to the message. The American commissioners promptly packed their bags and left. “The Indians have refused to make peace,” they reported to the secretary of war. Having tried and failed to reach an agreement with the tribes, the government now turned to General Wayne’s army to resolve the issue.<sup>68</sup>

### **WESTERN INDIANS *Message to the Commissioners of the United States* (1793)**

Brothers,

We have received your speech dated the 31st of last month, and it has been interpreted to all the different nations. We have been long in sending you an answer, because of the great importance of the

subject. But we now answer it fully, having given it all the consideration in our power.

Brothers,

You tell us that after you had made peace with the king, our Father, about [ten] years ago, “it remained to make peace between the United States and the Indian Nations who had taken part with the king; for this purpose Commissioners were appointed, who sent messages to all those nations, inviting them to come and make peace;” and after reciting the periods at which you say treaties were held at Fort Stanwix, Fort McIntosh, and Miami, all which treaties, according to your own acknowledgement, were for the sole purpose of making peace; you then say, “Brothers, the Commissioners who conducted these treaties in behalf of the United States, sent the papers containing them to the general council of the States, who, supposing them satisfactory to the nations treated with, proceeded to dispose of the lands thereby ceded.”

Brothers,

This is telling us plainly what we always understood to be the case, and it agrees with the declarations of those few who attended these treaties, viz. that they went to meet your Commissioners to make peace, but, through fear, were obliged to sign any paper that was laid before them; and it has since appeared, that deeds of cession were signed by them, instead of treaties of peace.

Brothers,

You say “after some time it appeared that a number of people in your nations were dissatisfied with the treaties of Fort McIntosh, and Miami. Therefore the council of the United States appointed Governor St. Clair their Commissioner with full power, for the purpose of removing all causes of controversy relating to trade and settling boundaries between the Indian nations in the northern department of the United States. He accordingly sent messages, inviting all the nations concerned to meet him at a council-fire he kindled at the falls of Muskingum. While he was waiting for them, some mischief happened at that place, and the fire was put out, so he kindled a fire at Fort Harmar, where near six hundred Indians of different nations attended. The Six Nations then renewed and confirmed the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, and the Wyandots and Delawares renewed and confirmed the treaty of Fort McIntosh. Some Ottawas, Chippeways, Potawatamies and Sacs were also parties to the treaty of Fort Harmar.” Now brothers, these are your words, and it is necessary for us to make a short reply to them.

Brothers,

A general council of all the Indian confederacy was held, as you well know, in the fall of the year 1788, at this place; and that general council was invited by your Commissioner, General St. Clair, to meet him for the purpose of holding a treaty with regard to the

lands mentioned by you to have been ceded by the treaties of Fort Stanwix and Fort McIntosh.

Brothers,

We are in possession of the speeches and letters which passed on that occasion between those deputed by the confederate Indians, and Governor St. Clair, the Commissioner of the United States. These papers prove that your said Commissioner, in the beginning of the year 1789, after having been informed by the general council of the preceding fall, that no bargain or sale of any part of these Indian lands would be considered as valid or binding, unless agreed to by a general council, nevertheless persisted in collecting a few chiefs of two or three nations only, and with them held a treaty for the cession of an immense country, in which they were no more interested than a branch of the general confederacy, and who were in no manner authorized to make any grant or cession whatever.

Brothers,

How then was it possible for you to expect to enjoy peace, and quietly hold these lands, when your Commissioner was informed, long before he held the treaty of Fort Harmar, that the consent of a general council was absolutely necessary to convey any part of these lands to the United States? The part of these lands which the United States wish us to relinquish, and which you say are settled, have been sold by the United States since that time.

Brothers,

You say “the United States wish to have confirmed all the lands ceded to them by the treaty of Fort Harmar, and also a small tract at the Rapids of the Ohio, claimed by General Clark for the use of himself and his warriors. And in consideration thereof the United States would give such a large sum in money or goods as was never given at any one time for any quantity of Indian lands since the white people first set their feet on this island. And because those lands did every year furnish you with skins and furs, with which you bought clothing and other necessities, the United States will now furnish the constant supplies. And therefore, besides the great sum to be delivered at once, they will every year deliver you a large quantity of such goods as are best fitted to the wants of yourselves, your women and children.”

Brothers,

Money to us is of no value, and to most of us unknown; and as no consideration whatever can induce us to sell our lands, on which we get sustenance for our women and children, we hope we may be allowed to point out a mode by which your settlers may be easily removed, and peace thereby obtained.

Brothers,

We know that these settlers are poor, or they would never have ventured to live in a country which has been in continual trouble



ever since they crossed the Ohio. Divide therefore this large sum of money, which you have offered to us, among these people; give to each also a proportion of what you say you would give us annually, over and above this very large sum of money; and we are persuaded they would most readily accept of it in lieu of the lands you sold to them. If you add also the great sums you must expend in raising and paying armies with a view to force us to yield you our country, you will certainly have more than sufficient for the purposes of repaying these settlers for all their labor and improvements.

Brothers,

You have talked to us about concessions. It appears strange that you should expect any from us, who have only been defending our just rights against your invasions. We want peace. Restore to us our country, and we shall be enemies no longer.

Brothers,

You make one concession to us by offering to us your money, and another by having agreed to do us justice, after having long and injuriously withheld it; we mean in the acknowledgement you have now made that the king of England never did, nor ever had a right to give you our country by the treaty of peace. And you want to make this act of common justice a great part of your concession, and seem to expect that because you have at last acknowledged our

independence, we should for such a favor surrender to you our country.

Brothers,

You have also talked a great deal about pre-emption, and your exclusive right to purchase Indian lands, as ceded to you by the king at the treaty of peace.

Brothers,

We never made any agreement with the king, nor with any other nation, that we would give to either the exclusive right to purchase our lands, and we declare to you that we consider ourselves free to make any bargain or cession of lands whenever and to whomsoever we please. If the white people, as you say, made a treaty that none of them but the king should purchase of us, and he has given that right to the United States, it is an affair which concerns you and him, and not us. We have never parted with such a power.

Brothers,

At our general council held at the Glaise last fall, we agreed to meet Commissioners from the United States for the purpose of restoring peace, provided they consented to acknowledge and confirm our boundary line to be the Ohio; and we determined not to meet you, until you gave us satisfaction on that point. That is the reason we have never met.

We desire you to consider, brothers, that our only demand is the peaceable possession of a small part of our once great country. Look back and view the lands from whence we have been driven to this spot. We can retreat no farther, because the country behind hardly affords food for its present inhabitants, and we have therefore resolved to leave our bones in this small space, to which we are now consigned.

Brothers,

We shall be persuaded that you mean to do us justice, if you agree that the Ohio shall remain the boundary line between us. If you will not consent thereto, our meeting will be altogether unnecessary. This is the great point, which we hoped would have been explained before you left your homes; as our message last fall was principally directed to obtain that information.

Done in general council at the foot of the Miami Rapids, the 13th day of August, 1793.

[Nations.]	Marks.
Wyandots,	A Bear.
Seven Nations of Canada,	A Turtle.
Delawares,	A Turtle.
Shawanese,	
Miamis,	A Turtle.
Ottawas,	A Fish.

Chippeways,		A Crane.
Senecas of the Glaise,		A Turtle.
Potawatamies,		A Fish.
Connoys,		A Turkey.
Munsees,		
Nantikokes,		A Turtle.
Mohegans [Mohicans],	{	A Turkey.
		A Turtle.
Messasaguas,		
Creeks,		
Cherokees		

*SOURCE:* “Journal of a Treaty held in 1793, with the Indian Tribes northwest of the Ohio by Commissioners of the United States,” Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, series 3, vol. 5 (1836), 163–67.

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. How did the western Indians view U.S. dealings with the Indians in the decade after the end of the American Revolution?
2. What was the policy of the Northwest Indian confederacy with regard to land sales?
3. What, from the Indians’ perspective, were the key causes of conflict?

## Smallpox Strikes the Blackfeet



By the time of the American Revolution, most of the peoples on the Great Plains had acquired horses and guns, and many were locked in struggles to acquire more or protect what they had. The *Piikuni* or Piegans in present-day Montana (the southernmost tribe of the Blackfoot Confederacy, which also comprised the *Siksika*, or Northern Blackfeet, and the *Kanai* or Blood Indians) and their Shoshoni enemies waged recurrent war and experienced shifting fortunes as horses, guns, and epidemic diseases spread across the plains.

In the winter of 1787–88, a Cree named Saukamappee, who was living among the Blackfeet, gave fur trader David Thompson an account of how his adopted people first encountered horses and then employed firearms against their enemies, and built a monopoly of the gun trade. But then the Blackfeet got smallpox from the Shoshonis or “Snake” Indians. Thompson described Saukamappee as “an old man of at least 75 to 80 years of age, . . . his face slightly marked with the smallpox.”

### **SAUKAMAPPEE *Death came over us all***

While we have these weapons, the Snake Indians have none, but what few they sometimes take from one of our small camps which

they have destroyed, and they have no Traders among them. We thus continued to advance through the fine plains to the Stag River<sup>o</sup> when death came over us all, and swept away more than half of us by the Small pox, of which we knew nothing until it brought death among us. We caught it from the Snake Indians. Our Scouts were out for our security, when some returned and informed us of a considerable camp which was too large to attack and something very suspicious about it; from a high knowl they had a good view of the camp, but saw none of the men hunting, or going about; there were a few Horses, but no one came to them, and a herd of Bisons [were] feeding close to the camp with other herds near. This somewhat alarmed us as a stratagem of War; and our Warriors thought this camp had a larger not far off; so that if this camp was attacked which was strong enough to offer a desperate resistance, the other would come to their assistance and overpower us as had been once done by them, and in which we lost many of our men.

The council ordered the Scouts to return and go beyond this camp, and be sure there was no other. In the mean time we advanced our camp; The scouts returned and said no other tents were near, and the camp appeared in the same state as before. Our Scouts had been going too much about their camp and were seen; they expected what would follow, and all those that could walk, as soon as night came on, went away. Next morning at the dawn of day, we attacked the Tents, and with our sharp flat daggers and knives, cut through the tents and entered for the fight; but our war whoop instantly stopt, our eyes were appalled with terror; there was no

one to fight with but the dead and the dying, each a mass of corruption. We did not touch them, but left the tents, and held a council on what was to be done. We all thought the Bad Spirit had made himself master of the camp and destroyed them. It was agreed to take some of the best of the tents, and any other plunder that was clean and good, which we did, and also took away the few Horses they had, and returned to our camp.

The second day after this dreadful disease broke out in our camp, and spread from one tent to another as if the Bad Spirit carried it. We had no belief that one Man could give it to another, any more than a wounded Man could give his wound to another. We did not suffer so much as those that were near the river, into which they rushed and died.\* We had only a little brook, and about one third of us died, but in some of the other camps there were tents in which every one died. When at length it left us, and we moved about to find our people, it was no longer with the song and the dance; but with tears, shrieks, and howlings of despair for those who would never return to us. War was no longer thought of, and we had enough to do to hunt and make provision for our families, for in our sickness we had consumed all our dried provisions; but the Bisons and Red Deer were also gone, we did not see one half of what was before, whither they had gone we could not tell, we believed the Good Spirit had forsaken us, and allowed the Bad Spirit to become our Master. What little we could spare we offered to the Bad Spirit to let us alone and go to our enemies. To the Good Spirit we offered feathers, branches of trees, and sweet smelling grass. Our hearts

were low and dejected, and we shall never be again the same people.

° Probably the Red Deer River, which joins the Bow River to form the South Saskatchewan.

\*Taking a sweat bath and then immersing the body in a cold stream was a common practice in treating sickness; in the case of smallpox, it only made things worse and often proved lethal.

SOURCE: Colin G. Calloway, ed., *Our Hearts Fell to the Ground: Plains Indian Views of How the West Was Lost* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1996), 52–58.

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. What does Saukamappee's account reveal about Native perceptions of smallpox?
2. What does it suggest about the multiple impacts of the disease in Indian societies?



# PICTURE ESSAY

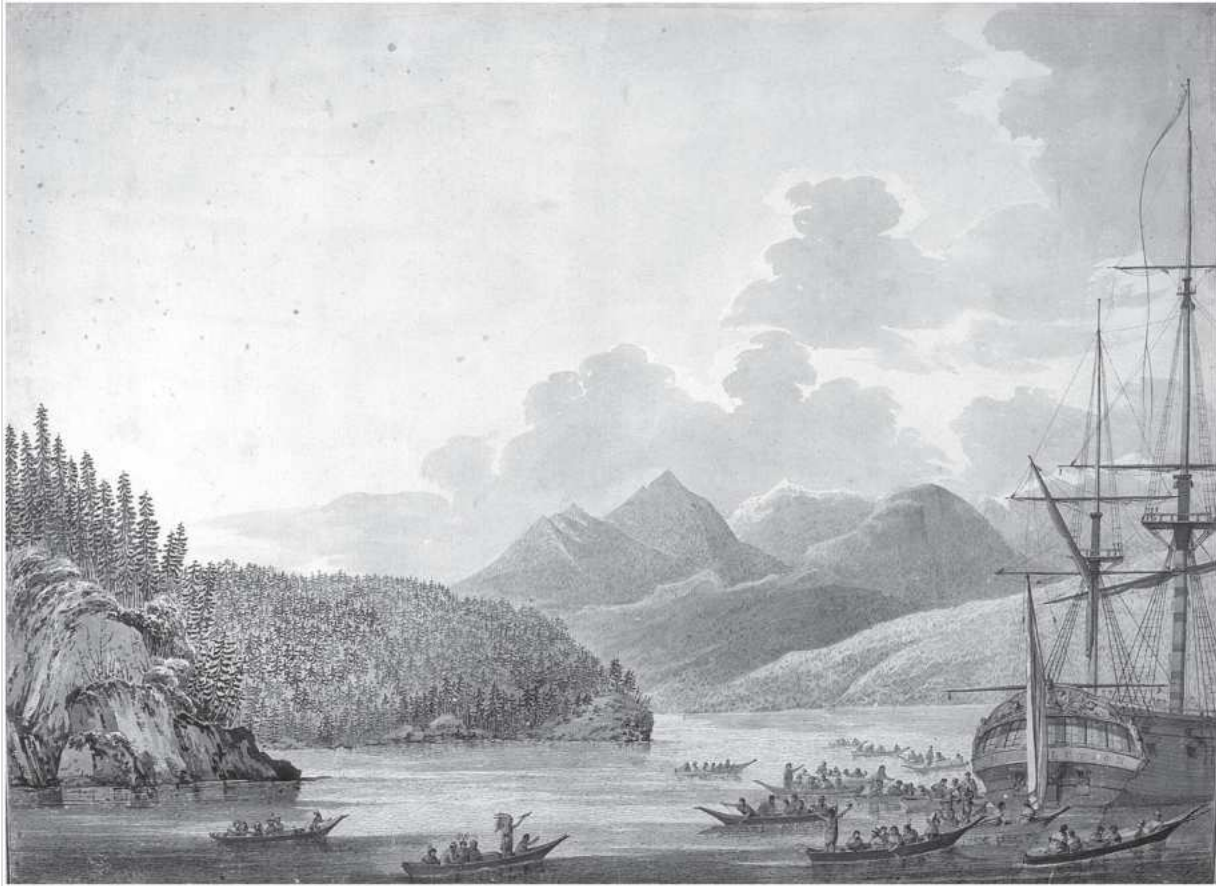
## Northwest Coast Indians on the Brink: The Drawings of John Webber



MANY EUROPEANS WHO TRAVELED to the Northwest Coast in the sea otter trade also recorded detailed accounts of the Native peoples they met: Chinooks on the Columbia, Nootkas on the west coast of Vancouver, Haidas on the Queen Charlotte Islands, and Tlingits in southeastern Alaska. Euro-American observers rarely displayed much cultural sensitivity toward the coastal peoples, some of whom practiced ornamental head deformation and wore labrets inserted in their lower lips as marks of status. But seamen's journals provide valuable ethnographic information, and in some cases shipboard artists created invaluable visual records of the Native cultures of the Northwest. They also provide insights into the cataclysmic changes they themselves initiated.<sup>69</sup>

John Webber (1751–93) was the official artist on Captain James Cook's third voyage. Cook was the greatest seaman of his age. By the time of his death in 1779 he had sailed more than 200,000 miles, the

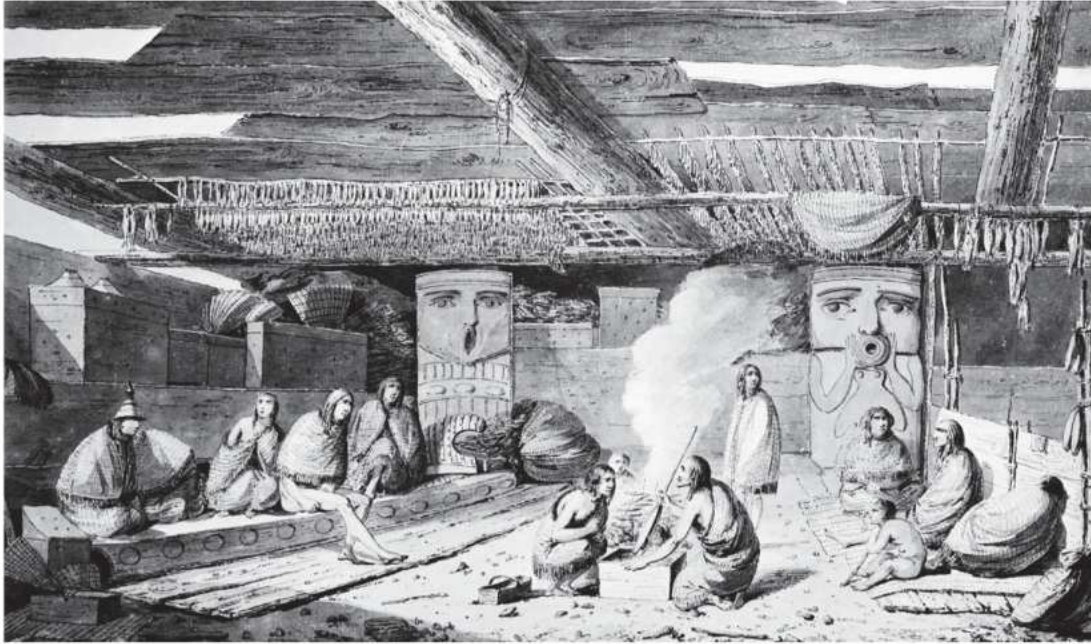
equivalent of circling the equator eight times or traveling to the moon, and his voyages brought his crews into contact with Native peoples around the world.<sup>70</sup> On Cook's third and final voyage, which reached the Northwest Coast in the spring of 1778, Webber composed an impressive collection of drawings of Native people in Hawaii, British Columbia, Alaska, Siberia, Tonga, Tahiti, and New Zealand, in many cases sketching their portraits when they came on board ship.<sup>71</sup> He also sketched houses, artifacts, kayaks, and landscapes. He drew people whose world was about to change forever. Indians paddled cedar canoes out to ships ([Figure 4.1](#)) that carried cloth and copper; but those ships also carried guns, alcohol, syphilis, and smallpox. When Lewis and Clark reached the Pacific Coast thirty years later, they found abandoned villages, people with pockmarked faces and venereal diseases, and Indians who swore like sailors.



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**Figure 4.1 John Webber, *A View in Ship Cove, Nootka Sound* (1778)**

Webber's drawing of the interior of a Native plank house at Nootka Sound shows living arrangements, methods of cooking, racks of smoked salmon under the ceiling, baskets and cedar storage boxes, and carved posts at the rear of the room ([Figure 4.2](#)). Northwest Coast Indians became famous for their elaborately carved totem poles, and Native wood carvers were eager to trade for metal chisels and other new tools.



Granger, NYC.

**Figure 4.2 John Webber, *Interior of Habitation at Nootka Sound* (1778)**

The woman from Nootka ([Figure 4.3](#)) is wearing a rain cape of woven cedar and a woven hat on which are depicted whale hunting scenes. Whale hunting was a male activity, and such hats were normally worn by men of high status, so the woman may have donned the hat at Webber's request to enrich the portrait.<sup>72</sup>



Washington State Historical Society/Art Resource, NY.

**Figure 4.3 John Webber, *A Woman of Nootka Sound* (1778)**

The man from Nootka ([Figure 4.4](#)) also wears a rain cape, but Webber is especially interested in and meticulously records the man's facial ornaments and facial markings, made with a mixture of paint, fish oil, and rue. Traveling north to the Gulf of Alaska, Webber sketched a Native woman from Prince William Sound, again paying particular attention to face ornamentations and the custom of slitting the underlip to insert pieces of bone ([Figure 4.5](#)). In Alaska, Webber sketched Aleutian hunters paddling sealskin kayaks. The Aleutian hunter ([Figure 4.6](#)) wears a glare visor decorated with painted designs, feathers, amulets, and seal and sea lion whiskers. The groups of sea lion whiskers indicate the number of marine mammals taken.<sup>73</sup>



De Agostini Picture Library/The Granger Collection.

**Figure 4.4 John Webber, *A Man of Nootka Sound* (1778)**



The Granger Collection, New York.

**Figure 4.5 John Webber, *A Woman of Prince William's Island* (1778)**





De Agostini Picture Library/The Granger Collection.

**Figure 4.6 John Webber, *A Man of Oonalashka* (1778)**

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. Webber was clearly interested in Native customs, government, clothing, religion, and lifeways, but he also viewed Native peoples with many of the prejudices of his age and society. How are these interests and attitudes revealed in his drawings?
2. What purposes might the facial markings and the designs on the conical hat and visor have served, besides pure decoration?

3. Webber drew Northwest Coast Indians just as the sea otter trade was about to boom. What changes might his pictures and portraits have shown had he sketched them twenty years later?

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CHAPTER 5

# American Indians and the New Nation

1800–1840



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## FOCUS QUESTION

What were the various responses of Indian peoples to the military, political, social, cultural, and religious pressures imposed on them by the expanding American nation?

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**1799**

Handsome Lake's Longhouse Religion begins among the Senecas

**1803**

United States purchases Louisiana Territory from France

**1804–1806**

Expedition of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark from St.  
Louis to the Pacific

**1805–1811**

Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa attempt to unite tribes of the East

**1809**

Treaty of Fort Wayne: Indians cede 3 million acres along the  
Wabash River

**1811**

Battle of Tippecanoe

**1812–1815**

War of 1812 between Britain and United States

**1813**

Death of Tecumseh

**1813–1814**

Creek War; Battle of Horseshoe Bend, 1814

**1817–1818**

First Seminole War in Florida

**1821**

Mexico wins independence from Spain

**1821**

Sequoyah completes Cherokee syllabary

**1823**

*Johnson v. McIntosh*: Chief Justice Marshall determines that the Europeans' discovery of North America gave them a right to the land and that the United States had inherited ownership

**1824**

Secretary of War creates Indian Office within the War Department

**1827**

Cherokees adopt a constitution, modeled on the U.S. Constitution

**1828–1830**

Georgia “abolishes” tribal government and expands authority over Cherokee country

**1829–1851**

United States signs eighty-six relocation treaties with northern tribes

**1830**

Indian Removal Act passed by U.S. Congress

**1830**

Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek: most Choctaws move west of the Mississippi

**1831**

*Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*: U.S. Supreme Court describes Indian tribes as “domestic dependent nations”

**1832**

*Worcester v. Georgia*: U.S. Supreme Court declares state laws do not extend to Indian country

**1832**

Black Hawk War

**1832**

Ohio Shawnees move west

**1833**

Mashpee Revolt against Massachusetts guardianship

**1833–1834**

German prince Maximilian and Swiss artist Karl Bodmer travel up Missouri River

**1835**

Treaty of New Echota: “Treaty Party” agrees to give up Cherokee lands in the Southeast in exchange for land in Indian Territory

**1835–1842**

Second Seminole War

**1836**

Creek removal

**1837**

Smallpox epidemic virtually destroys the Mandans

**1838**

Cherokee Trail of Tears

**1838**

Fraudulent Treaty of Buffalo Creek with the Senecas

# ACCOMMODATING AND RESISTING CHANGE

BETWEEN 1800 AND 1840, the new American nation grew dramatically in size, population, and power. It acquired vast new territory in the West, defeated the final efforts at united Indian resistance in the East, and extended the Cotton Kingdom and African slave labor across the South. Indian peoples east of the Mississippi responded to this pressure in a variety of ways, from selective accommodation to outright resistance, but always in an effort to preserve their homelands and communities. Ultimately, however, it made little difference: the United States determined that Indian peoples in the East should be relocated to new lands in the West, and their homelands turned over to American settlers.

## Adapting to New Ways

Although the United States sent armies into Indian country on occasion, its assault on Indian culture was constant and pervasive. Americans sought to eradicate the Indians' way of life at the same time as they took away their lands. Indian agents and missionaries attempted to impose a social revolution in Indian communities,

organize Indian economic life around intensive agriculture, and redefine gender roles in Indian families. Most Eastern Woodland peoples had farmed for centuries, but in the American program, men, not women, were to do the farming and were to give up hunting for a life behind a plow. Women were to take up spinning, weaving, and other “domestic chores.” As Indians spent less time hunting, they would need less land and could sell the “surplus” land to the United States. As men spent more time at home, the nuclear family, with the male at its head, would supplant the clans, which in many Indian tribes were matrilineal. As families acquired more property, they would adopt Anglo-American principles of ownership and inheritance. Unfortunately, such plans were more likely to produce hunger and poverty than self-sufficiency and prosperity because by 1800 many Indians hunted for trade rather than for food. At the same time as the government was trying to get Indian women to stop farming and take up spinning, Anglo-American women were giving up homespun cloth for store-bought cloth.<sup>1</sup>

Some chiefs attempted to lead their people along the paths of change mandated by the United States. Little Turtle, Black Hoof, Blue Jacket, and others who had fought against the Americans since the days of the Revolution kept the peace they made at the Treaty of Greenville, which had created a boundary between Indian and American territory while ceding huge tracts of Indian land in present-day Ohio and Indiana (see [page 211](#)). Aided by William Wells who now served as an Indian agent for the United States,

Little Turtle urged the Miamis to make the transition to a new way of life. Many Shawnees left Ohio and moved to Missouri, but most of those who stayed followed the lead of their principal chief, Black Hoof, in adapting to a changing world.<sup>2</sup>

In the South, many Cherokees, Creeks, Chickasaws, and Choctaws accommodated to American ways as the best way to survive in the new nation. They wore European styles of clothing, plowed fields and fenced lands, and cultivated corn and cotton. Some were Christian and were literate in English. Influential sons of Scottish traders and Creek mothers had already begun inculcating property values and reorienting Creek society toward a market economy. Traders had entered Creek country along old paths in the eighteenth century, but new roads opened the land to growing numbers of settlers and slaves in the early nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup> The Creeks, encouraged by official U.S. Indian agents, attempted to diversify their economy to include farming and ranching. The goal of agent Benjamin Hawkins, concludes one scholar, was that the Creeks “would become good yeoman farmers, settlers with a slightly darker skin and some quaint ethnic memories. The men would display ‘the manners of a well bred man,’ the women the ‘neatness and economy of a white woman.’ ”<sup>4</sup>

One marker of southern “civilization” that some Indians adopted was slaveholding. As slave labor became the foundation of tobacco and cotton production in the South and slaves became a symbol of status, southern Indians also held African slaves — an estimated ten



thousand between the late 1700s and the end of the Civil War. Indian history is usually written in terms of relations with white people, but black people constituted an “invisible third element” among the southeastern tribes. Many Indians and Africans had shared lives of enslavement in the colonial South, and they had built relationships, shared aspects of their cultures, and sometimes made families. But in the early nineteenth century, as more southeastern Indians became slaveholders, Creeks and Cherokees adopted increasingly racial attitudes toward Africans that conflicted with traditional notions of kinship. James Vann, a Cherokee chief, established a plantation and a manor and by 1809 owned more than one hundred slaves, which not only made him probably the wealthiest man in the Cherokee Nation but also placed him among the elite of southern planters. Vann bought and sold slaves and by all accounts treated them as harshly as any white slave owner. Intermarriage with African Americans added a complicated and often divisive strand to southeastern Indian history. Interracial families sometimes split as the United States moved toward a rigidly biracial society.<sup>5</sup>



*The Granger Collection, New York.*

◆ Bringing “civilization” to the Creeks

An American agent introduces Creek Indians to plows, steel tools, and Euro-American farming techniques. For nineteenth-century Americans, “civilization” meant transforming Indian men from hunters to farmers and confining Indian women, who produced the cornucopia depicted here, to more “domestic” chores.

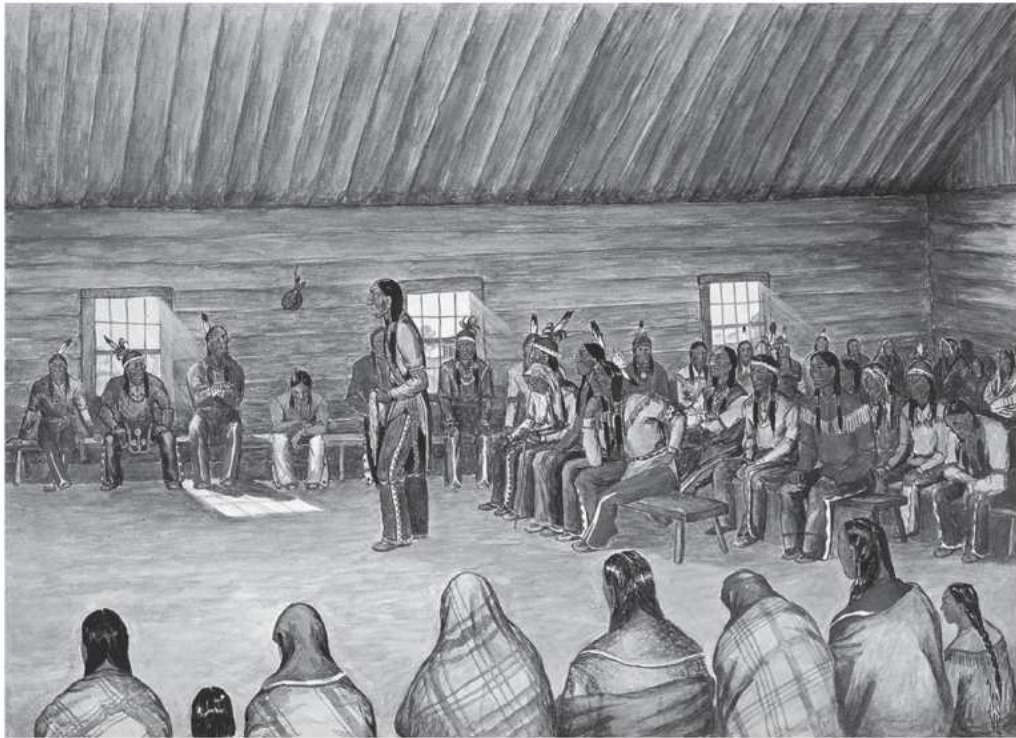
Missionaries and other groups in American society believed it was their duty to “civilize” the Indians by destroying their traditions and culture and transforming them into Christians. Some Indians were quick to point out what they saw as the Americans’ hypocrisy. The Seneca chief Red Jacket, for example, asked missionaries to explain why they were so sure that theirs was the one true religion. The Great Spirit had made Indians and white men different in many

respects, so why not accept that He had given them different religions to suit their needs? The Indians might be more inclined to accept Christianity, he said, if the Christians they saw around them served as better examples. But since they saw lying, cheating, drunkenness, and theft, the Indians thought they were better off with their own religion.<sup>6</sup>

As Native American homelands eroded under intense American pressure, individuals and communities experienced crisis. Many of the dispossessed sought refuge in alcohol; others found solace in new forms of religion. Time and again, Indian people turned to ritual and belief to restore balance and harmony to a world that had gone chaotic. The Delaware prophet Neolin had headed one such movement in the 1760s; his renunciation of European material goods and influences helped fuel Pontiac's war of resistance against the British (see [page 193](#)). Other prophets stepped forward in the early nineteenth century as land dispossession intensified.<sup>7</sup>

By 1800, the Iroquois Confederacy was broken. Iroquois people who had once dominated the northeastern United States were now confined to reservations in small areas of their traditional homelands or lived in exile in Canada. The Senecas once held some 4 million acres of western New York and Pennsylvania; now they lived on fewer than 200,000 acres divided into ten separate tracts. They rebuilt their communities but were under pressure from missionaries, land speculators, settlers, and the state and federal governments. In 1799 a hard-drinking Seneca named Handsome

Lake, who lay ill and apparently close to death, experienced a vision in which the Creator awakened him to a new religion and a new way of life for Iroquois people. Handsome Lake renounced his former life of drunkenness and embarked on a mission to bring his teachings, *Gaiwiio*, or “the Good Message,” to his people. The “**Longhouse Religion**” that developed based on his teachings combined traditional beliefs with some Christian additions, which he adopted from Quaker missionaries to the Senecas. Handsome Lake preached that Iroquois people should live in peace with the United States and with one another and based many of his teachings on the Great Law of Peace (see [pages 38–41](#)). He denounced alcohol, factionalism, and the breakdown of family life, and he emphasized the importance of education and farming. In place of a society based on matrilineal, extended families that traditionally inhabited the clan mothers’ longhouses, and in which women were allowed to divorce their husbands simply by excluding them from their houses, Handsome Lake espoused a new social gospel in which men now did the farming, and husbands headed the nuclear family.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, his teachings incorporated thanksgiving festivals and other ceremonies from the old religion and denounced the sale of lands.



Handsome Lake Preaching, painting by Ernest Smith, Tonawanda Reservation. From the Rochester Museum & Science Center, Rochester, NY.

◆ *Handsome Lake Preaching*

Handsome Lake preaches his new religion in the Seneca longhouse at Tonawanda, New York, in a twentieth-century watercolor by Ernest Smith, who was born at Tonawanda. Handsome Lake's teachings resulted in the Longhouse Religion, which many Iroquois people still practice.

For many, the new religion meant a new way of living, and it met opposition from both traditionalists and Christians. But by reviving and reshaping traditional morality and values, Handsome Lake offered hope in a time of spiritual crisis and staggering transformations, and a way for Senecas to preserve their identity, autonomy, and lands through resilience and adaptation rather than outright resistance. The Longhouse Religion and the code of values Handsome Lake preached was a source of endurance, and it had

enduring appeal: it continues as a way of life for many Iroquois people today.<sup>2</sup>

## The Last Phases of United Indian Resistance

Like the Iroquois, the Shawnee Indians had lost lands, suffered defeat in battle, and seen their culture assaulted. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, however, while Black Hoof tried to make the transition to a new way of life, two Shawnees emerged as leaders in a pan-Indian religious and political movement. Like Handsome Lake, the Shawnee Prophet, Tenskwatawa, lived an early life of drunkenness and debauchery. Like Handsome Lake, he fell into a trance and experienced a vision in 1805, which caused him to transform his life and bring a message of hope to his people. Tenskwatawa preached that the Master of Life had selected him to spread the new religion among the Indians. Indian people were warned to avoid contact with the Americans, who were “children of the Evil Spirit.” They were urged to give up alcohol, refuse intermarriage, reject Christianity, lay down manufactured tools, and throw off white man’s clothing. Instead of eating the meat of domesticated animals, they should return to a diet of corn, beans, maple sugar, and other traditional foods. They should avoid intertribal conflict and practice communal ownership of property. Tenskwatawa’s teachings promised a revitalization of Shawnee

culture, but his message also drew adherents from the Delawares, Kickapoos, Ottawas, Potawatomis, Anishinaabeg, and other tribes, especially after he accurately predicted a total eclipse of the sun on June 16, 1806. Many Indians rejected his message, but hundreds of others flocked to the village he established at Prophetstown on the Tippecanoe River in Indiana.

However, it was the Shawnee Prophet's brother, **Tecumseh**, who gave strongest direction to the developing movement of Indian unity. Tecumseh had fought at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794 (see [page 210](#)), but he refused to sign the Treaty of Greenville. Identifying American expansion and piecemeal cessions of land as the major threat to Indian survival, Tecumseh argued that no tribe had the right to sell their lands, because the lands belonged to all Indian people. He denounced older chiefs who signed away tribal territory, and his influence soared after pro-American chiefs ceded more than 3 million acres to the United States at a "whiskey treaty" at Fort Wayne in 1809. Tecumseh traveled from the Great Lakes to Florida, carrying his message of pan-Indian land tenure and preaching a vision of an independent Indian nation stretching from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico.





TECUMSEH.

chpaquette/Getty Images.

♦ *Tecumseh*

In this engraving by Benson J. Lossing, adapted from a drawing said to have been made from life by Pierre Le Dru, Tecumseh is pictured in a British officer's coat during the War of 1812. The Shawnee chief was killed in battle not long after.

Tenskwatawa's teachings and Tecumseh's vision alarmed the U.S. government, especially the governor of Indiana Territory, General William Henry Harrison, who had built his career advancing



Jefferson's policies of national expansion and Indian dispossession.<sup>[10](#)</sup> In 1811 Harrison led an army in a preemptive strike against the Prophet's village at Tippecanoe while Tecumseh was away in the South.<sup>[11](#)</sup> The battle was a relatively minor affair — Tecumseh dismissed it as “a scuffle between children” — but the Americans claimed a victory, the Prophet lost prestige, and Tecumseh's confederacy suffered a setback and loss of momentum. When the War of 1812 broke out between Britain and the United States, Tecumseh sided with the British in a last attempt to stem the tide of American expansion. The British–Indian alliance scored some early victories, but Britain was distracted by its involvement in European resistance to Napoleon. When Tecumseh was killed fighting Harrison's army at the Battle of the Thames in Ontario in 1813, the last hope of united Indian resistance east of the Mississippi also died.

In the South, Alexander McGillivray of the Creeks had led his confederacy of tribes in dealing with Spain, the United States, and Georgia in the decade after the Revolution (see [page 205](#)), but his death in 1793 created room for division within the confederacy. Tensions escalated after Tecumseh traveled the Southeast with his message of united Indian resistance in 1811. Upper Creek towns tended to favor adopting a militant stance in dealing with the United States; Lower Creek towns tended to advocate peace and accommodation. Conflicts within the Creek confederacy spilled over into attacks on American settlers, and the United States responded with swift military action against the militant Creeks, or

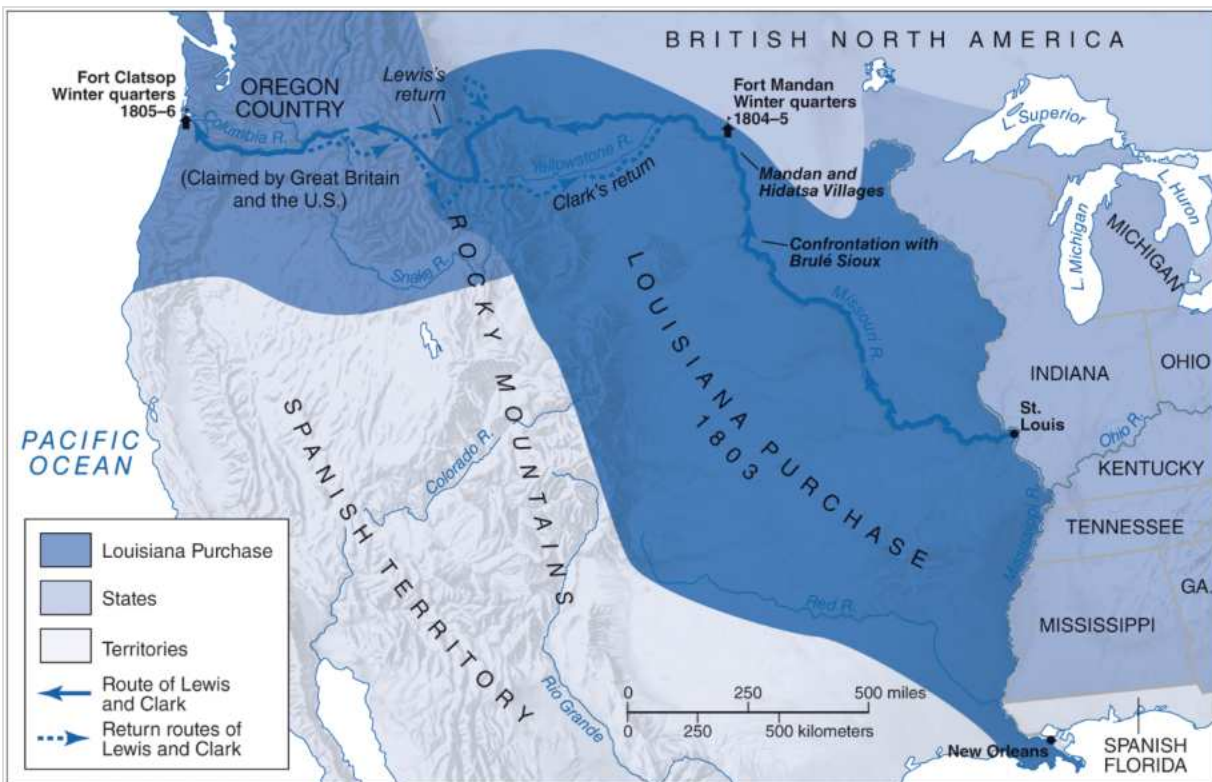
“Red Sticks.” In the **Creek War of 1813–14**, General **Andrew Jackson** directed a series of devastating campaigns that culminated in the slaughter of some eight hundred Creek warriors at the Battle of Tohopeka, or Horseshoe Bend, on the Tallapoosa River in present-day Alabama in March 1814.<sup>12</sup> About five hundred Cherokees and one hundred Lower Creeks helped Jackson win his victory. But at the Treaty of Fort Jackson, the general dictated punitive terms that divested the Creek Nation of 23 million acres, or two-thirds of their tribal domain, much of it taken from Jackson’s Lower Creek allies. It was the single largest cession of territory ever made in the Southeast and initiated a boom in land sales and cotton production in the Deep South. Jackson confirmed American control of the region by defeating a British army at the Battle of New Orleans in January 1815 — although the treaty ending the War of 1812 had been signed in Ghent, Belgium, two weeks earlier.

The age of Indian confederacies in the East and of Indian power that delayed American expansion was over by the end of the War of 1812, but Indians did not disappear just because they stopped fighting. As the deerskin trade declined and the Cotton Kingdom expanded into new lands in Mississippi, the Choctaws and Chickasaws adjusted to new economic conditions. They changed their farming and settlement patterns, raised more stock, mingled with African American slaves, and grew cotton for the market, even as they retained core cultural values.<sup>13</sup>

# LEWIS AND CLARK IN INDIAN COUNTRY

But the United States was already looking farther west. In 1803 American emissaries in Paris purchased the **Louisiana Territory** from its French holders. Acquired for a mere \$15 million, a few cents per acre, the 827,000 square miles of territory between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains doubled the size of the United States overnight ([Map 5.1](#)). (In reality, the United States acquired only the right of preemption. In years to come it would pay many times that amount to buy the land from the Indian nations who inhabited and held it.)<sup>14</sup> Even before the United States completed the Louisiana Purchase, President Thomas Jefferson was making plans for an American expedition to explore the Missouri River to its sources and from there to the Pacific. After becoming the first European to cross the continent north of Mexico in 1793, Scotsman Alexander Mackenzie published *Voyages from Montreal* (1801), which not only described his travels from Saskatchewan to the Pacific but also spelled out his ideas for British settlement in the West. Jefferson read this book and was galvanized into action. He chose two Virginians, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, to lead an American expedition from St. Louis to the Pacific and back. They were to proclaim American sovereignty over the area, prepare the

way for American commerce with the tribes, and gather as much information as possible about this “new land” and the many Indian peoples who inhabited it.



Calloway, *First Peoples*, 6e, © 2019 Bedford/St. Martin's.

#### ◆ Map 5.1 The Lewis and Clark Expedition and the Louisiana Purchase

The Louisiana Purchase (1803) added to the United States an enormous amount of land inhabited by a great variety of Indian peoples. In their expedition across and beyond that territory in 1804–6, Lewis and Clark encountered many Indians who had plenty of experience dealing with European traders, but for most of the Indians in the West the expedition marked their first encounter with representatives of the new American nation that now laid claim to their lands.

France, Spain, and now the United States had all laid claim to Louisiana Territory, and so the presence of British, French, and Spanish traders and the aspirations of competing European nations

had been felt there for some time. St. Louis, the departure point of the Lewis and Clark expedition, had started life forty years earlier as a French trading post, dealing with the powerful Osages, and some of the first people whom Lewis and Clark encountered on their trek west were French, not Indians.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, it was Indian country, where Indian people and Indian power still dominated. Lewis and Clark had to deal with Indian tribes and develop a working knowledge of Indian politics. The success of the expedition depended on cultivating amicable relations: “In all your intercourse with the natives,” Jefferson instructed Lewis, “treat them in the most friendly and conciliatory manner which their own conduct will permit.”<sup>16</sup>

On the whole, the expedition succeeded in doing so. The explorers carried with them flags and gifts to present to Indian chiefs; they met and smoked with Indians in council after council, proclaiming the new era of peace and prosperity that would surely come to the Indians now that their land “belonged” to the Great Father in Washington. Lewis and Clark painstakingly gathered information on the names, numbers, and customs of the tribes they encountered. Indian knowledge, guidance, assistance, transportation, and food helped the expedition trek to the Pacific and back.

## Encounters on the Missouri

Things did not get off to an auspicious start, however. Leaving St. Louis in June 1804, the explorers headed up the Missouri River — about fifty men,<sup>16</sup> including Clark's African American servant, York, who was to cause quite a stir among the Indians — in half a dozen canoes and two pirogues. They tested their skills at Indian diplomacy among the Otos, Omahas, and Missouris, once-powerful tribes already badly reduced by the ravages of disease. Then in September, they encountered a band of Brulé or Sicangu Sioux — “a Stout bold looking people,” said Clark. The Sioux were accustomed to levying tribute from St. Louis traders and were not about to allow the American strangers to pass upriver to other tribes without exacting some share of their cargo. Clark called them “the pirates of the Missouri.” Eager to demonstrate that the United States would not be bullied, the Americans were equally determined not to concede. There was a tense scene in which each side stood to arms. “I felt my Self warm & Spoke in verry [*sic*] positive terms,” wrote Lewis with characteristic understatement. Only the presence of Indian women and children and the quick-thinking statesmanship of the Brulé chief Black Buffalo averted conflict. The Americans tossed the Indians some tobacco as a token tribute, and the Sioux allowed them to proceed.<sup>17</sup> But it was touch and go. Lewis and Clark failed the first serious test of their Indian diplomacy. They had a lot to learn if the expedition was to navigate successfully the turbulent waters of inter- and intratribal politics. A winter in the Mandan villages — the first major objective in Lewis and Clark's transcontinental odyssey — provided an invaluable crash course.

Surrounded by extensive fields of corn, beans, squash, and sunflowers that the women cultivated and that were the basis of their prosperity and trade, the villages of the **Mandans** and their Hidatsa (also known as Gros Ventre or Minnetaree) neighbors straddled the great bend of the Missouri in present-day North Dakota. They were a great marketplace and crossroads, the hub of a huge intertribal trading network in which Plains Indians exchanged horses and the products of buffalo hunting for guns, trade goods, and agricultural produce. Indian traders from deep in the Plains traveled to the upper Missouri villages, then returned home to trade the goods they had acquired to other Indian peoples. Spanish, British, and French-Canadian traders operated in and around the Missouri villages. Unfortunately, the same location and circumstances that made the villages a gathering place of nations guaranteed that they would be transformed into deathtraps when epidemic diseases raced along the trade routes: the smallpox epidemic of 1779–81 had hit the villagers hard; there were other outbreaks on the Missouri early in the nineteenth century, and the epidemic of 1837 virtually destroyed the Mandans.<sup>[18](#)</sup>



*Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, DC/Art Resource, NY.*

♦ **Bird's-Eye View of the Mandan Village, 1,800 Miles above St. Louis**

On the edges of the Great Plains, Mandans, Hidatsas, Arikaras, Pawnees, Omahas, and other people inhabited earth-lodge villages for hundreds of years before whites saw them. Lewis and Clark headed for the Mandan villages on the first leg of their trek in 1804, knowing that there they would find the food and shelter to get them through a winter on the northern Plains. By the time George Catlin painted this village in the 1830s, the Mandans, Hidatsas, and Arikaras on the upper Missouri had been ravaged by recurrent epidemics.

The winter spent with the Mandans was one of the high points of the expedition. In Mandan lodges, the Americans found shelter from winter on the northern Plains and corn to get them through



the season. From Mandan people they learned about tribes they could expect to encounter when they resumed their journey westward in the spring. One chief drew Clark a sketch of the country as far as the Rocky Mountains. Mandans and Americans visited back and forth, joined in each other's dances, hunted buffalo together, and together pursued Sioux horse raiders. Members of the expedition slept with Mandan women, and the expedition blacksmith mended Mandan axes and hoes in exchange for corn. With no other group did Lewis and Clark's men live so closely, for so long, and on such good terms. They enjoyed good relations with other Indian peoples — the Shoshonis and Nez Perces, in particular — but their months with the Mandans demonstrated the capacity of one group of humans to coexist harmoniously with another, at least for a time. It was not an experience repeated often in subsequent relations between the United States and the Indian peoples of the West.

<sup>2</sup> That number included St. Louis boatmen and U.S. soldiers attached to the expedition as far as the Mandan villages, as well as the core party of twenty-nine.

## Over the Mountains and Back

Despite the warmth of Mandan hospitality, Lewis and Clark were eager to be on their way. They left the Mandan villages in April, as soon as the ice broke on the Missouri. They were “now about to penetrate a country at least two thousand miles in width, on

which,” wrote Lewis, “the foot of civilized man had never trodden.”<sup>19</sup> They hoped to locate a Northwest Passage that would provide a water route across the continent to the Pacific. The maps available at the time showed the Rockies to be a thin line of mountains not far from the Pacific; once they reached the headwaters of the Missouri, a short portage over the crest of the mountains would bring them to another river that would carry them down to the ocean. But when Lewis and his companions reached that crest, all they saw was range after range of mountains. The maps were wrong; there was no Northwest Passage, and the very survival of the expedition was in jeopardy if they did not make it over those mountain barriers before winter.

While the expedition was at the Mandan villages, they had been joined by a Shoshoni woman — actually a teenager — whom the neighboring Hidatsas had captured in a raid as a child. Sacagawea or Sakakawea was married to Toussaint Charbonneau, a French-Canadian trader, who became one of the expedition’s interpreters. She proved invaluable when the Americans made contact with the Shoshonis in the Rocky Mountains. The Shoshonis provided them with horses and guides to get them over the mountains. The Nez Percés took them in and fed them when they came staggering down the Lolo Trail, starved and half-frozen.<sup>20</sup> Rejuvenated, the expedition put canoes into the mighty Columbia River and, speeding past the massive rapids and salmon fishing grounds at The Dalles, paddled hard for the Pacific.<sup>21</sup>

Their winter on the Pacific Coast was miserable. Far from home, wet and dispirited, they did not like the Chinooks and Clatsops who lived near the mouth of the Columbia, nor did they find the women attractive: the tribes practiced ornamental head flattening, they were rife with venereal disease, and marks of smallpox were common. They also drove hard bargains, and some swore like sailors. The Indians in turn had little time for the expedition: they were used to dealing with merchants who arrived from the ocean in ships laden with cargo, and they paid scant regard to a bunch of disheveled Americans who arrived from the mountains with little but the buttons on their coats to trade. Thirty years of contact with maritime crews had produced new forms of sex labor and new forms of exploiting slave women (see [page 220](#)), and Lewis complained that the Clatsop and Chinook men would prostitute their wives and daughters “for a fishing hook or a stran [*sic*] of beads.” He explained that “in common with other savage nations they make their women perform every species of domestic drudgery.” But in the same journal entry, he acknowledged that because the women shared equally in procuring food they were treated with a measure of respect. “The females are permitted to speak freely before the men, whom, indeed, they sometimes address in a tone of authority,” he wrote. “On many subjects their judgments and opinions are respected, and in matters of trade their advice is generally asked and followed.”<sup>22</sup> The fact that Lewis reported this as noteworthy suggests that such was not the case for women in American society at the time.

When spring came, Lewis and Clark were anxious to depart for home. Trudging back across the mountains, they made their way through countless Indian groups. Although relations were not always harmonious — their tempers flared often, and they were now more interested in putting Indians behind them than in conducting diplomacy with them — they avoided conflict with the Indian peoples they encountered, except for one occasion when Lewis separated from Clark and ran into a party of Blackfeet (see [“An Account of His Fight with the Blackfeet,” pages 279–82](#)). By April 1806, they were back in St. Louis.

The Lewis and Clark expedition was not a total success. It failed to find a water route to the Pacific — the fabled Northwest Passage giving access to the markets of the Far East that had been the dream of empire builders for generations — because none existed. It failed to establish intertribal peace on the Missouri River, and instead cemented Sioux and Blackfeet hostility toward the United States. But it did put the West on the American map. The Lewis and Clark expedition is often seen as marking the beginning of the history of the West, but it should more accurately be understood as the beginning of U.S. history in the West, where Indian peoples had lived for thousands of years and where French and Spaniards had lived for generations. Direct and indirect contact with the outside world had transformed the Indian West long before Lewis and Clark arrived. At the time, many Americans imagined the country beyond the Mississippi to be barren and virtually empty. It was not

particularly attractive to American settlers. Still, it might serve as a place to which Indians from the East could be removed.

# INDIAN REMOVALS

The state of Oklahoma today is home to numerous tribes — Cherokee, Creek, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Seminole, Caddo, Comanche, Southern Cheyenne, Southern Arapaho, Kiowa, Apache, Shawnee, Potawatomi, Wyandot, Quapaw, Osage, Peoria, Ottawa, Seneca, Pawnee, Ponca, Oto, Kansa, Tonkawa, Kickapoo, Modoc, Wichita, Iowa, and Sauk & Fox — as well as to members and descendants of many other tribes. Few of these peoples were indigenous to the Oklahoma region; most live there because nineteenth-century U.S. policies designated the region “Indian Territory” and relocated thousands of Indian people there from other areas of the country.

The policy of removing Indian peoples from their eastern homelands to the West was implemented in the late 1820s, '30s, and '40s, but it originated in earlier periods when Americans had considered various solutions to the problem of what to do with Indians in the eastern United States. The government could try to destroy the Indians, assimilate them into American society, protect them on their ancestral lands, or remove them to more distant lands. Most Americans favored the last option as the only practical course. Removal became a policy on which almost all sectors of

American society could agree. Even some Indians came to believe that removal represented their best strategy for survival.

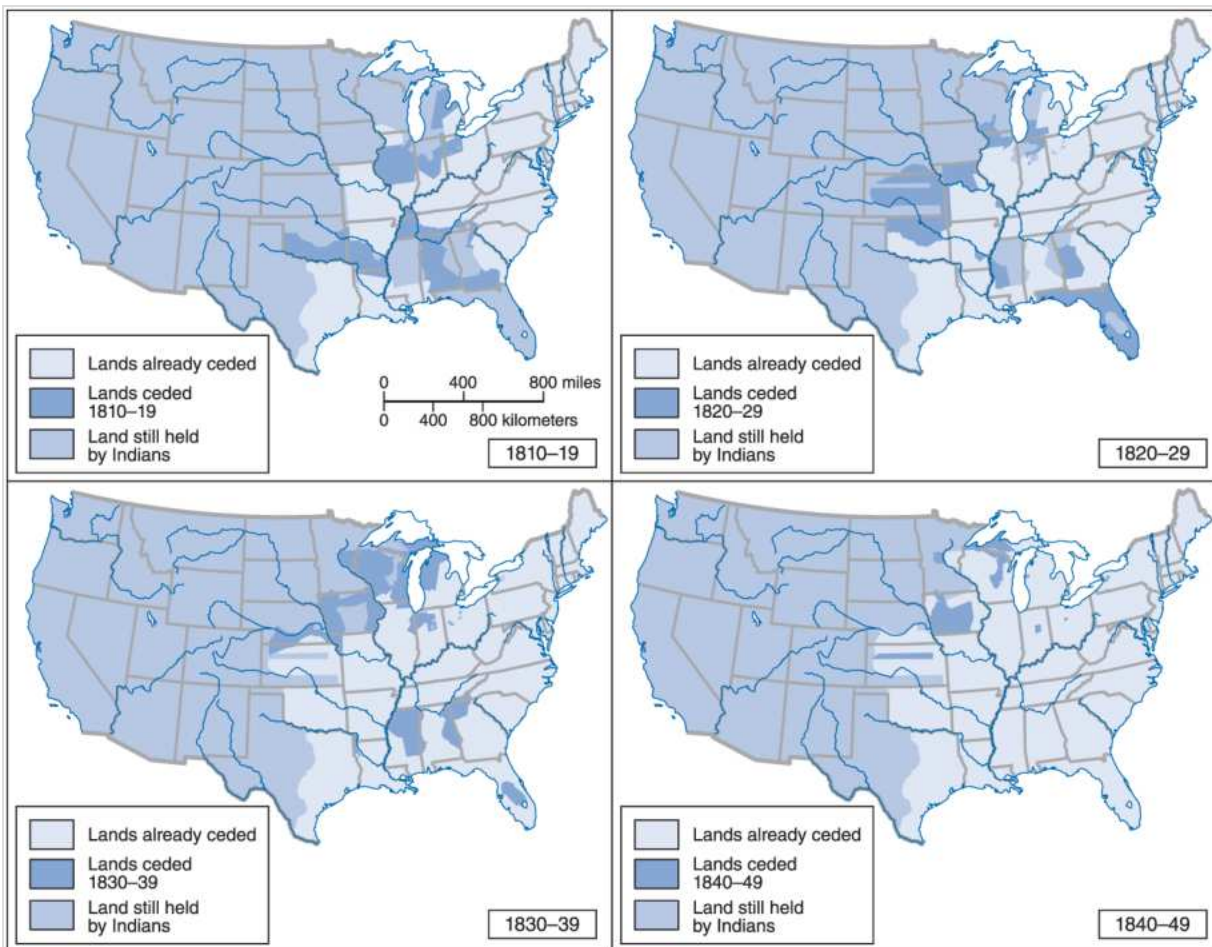
## Roots of the Removal Policy

The beginnings of removals went back to the presidency of Thomas Jefferson. In 1802 the state of Georgia ceded its western land claims to the federal government, and in return Congress agreed to secure on “reasonable and peaceful” terms title to Cherokee and Creek lands within the state as soon as possible.

In the winter of 1802–3, President Jefferson told Delaware and Shawnee delegates in Washington that he would “pay the most sacred regard to existing treaties between your respective nations and ours, and protect your whole territories against all intrusions that may be attempted by white people.” At the same time, Jefferson was implementing plans to dispossess the Indians of their lands.<sup>23</sup> Jefferson and others easily solved the dilemma of how to take Indian lands with honor by determining that too much land was a disincentive for Indians to become “civilized.” Ignoring the role of agriculture in Eastern Woodland societies, they argued that Indians would continue to hunt rather than settle down as farmers unless their options were restricted. Taking their lands forced Indians into a settled, agricultural, and “civilized” way of life and was, therefore, good for them in the long run. As Indians took up farming,

Jefferson wrote in 1803 to William Henry Harrison, governor of Indiana Territory, “they will perceive how useless to them are their extensive forests, and will be willing to pare them off from time to time in exchange for necessities for their farms and families.” To promote this process “we shall push our trading houses, and be glad to see the good and influential individuals . . . run into debt, because we observe that when these debts get beyond what the individuals can pay, they become willing to lop them off by a cession of lands.” In this way, American settlements would gradually surround the Indians, “and they will in time either incorporate with us as citizens of the United States, or remove beyond the Mississippi.”<sup>24</sup> The process of dispossession could be comfortably accomplished within Jefferson’s philosophy of minimal government. The government could do little to regulate the frontier and protect Indian lands, causing Indians to fight for their land ([Map 5.2](#)). The government would then have no choice but to invade Indian country, suppress the uprising, and dictate treaties in which defeated Indians signed away land. The stage was then set for the process to repeat itself. Jefferson’s strategy for acquiring Indian lands resulted in some thirty treaties with a dozen or so tribal groups and the cession of almost 200,000 square miles of Indian territory in nine states. Jefferson regretted that Indians seemed doomed to extinction, but he showed little compunction in taking away their homelands.<sup>25</sup>





Calloway, *First Peoples*, 6e, © 2019 Bedford/St. Martin's.

#### ♦ Map 5.2 Indian Land Cessions, 1810–1849

Between 1810 and 1849, the United States quashed the final Indian military resistance east of the Mississippi and implemented the policy of removing eastern Indian peoples to west of the Mississippi. The result was massive loss of Indian homelands.

Some Indians moved west voluntarily; others determined never to abandon their ancestral lands. But in the early decades of the century, the pressure to move west mounted steadily. Americans who hated Indians and desired their lands favored removal as a means of freeing up territory. Although many New Englanders denounced the removal policies in the South, many other

Americans who were sympathetic to the Indians also favored removal as the only way to protect them from their rapacious neighbors. Proremoval forces received a boost when Andrew Jackson, a renowned Indian fighter and a staunch advocate of removal, was elected president in 1828. Jackson knew the settled and agriculturally based Creeks and Cherokees firsthand — many of them had served alongside him as allies in his campaigns — but in his State of the Union address in 1830 he depicted them as wandering hunters: “What good man would prefer a country covered with forests and ranged by a few thousand savages to our extensive republic studded with cities, towns and prosperous farms, embellished with all the improvements that art can devise or industry execute, occupied by more than 12 million happy people and filled with all the blessings of civilization, liberty and religion?” he asked.<sup>26</sup> The Indians would be better off in the West, where they could live undisturbed, Jackson argued. Other politicians expressed similar views, declaring that a few thousand Indians could not be allowed to stand in the way of human progress. Indians did not put the land to good use, they said, and could not be allowed to deny that land to American farmers. Thomas Jefferson had regarded Indians as culturally inferior but capable of improvement with the proper instruction; Jackson regarded Indians as racially inferior and incapable of change. In Jackson’s view, even the so-called civilized tribes must, in fact, be “savages.” “Civilization” and “progress” demanded that “savages” be removed. In the 1830s and ’40s, the United States relocated about 80,000 Indian people from their

eastern homelands. Today, we would call such a policy “ethnic cleansing.”<sup>27</sup>

## The Cherokee Resistance

The irony in Jackson’s argument lay in the fact that the Indians whom Americans seemed most anxious to expel from their lands were people who, even by their own definition, Americans termed civilized. The Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles became known as “the **Five Civilized Tribes**.” A census taken among the Cherokees in 1825 showed that they owned 33 grist mills, 13 saw mills, 1 powder mill, 69 blacksmith shops, 2 tan yards, 762 looms, 2,486 spinning wheels, 172 wagons, 2,923 plows, 7,683 horses, 22,531 cattle, 46,732 pigs, and 2,566 sheep.<sup>28</sup> In 1827 the Cherokees restructured their tribal government into a constitutional republic modeled after that of the United States, with a written constitution, an independent judiciary, a supreme court, a principal chief, and a two-house legislature. They had a written language based on the syllabary developed by Sequoyah (aka George Gist, c. 1770–1843), who devoted a dozen years to creating a written version of the Cherokee language.<sup>29</sup> In 1828 they established a newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix*, which was published in both Cherokee and English. The editor of the *Phoenix*, Elias Boudinot, originally called Buck Watie, had received an education at a Moravian school in North Carolina and at the American Board’s

Foreign Mission School in Cornwall, Connecticut. Boudinot and his cousin John Ridge — the son of Major Ridge, speaker of the Cherokee Council who had fought as an ally of Andrew Jackson during the Creek War — attended the Mission School together. When the two young men fell in love with women in the town and proposed marriage, the citizens of Cornwall responded with an outburst of racist attacks and the school was forced to close. The young people married anyway, with John Ridge taking Sarah Bird Northrup as his wife. As Ann McGrath notes in her comparative study of interracial sex and marriage in the United States and Australia, such instances of love and marriage broke down barriers but also threatened colonial and racial supremacy.<sup>[30](#)</sup>

Cherokee Alphabet.					
D <sub>o</sub>	R <sub>e</sub>	T <sub>i</sub>	Ꭰ <sub>o</sub>	Ꭱ <sub>u</sub>	i <sub>v</sub>
S <sub>ga</sub> Ꭰ <sub>ka</sub>	E <sub>ge</sub>	Y <sub>gi</sub>	A <sub>go</sub>	J <sub>gu</sub>	E <sub>gv</sub>
Ꭰ <sub>ha</sub>	P <sub>he</sub>	A <sub>hi</sub>	F <sub>ho</sub>	Ꭰ <sub>hu</sub>	Ꭱ <sub>hv</sub>
W <sub>la</sub>	P <sub>le</sub>	P <sub>li</sub>	G <sub>lo</sub>	M <sub>ln</sub>	A <sub>lv</sub>
Ꭰ <sub>ma</sub>	O <sub>me</sub>	H <sub>mi</sub>	Ꭰ <sub>mo</sub>	Y <sub>mu</sub>	
Ꭰ <sub>na</sub> Ꭰ <sub>na</sub> Ꭰ <sub>nah</sub>	A <sub>ne</sub>	h <sub>ni</sub>	Z <sub>no</sub>	A <sub>nu</sub>	O <sub>nv</sub>
T <sub>qua</sub>	Ꭰ <sub>que</sub>	P <sub>qu</sub>	V <sub>quo</sub>	Ꭰ <sub>quu</sub>	E <sub>quv</sub>
U <sub>sa</sub> Ꭰ <sub>s</sub>	A <sub>se</sub>	B <sub>si</sub>	T <sub>so</sub>	Ꭰ <sub>su</sub>	R <sub>sv</sub>
Ꭰ <sub>da</sub> W <sub>ta</sub>	S <sub>de</sub> T <sub>te</sub>	A <sub>di</sub> T <sub>ti</sub>	V <sub>do</sub>	S <sub>du</sub>	Ꭰ <sub>dv</sub>
Ꭰ <sub>lla</sub> L <sub>lla</sub>	L <sub>tle</sub>	C <sub>ti</sub>	T <sub>to</sub>	Ꭰ <sub>tu</sub>	P <sub>tlv</sub>
G <sub>tsa</sub>	V <sub>tse</sub>	h <sub>tsz</sub>	K <sub>tso</sub>	J <sub>tsu</sub>	C <sub>tsv</sub>
G <sub>wā</sub>	Ꭰ <sub>wr</sub>	Ꭰ <sub>ne</sub>	Ꭰ <sub>wo</sub>	Ꭰ <sub>wu</sub>	E <sub>wv</sub>
Ꭰ <sub>ya</sub>	B <sub>ye</sub>	Ꭰ <sub>ye</sub>	h <sub>yo</sub>	G <sub>yu</sub>	B <sub>yv</sub>

Cherokee Alphabet, developed in 1821 (print)/American School (19th century)/PETER NEWARK'S PICTURES/Private Collection/Bridgeman Images.

#### ♦ Cherokee Syllabary

Developed over twelve years and introduced in 1821, Sequoyah's syllabary became widely used within a few years and allowed Cherokees to read and write in their own language.

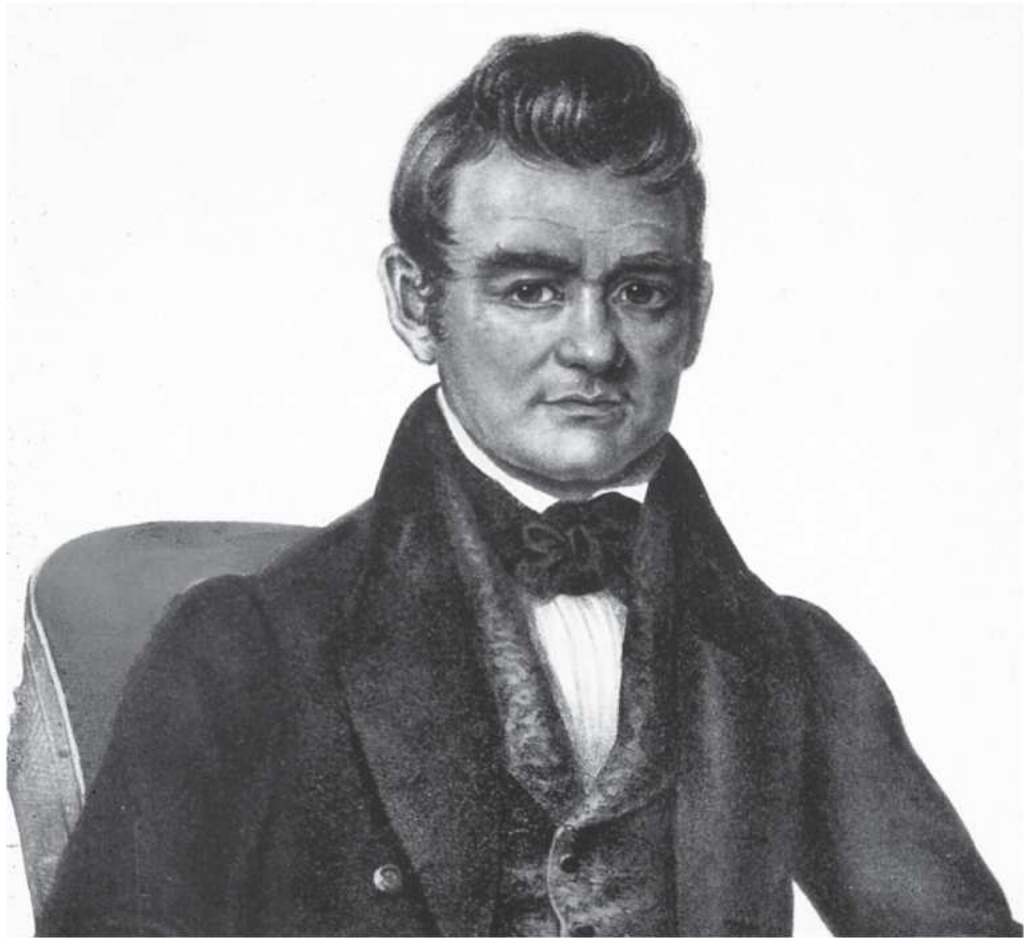
Despite such setbacks, the Cherokees seemed to have everything the United States required of them to take their place in the new nation as a self-supporting, functioning republic of farmers. Some Cherokees displayed more of the attributes of supposedly “civilized” society than did many of the American frontiersmen who were so eager to occupy their lands. John Ridge wrote for the *Phoenix* and served as an interpreter and secretary in delegations to Washington. “You asked us to throw off the hunter and warrior state,” said Ridge in a speech in Philadelphia in 1832. “We did so — you asked us to form a republican government: We did so — adopting your own as a model. You asked us to cultivate the earth, and learn the mechanic arts: We did so. You asked us to learn to read: We did so. You asked us to cast away our idols, and worship your God: We did so.”<sup>31</sup>

But it did not save them. Indeed, their very success and prosperity only increased pressure from neighbors eager to get their hands on Cherokee land. Cherokee territory originally extended into five southeastern states, but by the 1820s most of the remaining Cherokees were confined to Georgia (read more about Cherokee removals before 1820 in [“Cherokee Women Oppose Removal,” pages 282–85](#)). Gold was discovered in Cherokee country in 1827 and prospectors flooded into the area. In December the Georgia legislature passed a resolution asserting its sovereignty over Cherokee lands within the state’s borders. Georgia demanded that the U.S. government begin negotiations to compel the Cherokees to cede their land: “The lands in question *belong* to Georgia,” the legislators asserted. “She *must* and *will* have them.”<sup>32</sup>

Georgia subjected the Cherokees to a systematic campaign of harassment, intimidation, and deception, culminating in a sustained assault on their government. The state applied to the Cherokees not only general laws governing all citizens but also special laws aimed only at Cherokees with “a direct intent to destroy the political, economic, and social infrastructure of the nation.”<sup>33</sup> It prohibited meetings of the tribal council and closed down the tribal courts. It deprived Cherokees of their right to legal protest and made it illegal for Cherokees to testify in court against whites, dig for gold, or try to dissuade other Cherokees from moving west. In 1830 Georgia created a police force — the Georgia Guard — to patrol Cherokee country. Over the next few years the guard harassed Cherokee people, arrested Principal Chief John Ross and seized his papers, and confiscated the Cherokee printing press. Elias Boudinot appealed to Washington in words that proved prophetic:

The State of Georgia has taken a strong stand against us, and the United States must either defend us in our rights, or leave us to our foe. In the former case, the General Government will redeem her pledge solemnly given in treaties. In the latter, she will violate her promise of protection, and we cannot, in future, depend consistently, upon any guarantee made by her to us, either here or beyond the Mississippi.<sup>34</sup>





*Archiv Gerstenberg - ullstein bild/The Granger Collection.*

♦ **John Ross, Principal Chief of the Cherokees (1790–1866)**

Ross was a steadfast opponent of removal, lobbying in Congress and taking the Cherokee case to the U.S. Supreme Court. In Indian Territory, he set about rebuilding the Cherokee Nation and his own fortune. The divisions occasioned by removal persisted, however, and surfaced again during the Civil War. Ross first advocated neutrality but later supported the Union. A regular visitor to Washington, Ross died there in 1866 while serving in a treaty delegation.

## Implementing Removal in the South



In May 1830, after extensive debate and a close vote in both houses, and despite widespread opposition from church and reform groups throughout much of the country, Congress passed the **Indian Removal Act**, authorizing the president to negotiate treaties of removal with all Indian tribes living east of the Mississippi. Almost immediately, surveyors and squatters entered Cherokee country and Georgia stepped up its campaign of harassment. The Cherokees decided to fight Georgia in the federal courts. In 1830 John Ross hired William Wirt, the former U.S. attorney general, and other lawyers to represent his people's interests. Wirt filed a series of test cases. He first obtained a writ of error from Supreme Court justice John Marshall to stay the execution of a Cherokee named Corn Tassel. Corn Tassel had been sentenced to death by a Georgia court for killing another Indian in Cherokee country, a crime the Cherokees and their supporters argued should fall under Indian jurisdiction. In a special session, the Georgia legislature voted to defy the writ, and Corn Tassel was hanged. "The conduct of the Georgia Legislature is indeed surprising," wrote Elias Boudinot in another prophetic passage. "[T]hey . . . authorize their governor to hoist the flag of rebellion against the United States! If such proceedings are sanctioned by the majority of the people of the U. States, the Union is but a tottering fabric which will soon fall and crumble into atoms."<sup>35</sup>

In 1831 the Cherokee Nation brought suit against the state of Georgia in the U.S. Supreme Court (see ["Foundations of Federal Indian Law and a Native Response," pages 286–93](#)). Chief Justice

John Marshall declared that the Court lacked jurisdiction over the case since the Cherokees were neither U.S. citizens nor an independent nation; they (and all other Indian tribes residing within the United States) were “domestic dependent nations.” The next year, however, a Vermont missionary brought suit challenging Georgia’s right to exert its authority over him in Cherokee country. Because the suit involved a U.S. citizen, it fell within the Supreme Court’s jurisdiction. In *Worcester v. Georgia*, the Court found that the Cherokee Nation was “a distinct community, occupying its own territory” in which “the laws of Georgia can have no force.”<sup>36</sup> The Court’s decision was one of the most important in the history of U.S.–Indian relations, but it was not enough to save the Cherokees. Georgia would not tolerate a sovereign Cherokee nation within its boundaries nor would it tolerate federal protection of that sovereignty. Georgia ignored the Supreme Court’s ruling.

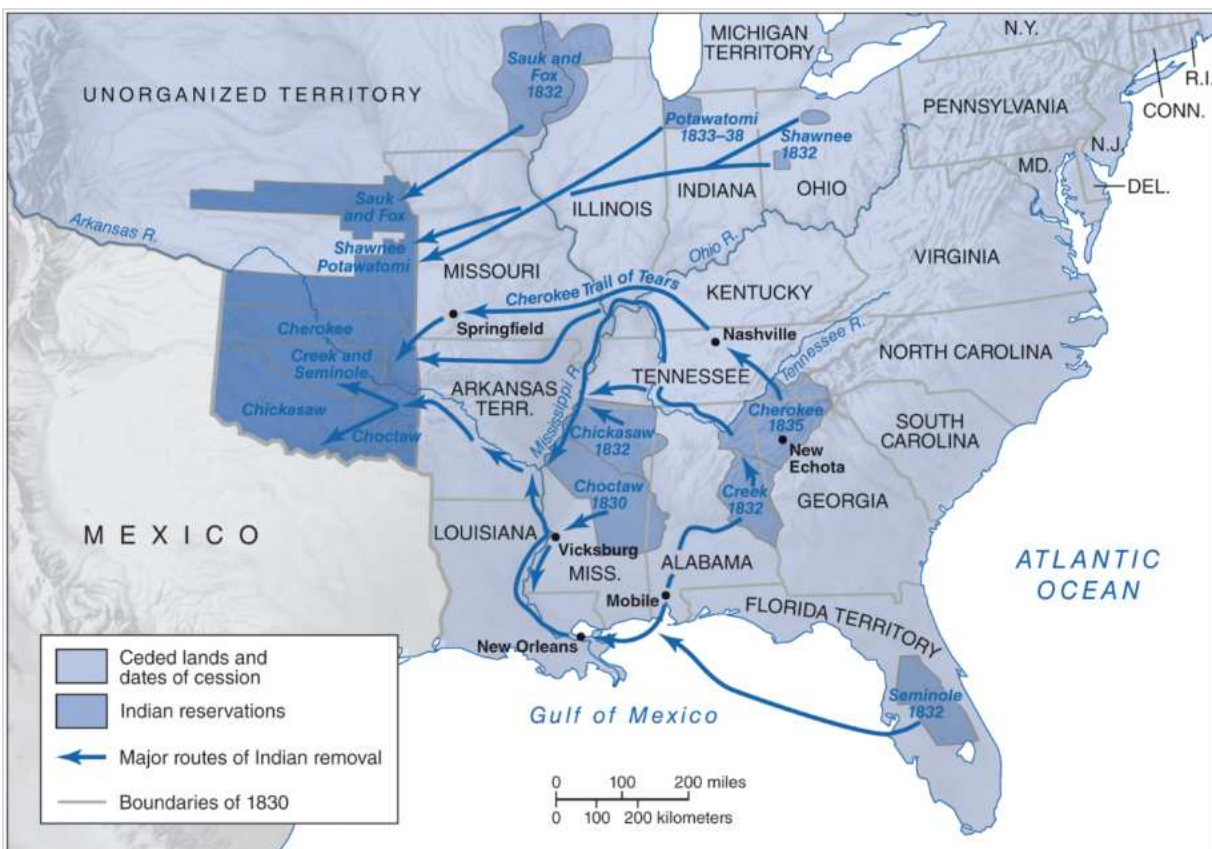
By the 1830s, the South was producing about half the cotton consumed in the world and growing rich exporting most of it to the cotton mills of northern England. In the view of southerners, Indian lands were too valuable to be left in Indian hands. Southern Indians faced a choice between gradual destitution and removal. Most bowed to the inevitable. As early as 1820, the Choctaw chief Pushmataha made a treaty with Andrew Jackson at Doak’s Stand, ceding lands in Mississippi to the United States and accepting new lands in the West in return. Ten years later, at the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, Choctaws ceded 11 million acres in exchange for 15 million acres in Indian Territory, ensuring the removal of most of

the tribe, although some Choctaws remained in Mississippi. The Creeks tried to resist: a Creek chief named William McIntosh was executed by fellow tribesmen in 1825 for selling lands in contravention of tribal law. But in 1836 the Creeks embarked on a bitter march west.

In 1835 the United States signed the Treaty of New Echota with a minority of Cherokees who agreed to move west voluntarily. The “Treaty Party” included Major Ridge, John Ridge, Elias Boudinot, his brother Stand Watie, and others who had formerly resisted removal but now felt they had no alternative but to migrate. Major Ridge had executed a Cherokee chief named Doublehead for selling tribal land in 1806 and had authored the Cherokee law prohibiting land sales. He knew what the consequences of his action were likely to be. “I have signed my death warrant,” he said as he put his name to the treaty.<sup>37</sup> Principal Chief John Ross and the majority of his people denounced the treaty as fraudulent and refused to abide by it. In 1838, citing the Treaty of New Echota, federal troops rounded up most of the Cherokees, placed them in stockaded internment camps, and then relocated them across the Mississippi. About one-quarter of the Cherokees, including John Ross’s wife, died on the aptly named “**Trail of Tears**” ([Map 5.3](#)). Thousands of other Indian people perished on their journeys west. Alexis de Tocqueville, a French visitor to the United States, witnessed the removal process and concluded that, whereas the Spaniards had earned a reputation for brutality in their dispossession of the Indians, the Americans had attained the same objective under the pretense of legality and

philanthropy. It was, he wrote, “impossible to destroy men with more respect to the laws of humanity.”<sup>38</sup>

For the Cherokees, the march west to Indian Territory was the most traumatic move in a history of recurrent migration.<sup>39</sup> It marked the beginning of a new era in which they would have to adjust to life in a strange land and re-create their societies in the area that became the state of Oklahoma.



Calloway, *First Peoples*, 6e, © 2019 Bedford/St. Martin's.

### ◆ Map 5.3 Indian Removal and the Trail of Tears in the 1830s

The U.S. government policy of removing Indians to west of the Mississippi brought tremendous suffering to the uprooted people and disrupted the lives of the people already inhabiting the region to which they moved. As many as a quarter of the Cherokees died on

their Trail of Tears in 1838. But not all Indians were removed: groups of Cherokees, Seminoles, and Choctaws still live in their traditional homelands.



GRANGER — All rights reserved.

#### ♦ *The Trail of Tears*

A decade before American pioneers migrated west beyond the Mississippi in search of new opportunities, thousands of Indian people were forced, sometimes at gunpoint, to gather what possessions they could and trek west. The Cherokee ordeal, portrayed in this 1942 painting, became known as “The Path Where They Cried.” or “The Trail of Tears.”

In 1839 unknown assailants killed Major Ridge, John Ridge, and Elias Boudinot, the leaders of the Treaty Party who had ceded Cherokee land. John Ridge was dragged from his bed and beaten to death in front of his wife and children. The assassinations sparked a cycle of revenge killings and plunged the Cherokees into a state of virtual civil war. The situation became so bad that President James Polk recommended permanently dividing the Cherokee Nation, which forced the two sides to patch together an uneasy truce in

1846. Nevertheless, the Cherokees rebuilt their nation in the West. They reestablished their political institutions, centering their government at Tahlequah, in northeastern Oklahoma. They established churches and Protestant seminaries for both men and women, provided free coeducation in their public schools — the first west of the Mississippi — and services for their people.<sup>40</sup> When the Choctaws set up their new school system in Indian Territory, they became “one of the first nations in the world to offer equal access to education for girls and women.” Only three states, Massachusetts, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, established free public schools before the Choctaws. The Choctaws also admitted white children to their schools.<sup>41</sup> Once again, the “civilized tribes” were the vanguard of civilization. Other facets of their southern culture persisted as well. They took their slaves with them, and African Cherokees not only had to adjust to life in Indian Territory but in time also had to negotiate their changing status both within the United States and within the Cherokee Nation.<sup>42</sup>

Some southern Indians managed to stay in their traditional lands. Some Choctaws stayed in Mississippi. Some Cherokees evaded the American drive west and survived in North Carolina as the Eastern Band of Cherokees. Florida Seminoles refused to remove and, in the Second Seminole War (1835–42), fought the U.S. army to a standstill from their stronghold in the Everglades. The federal government spent millions of dollars, deployed thousands of troops, and lost 1,500 men. Despite the capture by treachery of their leader, Chief Osceola, under a flag of truce and his subsequent

death in prison, some Seminoles remained defiant in their Florida homelands.

## Removal in the North

In the North, implementing the removal policy meant dealing with a variety of tribes and bands, many of which had migrated from one region to another, and many of which were already living on a fraction of their former lands. Between 1829 and 1851, the United States signed eighty-six treaties with twenty-six northern tribes between New York and the Mississippi. Sometimes several tribes participated in a treaty; sometimes a single tribe signed several treaties.<sup>43</sup> Ohio Shawnees moved west in 1832, although their principal chief, Black Hoof, who had encouraged his tribe to adapt to the new ways of life, did not live to see it. After a harrowing removal to Kansas, the migrant Shawnees began the difficult task of rebuilding their nation as they reunited with other Shawnees who had moved west before them.<sup>44</sup> In New York, pressure to remove the remaining Indians mounted steadily. In the years between the Revolution and the Civil War, New York politicians, transportation interests, and land speculators conspired to convert Iroquois homelands into American real estate. Canals, railroads, the massive influx of settlers, and the rapid growth of cities like Buffalo transformed what had once been Iroquoia. In 1838 sixteen Seneca chiefs signed the fraudulent Treaty of Buffalo Creek. Coerced by

threats, bribery, and alcohol, they agreed to sell their remaining lands in New York to the Ogden Land Company, give up their four reservations, and move to Kansas. But charges of bribery and fraud by the commissioners impeded the treaty's ratification by the U.S. Senate, and the Senecas were able to negotiate a compromise treaty four years later that allowed most of them to stay in western New York.<sup>45</sup> In the Great Lakes region, the Potawatomis alone participated in nineteen treaties. At the treaty of Chicago in 1833, they ceded 5 million acres on the west shore of Lake Michigan; in 1836 alone they signed nine treaties, each one committing them to removal within two years. While the Cherokees walked the Trail of Tears in 1838, militia expelled almost nine hundred Potawatomis from Indiana and marched them west across Illinois and Missouri to what is now eastern Kansas, a trek that became known as the Trail of Death. Most Anishinaabe bands managed to preserve reservations in their Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota homelands. Often they signed treaties that ceded large chunks of territory but guaranteed their rights to continue hunting, fishing, and gathering wild rice on the ceded lands and the rivers and lakes — rights that they had to reassert in confrontations and court cases in the late twentieth century. Some Potawatomis, Anishinaabeg, and Ottawas moved north into Canada rather than go west to Kansas and Oklahoma.<sup>46</sup>

Other tribes joined the general pattern of coerced migration beyond the Mississippi. In 1832 the Sauk chief Black Hawk returned with his people to plant corn in their Illinois homelands after



wintering in Iowa. American settlers occupying the area claimed that they were being invaded. The Illinois militia (including a young Abraham Lincoln, although he saw no combat) was called out, federal troops were brought in, and many of the Sauks' enemies made common cause with the Americans. The so-called **Black Hawk War** culminated at the Battle of Bad Axe as Black Hawk's band tried to escape across the Mississippi. Caught between American riflemen on the shore and an American steamboat spewing grapeshot from its cannon, at least 150 men, women, and children were shot down, many in cold blood. Others who escaped the slaughter and made it across the river were killed by Sioux. Black Hawk was captured and imprisoned, but later was taken on a tour of the East and related his autobiography.<sup>47</sup> Citing the "unprovoked" war as justification, the United States stripped the Sauks of their lands in treaties in 1833, 1836, 1837, and 1842. Most Sauks eventually removed to new homes in Kansas.

Contrary to what some Americans asserted, the country to which the eastern tribes were removed was not empty. The United States carved its "Indian Territory" out of the homelands of Omahas, Otos, Missouris, Kansas, Pawnees, and Osages, who regarded the newcomers as invaders. The Osages, who had dominated the southern prairies in the eighteenth century, clashed repeatedly with Cherokees in the Arkansas country. Relations between Native inhabitants and Native immigrants from the East remained tense for years. The Osages were also coming under increasing pressure from the United States to give up their lands and their way of life,

although they fended off missionaries' attempts to change them and held on to their traditional beliefs.<sup>48</sup>



Do-Hon-Go, An Osage Woman, 1899 (*hand-coloured lithograph*)/  
McKenney, Thomas Loraine (1785–1859) (*after*)/CHRISTIES IMAGES/  
Private Collection/Bridgeman Images.

#### ◆ Mohongo

At a time when her people were coming under increasing pressure from immigrant Indians moving west, the Osage woman Mohongo, pictured here with her child, traveled east. She and her husband were part of a troupe taken to Europe as “show Indians” by an unscrupulous entrepreneur: they sailed from New Orleans to France in 1827, traveled through Holland and Germany, and finished up in Paris where their visit attracted considerable attention.<sup>49</sup> Several

of the party, including Mohongo's husband, died of smallpox. The survivors made it back to America, where Mohongo was received at the White House in 1830. In this portrait, she wears trade silver jewelry around her neck; her child clutches the peace medal presented to her by the president.

## Surviving “behind the Frontier”: Race, Class, and History in Nineteenth-Century New England

Despite the pressures to remove west, many Indian people remained on their traditional homelands throughout the eastern United States. They continued the fight to remain Indian in the midst of an alien society that denied the validity of their culture and in time ignored their very presence. In New England, Indian people remained long after New Englanders believed they had resolved their Indian “problem.” Confined to tiny reservations and subjected to increasing regulation by individual states, they saw their lands whittled away. In Vermont and New Hampshire, as Americans occupied their lands, Abenakis pulled back into the farthest reaches of their territory or maintained a low profile on the peripheries of the new towns, villages, and farms. Newcomers assumed that Indians were fast disappearing from the region, or insisted that those they saw were from St. Francis (Odanak) and belonged in Canada, not in Vermont.<sup>50</sup> In Maine, Penobscots and Passamaquoddies, who had supported the American cause during

the Revolution, appealed to Congress for justice as their former allies invaded their hunting territories. But, in defiance of the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of 1790, first Massachusetts and then after 1820 the new state of Maine imposed treaties that gobbled up huge areas of Indian land without obtaining congressional approval. In 1794 the Passamaquoddies ceded more than 1 million acres to Massachusetts. Two years later, the Penobscots ceded almost 200,000 acres in the Penobscot valley; in 1818 they relinquished all their remaining lands except an island in the Penobscot River and four six-mile-square townships. In 1833 Maine bought the four townships for \$50,000. By midcentury, the Penobscots were confined to Indian Island at Old Town, near Orono, Maine, and the Passamaquoddies were reduced to two reservations.



*The Basket Seller, c. 1850 (oil on board)/Krieghoff, Cornelius (1815–72)/ART GALLERY OF ONTARIO/Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Canada/Bridgeman Images.*

♦ **Cornelius Krieghoff (1815–1872), Canadian, *The Basket Seller* (c. 1850)**

With traditional economies disrupted and their men often away from home, many Indian women in New England and eastern Canada found that making and selling baskets offered a way of both preserving traditional craft skills and making ends meet. Some women peddled their wares from village to village and house to house, often a humiliating experience. William Apess's (see [pages 272–73](#)) grandmother barely earned enough to feed her family. A minister in Ledyard, Connecticut, recalled, as a small boy, seeing an Indian woman named Anne Wampy every spring selling baskets she had made during the winter. "When she started from home she carried upon her shoulders a bundle of baskets so large as almost to hide her from view," he wrote. Her fine baskets found customers at almost every house. After two or three days her load would be sold, but "sad to

relate,” noted the minister, she would spend much of her earnings on strong drink before she reached home.<sup>51</sup>

Massachusetts reinstituted a guardian system for Indians after the Revolution, placing Indian communities and lands under the supervision of state-appointed overseers who were entrusted with protecting Indian interests but who often exploited their position for their own ends. At places like Natick and Stockbridge where Indians and Anglo-Americans shared the same town, Indian people were edged out of town offices and off the land. Stephen Badger, minister at Natick, reported in 1798 that Indians were “generally considered by white people, and placed, as if by common consent, in an inferiour and degraded situation, and treated accordingly.” Covetous neighbors “took every advantage of them that they could, under colour of legal authority . . . to dishearten and depress them.”<sup>52</sup>

Indian people who had once moved seasonally for subsistence purposes were now compelled to move about by poverty and the search for either work or displaced relatives. New England towns added to the numbers of Indian people traveling the roads by withholding poor relief from needy people who could not prove they were town residents. Many Indian men went away to sea, often on lengthy whaling voyages, pursuing income and status denied to people of color in New England.<sup>53</sup> Their wives had to assume the burden of supporting the family, and many women married non-Indians. Some Mashpee women of Cape Cod married Africans,

Portuguese sailors, or German veterans of the Revolutionary War. Indian people who moved to Boston, Providence, Worcester, and other cities often took up residence among the growing African American population. Indian people became increasingly invisible to New Englanders who embraced romantic notions of Indians as a tragically vanishing race. Most New Englanders believed that Indians had, for all intents and purposes, disappeared from the region after King Philip's War, and that the few who remained were "degenerating" as a result of intermarriage with African Americans. Erasing Native Americans from their view of New England's past and present, they saw only poor people of color where Indian people survived and reshaped their communities to accommodate African Americans.<sup>54</sup> Minister Stephen Badger said in 1798 that the Indians of Natick were "frequently shifting their place of residence, and are intermarried with blacks, and some with whites; and the various shades between these, and those that are descended from them." Indians in some parts of Massachusetts had become "almost extinct," and seemed to "vanish" among "people of color."<sup>55</sup> Former president John Adams, writing to Thomas Jefferson in 1812, recalled growing up in Massachusetts seventy years earlier with Indians as neighbors and visitors to his father's house. "But the Girls went out to Service and the Boys to Sea, till not a Soul is left," he wrote. "We scarcely see an Indian in a year."<sup>56</sup> In his *Report on Indian Affairs*, submitted to the secretary of war in 1822, Jedidiah Morse portrayed the Indian communities in New England as a "few feeble remnants" teetering on the brink of extinction.<sup>57</sup> Writing in 1833, after his visit to the United States, French historian Alexis de Tocqueville

declared, “All the Indian tribes who once inhabited the territory of New England — the Narragansetts, the Mohicans, the Pequots — now live only in men’s memories.”<sup>58</sup> Indian people and communities in New England who survived conquest struggled against constructions of history created by non-Indians, who wrote them out of history and essentially out of existence.<sup>59</sup> The prevailing view among Anglo-Americans was that Indians were a doomed race — an idea embodied in James Fenimore Cooper’s *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826).

They were wrong. Many Indian people maintained their communities, kinship networks, and core aspects of their cultures while they lived and worked in Anglo-American society. Some moved back and forth between rural tribal reserves and cities. The same year that Tocqueville pronounced them gone, the Mashpee Indians openly defied the authority of Massachusetts and staged a “revolt” that, though never violent, did win them a measure of self-government and that was a limited victory for Indian rights.<sup>60</sup>

**William Apess** (1798–1839), a Pequot Indian and Methodist minister, took an active role in the revolt and worked hard to make sure that Americans did not forget that New England had once been, and still was, Indian country.





Portrait of William Apess, engraved by Illman and Pilbrow (litho)/  
Paradise, John (1783–1833) (after)/AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN  
SOCIETY/American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts,  
USA/Bridgeman Images.

#### ♦ William Apess

Pequot William Apess was, at one time or another, a soldier, a Methodist preacher, a writer, and a leading figure in an Indian “rebellion” in Massachusetts. This undated portrait was imprinted on a card with a ticket for the lecture “Eulogy on King Philip,” which he delivered in Boston in 1836.

Apess was born into an Indian world of poverty, marginalization, and racism. The Pequot tribe was supposed to have been all but exterminated in 1637 and was now confined to two small reservations in southeastern Connecticut. Apess was the product of a broken home, was beaten as a child by his drunken grandmother, and himself succumbed to alcoholism. As a young man he served in the American army in the War of 1812. He later became a Methodist preacher, married, and, despite having only a rudimentary education, began to write, publishing five books between 1829 and 1836.<sup>[61](#)</sup>

The 1830s were not a good time to be an Indian, as U.S. policy mandated the removal of all Indians from east of the Mississippi, and thousands were forced out of their ancestral homelands. In New England, where Indians had been dispossessed long before, many people criticized the government's policies and opposed the actions of the southern states, but few sought justice for Native people closer to home. Rather than keep his head down or curry favor with New Englanders by expressing gratitude for their antiremoval stance, Apess confronted them with their own history, hypocrisy, and racism. Having experienced that racism firsthand, he "understood that the Revolution, which enshrined republican principles in the American commonwealth, also excluded African Americans and Native Americans from their reach."<sup>[62](#)</sup> Addressing those New Englanders who protested against Georgia's treatment of the Cherokees, Apess reminded his readers that the new American nation was built on Indian land and with African slave labor. White

society misrepresented both races to justify their continued oppression; skin color was not a marker of inferiority. In 1833 Apess wrote “An Indian’s Looking Glass for the White Man,” an essay in which he contrasted white Americans’ professed Christianity with their treatment of nonwhite people.

Assemble all nations together in your imagination, and then let the whites be seated among them, and then let us look for the whites, and I doubt not it would be hard finding them; for to the rest of the nations, they are still but a handful. Now suppose these skins were put together, and each skin had its national crimes written upon it — which skin do you think would have the greatest? I will ask one question more. Can you charge the Indians with robbing a nation almost of their whole continent, and murdering their women and children, and then depriving the remainder of their lawful rights, that nature and God require them to have? And to cap the climax, rob another nation to till their grounds and welter out their days under the lash with hunger and fatigue under the scorching rays of a burning sun? I should look at all the skins, and I know that when I cast my eye upon that white skin, and if I saw those crimes written upon it, I should enter my protest against it immediately and cleave to that which is more honorable. And I can tell you that I am satisfied with the manner of my creation, fully — whether others are or not.<sup>63</sup>

In 1835 in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and then in 1836 in Boston, 160 years after Metacom's death, Apess delivered a remarkable speech eulogizing Metacom and giving a very different view of King Philip's War from the one that had been penned by Puritan writers and perpetuated by New England historians. He portrayed Metacom as a patriot like George Washington who, after having made every possible compromise, fought to defend his people's rights and freedom. "Does it not appear," he asked, "that the whites have always been the aggressors, and the wars, cruelties, and bloodshed is a job of their own seeking, and not the Indians? . . . Let us have principles that will give everyone his due; and then shall wars cease, and the weary find rest. Give the Indian his rights, and you may be assured war will cease."<sup>64</sup> In New England, as in the rest of the country, the Indians' struggles for those rights continued.

# CONCLUSION

The Louisiana Purchase in 1803 doubled the size of the United States, extended the nation west of the Mississippi, and brought thousands of Indian people into contact with Americans for the first time. Indian nations east of the Mississippi continued to resist American military and cultural assault, but by 1815 Tecumseh's united movement was defeated and Indians were left to confront the United States alone, without European allies. At the same time, the growth of the cotton industry and the expansion of plantation slavery increased the demand for southern Indian lands. The acquisition of Louisiana Territory made possible a new development in U.S. Indian policy: instead of either trying to destroy or assimilate Native people, the government could now relocate them beyond the Mississippi to lands that, Lewis and Clark reported, seemed unsuitable for American farmers. In 1830, despite fierce debate, Congress passed the Indian Removal Act. The resulting pressure to sell their homelands and move caused differing responses and divided tribes. Some succumbed, some resisted as long as they could, and some managed to remain. Americans had debated what place Indian people should occupy in the United States since the birth of the nation, and the Supreme Court took up the question in the 1830s. By 1840 the question had

been answered and the government had embarked on a policy of ethnic cleansing.

# CHAPTER 5 REVIEW

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## KEY TERMS

Longhouse Religion

Tecumseh

Creek War of 1813–14

Andrew Jackson

Louisiana Purchase (Louisiana Territory)

Mandans

Five Civilized Tribes

Indian Removal Act

*Worcester v. Georgia*

Trail of Tears

Black Hawk War

William Apess

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## REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What was Tecumseh's vision and why did it fail?
2. What kinds of Indian worlds did Lewis and Clark encounter, and in what ways did their expedition affect Indian peoples west of the Mississippi?
3. Why did the United States make Indian removal a national policy? What methods of removal did the United States implement, and where?
4. Consider the arguments for and against removal. What forms of resistance and support formed in response to the removal policy?



# DOCUMENTS

## The Vision of Tecumseh



Tecumseh is widely regarded as one of the greatest Indian leaders, if not the greatest. Although he failed to achieve his goals, his dream of a pan-Indian coalition inspired generations of Native Americans. His determination to stand his ground, his prowess as a warrior, and the humanity he showed in war won admiration even from his enemies. William Henry Harrison, Tecumseh's nemesis, described him as "one of those uncommon geniuses which spring up occasionally to produce revolutions and overturn the established order of things." Had it not been for the presence of the United States, Harrison reckoned, Tecumseh "would, perhaps, be the founder of an empire that would rival in glory that of Mexico or Peru."<sup>65</sup>

Tecumseh denounced the Treaty of Fort Wayne. The ceded lands belonged to all Indians, he said, not just to the tribes who sold them. United defense of all tribal lands was not a new idea. As a young man in the 1780s and 1790s, Tecumseh had fought in the

Northwest Confederacy that had adopted the same stance. He sought to revive and extend that confederacy, and channeled his brother's religious movement into a militant defense of Indian lands and independence.

Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa sent messengers out across Indian country and Tecumseh himself traveled widely among the tribes, preaching his vision of a still-strong Indian nation that would stand up to American aggression and winning converts to the cause with fiery oratory. He carried his message of pan-Indian land tenure and his vision of a united Indian nation from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico. He visited the Shawnees and Wyandots in Ohio, went on to the tribes in Michigan, dispatched messengers to the Iroquois in New York, traveled west to the Illinois and Mississippi, and tried to enlist the support of the Creeks, Cherokees, and Choctaws, as well as those Shawnees living in Missouri. "You see him today on the Wabash and in a short time you hear of him on the shores of Lake Erie or Michigan, or on the banks of the Mississippi," Harrison wrote, "and wherever he goes he makes an impression favorable to his purposes."<sup>66</sup> In Missouri, Tecumseh apparently visited the powerful Osages, who had dominated the region in the eighteenth century, and called on them to join his confederacy.

Many legends grew up about Tecumseh after his death. Some of the stories are fabrications and some of the sources suspect. The only account of Tecumseh's visit and speech to the Osages was given by a controversial individual named John Dunn Hunter.

Hunter was a white man who claimed to have been kidnapped as a child and raised by the Osages. He wrote a book describing his experiences that briefly made him something of a celebrity in Britain and the United States, and he became an advocate for Indian rights. Lewis Cass, governor of Michigan and superintendent of Indian affairs, denounced Hunter as an imposter and his book as pure fiction, insisting that Tecumseh never traveled to Osage country. Modern scholars, however, have found evidence to support his description of Tecumseh's visit to the Osage. Tecumseh's most thorough biographer concludes that Hunter's account is "probably authentic" and the tone and content of the speech as he remembered it seem consistent with Tecumseh's vision.<sup>67</sup> The document reproduced here in English, replete with conventional nineteenth-century romantic images and phrases of "Indian speak," represents a memory in later life of a speech that was delivered in Shawnee and presumably translated into Osage.

Hunter said he could not repeat the speech verbatim, "though if I could, it would be a mere skeleton," lacking the gestures, body language, and passion with which it was delivered. He could not find the words "to do justice to the eloquence of this distinguished man," but the speech "made an impression on my mind, which, I think, will last as long as I live."<sup>68</sup>

Tecumseh returned to the Wabash to find that during his absence, William Henry Harrison had led a preemptive strike against Prophetstown and that many of his followers had scattered.

## **TECUMSEH *Speech to the Osages* (c. 1811)?**

“Brothers — We all belong to one family; we are all children of the Great Spirit; we walk in the same path; slake our thirst at the same spring; and now affairs of the greatest concern lead us to smoke the pipe around the same council fire!

“Brothers — We are friends; we must assist each other to bear our burdens. The blood of many of our fathers and brothers has run like water on the ground, to satisfy the avarice of the white men. We ourselves, are threatened with a great evil; nothing will pacify them but the destruction of all the red men.

“Brothers — When the white men first set foot on our grounds, they were hungry; they had no place on which to spread their blankets, or to kindle their fires. They were feeble; they could do nothing for themselves. Our fathers commiserated their distress, and shared freely with them whatever the Great Spirit had given his red children. They gave them food when hungry, medicine when sick, spread skins for them to sleep on, and gave them grounds, that they might hunt and raise corn. Brothers, the white people are like poisonous serpents: when chilled, they are feeble and harmless; but invigorate them with warmth, and they sting their benefactors to death.

“The white people came among us feeble; and now we have made them strong, they wish to kill us, or drive us bank, as they

would wolves and panthers.

“Brothers — The white men are not friends to the Indians: at first, they only asked for land sufficient for a wigwam; now, nothing will satisfy them but the whole of our hunting grounds, from the rising to the setting sun.

“Brothers — The white men want more than our hunting grounds; they wish to kill our warriors; they would even kill our old men, women, and little ones.

“Brothers — Many winters ago, there was no land; the sun did not rise and set: all was darkness. The Great Spirit made all things. He gave the white people a home beyond the great waters. He supplied these grounds with game, and gave them to his red children; and he gave them strength and courage and defend them.

“Brothers — My people wish for peace; the red men all wish for peace: but where the white people are, there is no peace for them, except it be on the bosom of our mother.

“Brothers — The white men despise and cheat the Indians; they abuse and insult them; they do not think the red men sufficiently good to live.

“The red men have borne many and great injuries; they ought to suffer them no longer. My people will not; they are determined on

vengeance; they have taken up the tomahawk; they will make it fat with blood; they will drink the blood of the white people.

“Brothers — My people are brave and numerous; but the white people are too strong for them alone. I wish you to take up the tomahawk with them. If we all unite, we will cause the rivers to stain the great waters with their blood.

“Brothers — If you do not unite with us, they will first destroy us, and then you will fall an easy prey to them. They have destroyed many nations of red men because they were not united, because they were not friends to each others.

“Brothers — the white people send runners amongst us; they wish to make us enemies, that they may sweep over and desolate our hunting rounds, like devastating winds, or rushing waters.

“Brothers — our Great Father, over the great waters, is angry with the white people, our enemies. He will send his brave warriors against them; he will send us rifles, and whatever else we want — he is our friend, and we are his children.

“Brothers — Who are the white people that we should fear them? They cannot run fast, and are good marks to shoot at: they are only men; our fathers have killed many of them: we are not squaws, and we will stain the earth red with their blood.

“Brothers — The Great Spirit is angry with our enemies; he speaks in thunder, and the earth swallows up villages, and drinks up the Mississippi. The great waters will cover their lowlands; their corn cannot grow; and the Great Spirit will sweep those who escape to the hills from the earth with his terrible breath.

“Brothers — We must be united; we must smoke the same pipe; we must fight each other’s battles; and more than all, we must love the Great spirit; he is for us; he will destroy our enemies, and make all his red children happy.”

*SOURCE:* John Dunn Hunter, *Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians of North America* (London, 1823), 45–48. Public domain.

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. What does the speech convey about Tecumseh’s vision for Indian America and its appeal to Indian people at that time?
2. How much weight should historians attach to a document like this? Consider the controversy surrounding the author in evaluating this document as a historical source. Is it worthless or are there other factors to consider? Is it any less reliable than, for example, government records of what Indian speakers reputedly said at treaties?

## A Double Homicide at Two Medicine



IN JULY 1806 THE BLACKFEET DISCOVERED AMERICANS. Looking down from a hillside they observed Meriwether Lewis and his companions, George Drouillard and the brothers Joseph and Reuben Field, scouting in the valley of the Two Medicine River in Montana. During the return journey from the Pacific, Lewis's party had separated from the main body of the expedition to explore the Marias River. Lewis thought the Indians were “Minnetares of Fort de Prarie” — in other words, Gros Ventres or Atsina, a tribe allied with the Blackfeet. (The Gros Ventres of Montana were a different people from the Gros Ventres of the Missouri.) In fact they were Piegans, members of the southernmost division of the Blackfoot Confederacy that stretched from Alberta and Saskatchewan down into Montana, and the group who were described as “always the Frontier Tribe” in the wars with the Shoshonis.<sup>69</sup>

The Blackfeet may not have met Americans before, but they had already had plenty of contact with non-Indians. Traders from the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company had pushed west in the second half of the eighteenth century, establishing posts in Blackfeet country, and for more than twenty years the Blackfeet had had access to supplies of guns via the Canadian fur trade. While the Shoshonis had obtained horses before the Blackfeet, guns enabled the Blackfeet to turn the tables on their enemies, and they drove the Shoshonis from the northern Plains and into the foothills of the Rockies, where Lewis and Clark had met them (see [page 257](#)).



The Blackfeet made sure that the flow of guns stopped with them; they monopolized the gun trade in the North and effectively blocked the supply of guns from reaching their enemies to the south and west. The Shoshonis, Flatheads, Kutenais, Nez Perces, and others lived in fear of well-armed Blackfeet raiding parties and ventured on to the Plains to hunt buffalo at their peril.

The Blackfeet were the dominant power on the northern Plains, and their reputation as fearsome warriors made Lewis and Clark apprehensive about meeting them. They expected trouble. It is not known whether the Blackfeet had heard rumors or reports about the Americans, but the appearance of these new white men in their territory was clearly a cause for attention and concern. Their first encounter with Americans, described here in Lewis's journal, earned the Blackfeet a reputation for treachery and hostility toward Americans and set the stage for decades of conflict during the Rocky Mountain fur trade. For most of the expedition, Lewis and Clark got along peacefully with the Indian people they met. Lewis's encounter with the Blackfeet produced the only bloodshed, and Lewis's journal is the only firsthand written account of what happened.

**MERIWETHER LEWIS *An Account of His Fight with the Blackfeet* (1806)**

*JULY 26, 1806*

[Lewis] I had scarcely ascended the hills before I discovered to my left at the distance of a mile an assemblage of about 30 horses, I halted and used my spy glass by the help of which I discovered several indians on the top of an eminence just above them who appeared to be looking down towards the river I presumed at Drewyer.° about half the horses were saddled. this was a very unpleasant sight, however I resolved to make the best of our situation and to approach them in a friendly manner. I directed J. Fields to display the flag which I had brought for that purpose and advanced slowly toward them, about this time they discovered us and appeared to run about in a very confused manner as if much alarmed, their attention had been previously so fixed on Drewyer that they did not discover us untill we had began to advance upon them, some of them descended the hill on which they were and drove their horses within shot of its summit and again returned to the height as if to wate our arrival or to defend themselves. I calculated on their number being nearly or quite equal to that of their horses, that our runing would invite pursuit as it would convince them that we were their enimies and our horses were so indifferent that we could not hope to make our escape by flight; added to this Drewyer was seperated from us and I feared that his not being apprized of the indians in the event of our attempting to escape he would most probably fall a sacrefice. under these considerations I still advanced towards them; when we had arrived within a quarter of a mile of them, one of them mounted his horse and rode full speed towards us, which when I discovered I halted and alighted from my horse; he came within a hundred paces halted

looked at us and turned his horse about and returned as briskly to his party as he had advanced; while he halted near us I held out my hand and beckoned to him to approach but he paid no attention to my overtures. on his return to his party they all descended the hill and mounted their horses and advanced towards us leaving their horses behind them, we also advanced to meet them. I counted eight of them but still supposed that there were others concealed as there were several other horses saddled. I told the two men with me that I apprehended that these were the Minnetares of Fort de Prarie and from their known character I expected that we were to have some difficulty with them; that if they thought themselves sufficiently strong I was convinced they would attempt to rob us in which case be their numbers what they would I should resist to the last extremity preferring death to that of being deprived of my papers instruments and gun and desired that they would form the same resolution and be allert and on their guard. when we arrived within a hundred yards of each other the indians except one halted I directed the two men with me to do the same and advanced singly to meet the indian with whom I shook hands and passed on to those in his rear, as he did also to the two men in my rear; we now all assembed and alighted from our horses; the Indians soon asked to smoke with us, but I told them that the man whom they had seen pass down the river had my pipe and we could not smoke untill he joined us. I requested as they had seen which way he went that they would one of them go with one of my men in surch of him, this they readily concented to and a young man set out with R. Fields in surch of Drewyer. I now asked them by sighns if they were the

Minnetares of the North which they answered in the affirmative; I asked if there was any cheif among them and they pointed out 3 I did not believe them however I thought it best to please them and gave to one a medal to a second a flag and to the third a handkercheif, with which they appeared well satisfied. they appeared much agitated with our first interview from which they had scarcely yet recovered, in fact I beleive they were more allarmed at this accedental interview than we were. from no more of them appearing I now concluded they were only eight in number and became much better satisfied with our situation as I was convinced that we could mannage that number should they attempt any hostile measures. as it was growing late in the evening I proposed that we should remove to the nearest part of the river and encamp together, I told them that I was glad to see them and had a great deel to say to them. we mounted our horses and rode towards the river which was at but a short distance, on our way we were joined by Drewyer Fields and the indian. we decended a very steep bluff about 250 feet high to the river where there was a small bottom of nearly  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile in length and about 250 yards wide in the widest part . . . in this bottom there stand t[h]ree solitary trees near one of which the indians formed a large simicircular camp of dressed buffaloe skins and invited us to partake of their shelter which Drewyer and myself accepted and the Fieldses lay near the fire in front of the sheter. with the asistance of Drewyer I had much conversation with these people in the course of the evening. I learned from them that they were a part of a large band which lay encamped at present near the foot of the rocky mountains on the

main branch of Maria's river one ½ days march from our present encampment; that there was a whiteman with their band; that there was another large band of their nation hunting buffaloe near the broken mountains and were on there way to the mouth of Maria's river where they would probably be in the course of a few days. they also informed us that from hence to the establishment where they trade on the Suskasawan river is only 6 days easy march or such as they usually travel with their women and childred which may be estimated at about 150 ms. that from these traders they obtain arm amunition sperituos liquor blankets &c in exchange for wolves and some beaver skins. I told these people that I had come a great way from the East up the large river which runs towards the rising sun, that I had been to the great waters where the sun sets and had seen a great many nations all of whom I had invited to come and trade with me on the rivers on this side of the mountains, that I had found most of them at war with their neighbours and had succeeded in restoring peace among them, that I was now on my way home and had left my party at the falls of the missouri with orders to decend that river to the entrance of Maria's river and there wait my arrival and that I had come in surch of them in order to prevail on them to be at peace with their neighbours particularly those on the West side of the mountains and to engage them to come and trade with me when the establishment is made at the entrance of this river to all which they readily gave their assent and declared it to be their wish to be at peace with the Tushepahs whom they said had killed a number of their relations lately and pointed to several of those present who had cut their hair as an

evidence of the truth of what they had asserted. I found them extremely fond of smoking and plied them with the pipe until late at night. I told them that if they intended to do as I wished them they would send some of their young men to their band with an invitation to their chiefs and warriors to bring the whiteman with them and come down and council with me at the entrance of Maria's river and that the ballance of them would accompany me to that place, where I was anxious now to meet my men as I had been absent from them some time and knew that they would be uneasy until they saw me. that if they would go with me I would give them 10 horses and some tobacco. to this proposition they made no reply, I took the first watch tonight and set up until half after eleven; the indians by this time were all asleep, I roused up R. Fields and laid down myself; I directed Fields to watch the movements of the indians and if any of them left the camp to awake us all as I apprehended they would attempt to steal our horses. this being done I fell into a profound sleep and did not wake until the noise of the men and indians awoke me a little after light in the morning. . . .

 George Drouillard.

*JULY 27, 1806*

[Lewis] This morning at day light the indians got up and crowded around the fire, J. Fields who was on post had carelessly laid his gun down behind him near where his brother was sleeping, one of the indians the fellow to whom I had given the medal last evening slipped behind him and took his gun and that of his brothers

unperceived by him, at the same instant two others advanced and seized the guns of Drewyer and myself, J. Fields seeing this turned about to look for his gun and saw the fellow just running off with her and his brothers he called to his brother who instantly jumped up and pursued the indian with him whom they overtook at the distance of 50 or 60 paces from the camp seized their guns and rested them from him and R Fields as he seized his gun stabbed the indian to the heart with his knife the fellow ran about 15 steps and fell dead; of this I did not know until afterwards, having recovered their guns they ran back instantly to the camp; Drewyer who was awake saw the indian take hold of his gun and instantly jumped up and seized her and rested her from him but the indian still retained his pouch, his jumping up and crying damn you let go my gun awakened me I jumped up and asked what was the matter which I quickly learned when I saw Drewyer in a scuffle with the indian for his gun. I reached to seize my gun but found her gone, I then drew a pistol from my holster and turning myself about saw the indian making off with my gun I ran at him with my pistol and bid him lay down my gun which he was in the act of doing when the Fieldses returned and drew up their guns to shoot him which I forbid as he did not appear to be about to make any resistance or commit any offensive act, he dropped the gun and walked slowly off, I picked her up instantly, Drewyer having about this time recovered his gun and pouch asked me if he might not kill the fellow which I also forbid as the indian did not appear to wish to kill us, as soon as they found us all in possession of our arms they ran and endeavored to drive off all the horses I now followed to the men and told them to fire on them

if they attempted to drive off our horses, they accordingly pursued the main party who were dr[i]ving the horses up the river and I pursued the man who had taken my gun who with another was driving off a part of the horses which were to the left of the camp, I pursued them so closely that they could not take twelve of their own horses but continued to drive one of mine with some others; at the distance of three hundred paces they entered one of those steep nitches in the bluff with the horses before them being nearly out of breath I could pursue no further, I called to them as I had done several times before that I would shoot them if they did not give me my horse and raised my gun, one of them jumped behind a rock and spoke to the other who turned arround and stoped at the distance of 30 steps from me and I shot him through the belly, he fell to his knees and on his wright elbow from which position he partly raised himself up and fired at me, and turning himself about crawled in behind a rock which was a few feet from him. he overshot me, being bearheaded I felt the wind of his bullet very distinctly. not having my shotpouch I could not reload my peice and as there were two of them behind good shelters from me I did not think it prudent to rush on them with my pistol which had I discharged I had not the means of reloading untill I reached camp; I therefore returned leasurely towards camp, on my way I met with Drewyer who having heard the report of the guns had returned in surch of me and left the Fieldes to pursue the indians, I desired him to haisten to the camp with me and assist in catching as many of the indian horses as were necessary and to call to the Fieldes if he could make them hear to come back that we still had a sufficient number of horses,



this he did but they were too far to hear him. we reached the camp and began to catch the horses and saddle them and put on the pcks. the reason I had not my pouch with me was that I had not time to return about 50 yards to camp after geting my gun before I was obliged to pursue the indians or suffer them to collect and drive off all the horses. we had caught and saddled the horses and began to arrange the packs when the Fieldses returned with four of our horses; we left one of our horses and took four of the best of those of the indian's; while the men were preparing the horses I put four sheilds and two bows and quivers of arrows which had been left on the fire, with sundry other articles; they left all their baggage at our mercy. they had but 2 guns and one of them they left the others were armed with bows and arrows and eyedaggs.<sup>o</sup> the gun we took with us. I also retook the flagg but left the medal about the neck of the dead man that they might be informed who we were. we took some of their buffaloe meat and set out ascending the bluffs by the same rout we had decended last evening leaving the ballance of nine of their horses which we did not want. . . .

<sup>o</sup> A type of dagger with a hole in the handle.

SOURCE: Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of Lewis and Clark: An American Epic of Discovery* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 341–45.

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. In light of Blackfeet foreign policy and the military situation on the northern Plains at the time of this encounter, what might Lewis have said to incite the Blackfeet to turn against him?
2. Remembering that the Blackfeet had a reputation as formidable warriors and that Lewis produced the only written record of the event, what things in the report might appear not to “add up”?
3. Blackfeet oral tradition tells that the warriors in this encounter were in fact boys returning home from their first horse raid. How might this information clarify Lewis’s account and help in understanding it?

## Cherokee Women Oppose Removal



THE POLICY AND PROCESS OF INDIAN REMOVAL generated heated debate and widespread opposition in American as well as Indian societies. Many white Americans denounced it as immoral and inhumane, a stain on the nation’s honor, and a breach of sacred treaty pledges. Some feared divine retribution. Many associated the removal of Indian peoples with the expansion of slavery onto the newly emptied lands. Students protested and sent petitions to Congress. Church and reform groups organized massive pamphlet and petition campaigns. Some American women, who did not yet have the right to vote, took the only political action available to

them and organized their own national petition campaign. Invoking the concept of republican motherhood, they assumed the responsibility to act as moral guardians of the nation's virtue. Almost 1,500 American women from the northern states submitted petitions to Congress opposing Indian removal. The largest petition, submitted to the Senate from Pittsburgh, contained 670 signatures. They failed to stop removal from going ahead, but they and their reform-minded allies later applied the same tactics in the fight to abolish slavery.<sup>70</sup> However, the first women to petition against removal were Cherokees, a dozen years earlier.

European males encountering Native peoples often missed, misunderstood, or ignored the roles of women in Native American society, but gender played a key role in how most Native American societies organized themselves.<sup>71</sup> Among the Cherokees, the importance of women as producers of corn meant that they enjoyed considerable influence, a status reflected in the Green Corn Ceremony, the key ritual that marked the social and spiritual regeneration of the community. "By honoring the corn," explains historian Theda Perdue, "the Cherokees paid homage to women." Cherokee society was matrilineal; children inherited clan membership from their mothers. Cherokee men assisted in clearing the fields for planting, but their primary roles took them away from the village, to hunt and to fight. Women gave life, raising children and corn; men took life in hunting and war. Even though they lived together, women and men each had separate roles, separate spaces,

and distinct sources of power. Women not only grew corn, but “the land on which corn grew was a uniquely female space.”<sup>72</sup>

Since war and diplomacy were typically male responsibilities. Europeans who entered Indian country looking for allies or land tended to ignore the women, but women sometimes actively participated in making war and making treaties on occasion, and they sat in council meetings. The Cherokee chief Attakullakulla, or Little Carpenter, once expressed surprise to see no women present during a council with South Carolina. He said “that the White Men as well as the Red were born of Women and that it was Customary for them to admit the Women into their Councils and desired to know if that was not the Custom of the White People also.”<sup>73</sup> (It was not.) As a young woman, Nanye-hi (also known as Nancy Ward) of the Cherokee earned the title of War Woman for fighting alongside her husband and rallying the warriors after his death. In the Revolution she opposed Dragging Canoe’s decision for war (see [page 231](#)), and later in life she became a “Beloved Woman,” a title reserved for highly regarded female elders. At the Treaty of Hopewell in 1785, she addressed the American and Cherokee negotiators as a “mother of warriors.” Indian women did not normally sign treaties, but they sometimes signed and presented petitions while treaties were in process, and they occasionally challenged — and even threatened — male speakers. As wives and mothers, they spoke for future generations and demanded respect.<sup>74</sup>

In the past, town councils in Cherokee society had usually been composed of men, but women had their own town council that acted in an advisory role. As the Cherokee Nation began to fracture over the difficult issue of removal, and some tribe members began to move west, Cherokee women submitted petitions to the Cherokee National Council, the all-male governing body of the tribe, making clear their position on removal, land sales, and individual allotments. In 1817 the Cherokees were being pressured to accept a plan by which thirteen thousand of their people would move west to Arkansas at Congress's expense. Before the Cherokee National Council met to consider the issue, a group of senior Cherokee women held their own council and then sent representatives to the National Council with a petition signed by Nancy Ward and a dozen other women. The men agreed with the women, but Andrew Jackson and the U.S. commissioners convinced a group of chiefs to sign a treaty whereby individual Cherokees could choose between moving to Arkansas or staying in the East on allotment. The Cherokee women submitted a second petition in 1818. Although addressed to the Cherokee National Council, it was actually intended for the white men pushing for removal.

These women had lived through huge reductions in the Cherokees' homelands (see [Map 4.8, "Cherokee Land Cessions in the Colonial and Revolutionary Eras, 1721–1785," page 227](#)). Hunting territories were the domain of Cherokee men, but, while Cherokees technically held land in common, the fields around Cherokee villages belonged to the matrilineal households of the women who

tended and grew the crops. As mothers, Cherokee women also raised past and future generations of Cherokee children on those same lands. Cherokee women spoke with a special authority and concern over sales of the land. In their second petition, addressing white men as well as Cherokee men, the women again argued the primacy of motherhood but also invoked Christian morality and pointed to the Cherokees' progress toward civilization.<sup>75</sup> It is unclear how much of an impact the women's petitions had on the National Council, but after 1819 the Cherokees ceded no more land until the fraudulent Treaty of New Echota in 1835, which the United States negotiated with a proremoval minority (see [page 265](#)). The political structures and practices established by the Cherokee constitution adopted in 1827 emulated those of the United States: women were barred from voting in elections and from holding political office.

### **CHEROKEE WOMEN *Petition* (May 2, 1817)**

The Cherokee ladys now being present at the meeting of the chiefs and warriors in council have thought it their duty as mothers to address their beloved chiefs and warriors now assembled.

Our beloved children and head men of the Cherokee Nation, we address you warriors in council. We have raised all of you on the land which we now have, which God gave us to inhabit and raise provisions. We know that our country has once been extensive, but by repeated sales has become circumscribed to a small track, and

[we] never have thought it our duty to interfere in the disposition of it till now. If a father or mother was to sell all their lands which they had to depend on, which their children had to raise their living on, which would be indeed bad & to be removed to another country. We do not wish to go to an unknown country [to] which we have understood some of our children wish to go over the Mississippi, but this act of our children would be like destroying your mothers.

Your mothers, your sisters ask and beg of you not to part with any more of our land. We say ours. You are our descendants; take pity on our request. But keep it for our growing children, for it was the good will of our creator to place us here, and you know our father, the great president,<sup>o</sup> will not allow his white children to take our country away. Only keep your hands off of paper talks for its our own country. For [if] it was not, they would not ask you to put your hands to paper, for it would be impossible to remove us all. For as soon as one child is raised, we have others in our arms, for such is our situation & will consider our circumstance.

Therefore, children, don't part with any more of our lands but continue on it & enlarge your farms. Cultivate and raise corn & cotton and your mothers and sisters will make clothing for you which our father the president has recommended to us all. We don't charge any body for selling any lands, but we have heard such intentions of our children. But your talks become true at last; it was our desire to forwarn you all not to part with our lands.

Nancy Ward to her children: Warriors to take pity and listen to the talks of your sisters. Although I am very old yet cannot but pity the situation in which you will here of their minds. I have great many grand children which [I] wish them to do well on our land.

 James Monroe.

*SOURCE:* Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, eds., *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2005), 131–33.

## **CHEROKEE WOMEN *Petition* (June 30, 1818)**

Beloved Children,

We have called a meeting among ourselves to consult on the different points now before the council, relating to our national affairs. We have heard with painful feelings that the bounds of the land we now possess are to be drawn into very narrow limits. The land was given to us by the Great Spirit above as our common right, to raise our children upon, & to make support for our rising generations. We therefore humbly petition our beloved children, the head men & warriors, to hold out to the last in support of our common rights, as the Cherokee nation have been the first settlers of this land; we therefore claim the right of the soil.

We well remember that our country was formerly very extensive, but by repeated sales it has become circumscribed to the very narrow limits we have at present. Our Father the President advised us to become farmers, to manufacture our own clothes, & to have



our children instructed. To this advice we have attended in every thing as far as we were able. Now the thought of being compelled to remove the other side of the Mississippi is dreadful to us, because it appears to us that we, by this removal, shall be brought to a savage state again, for we have, by the endeavor of our Father the President, become too much enlightened to throw aside the privileges of a civilized life.

We therefore unanimously join in our meeting to hold our country in common as hitherto.

Some of our children have become Christians. We have missionary schools among us. We have heard the gospel in our nation. We have become civilized & enlightened, & are in hopes that in a few years our nation will be prepared for instruction in other branches of sciences & arts, which are both useful & necessary in civilized society.

There are some white men among us who have been raised in this country from their youth, are connected with us by marriage, & have considerable families, who are very active in encouraging the emigration of our nation. These ought to be our truest friends but prove our worst enemies. They seem to be only concerned how to increase their riches, but do not care what becomes of our Nation, nor even of their own wives and children.

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. What reasons did the Cherokee women present to support their position and to justify their participation in the political debate?
2. What language did the Cherokee petitioners employ to represent their special, even sacred, relationship to the land? What did they mean when they wrote that moving west would be “like destroying your mothers”?
3. Does the tone of the petitions suggest anything about gender relations and the relative positions of Cherokee women in their respective societies?

## Foundations of Federal Indian Law and a Native Response



AMERICANS WHO ADVOCATED THE REMOVAL of the Cherokees and their neighbors from the southeastern United States to new homes west of the Mississippi often justified that removal on the grounds that the Indians were, after all, “savages.” Such assertions ignored the realities of Cherokee culture, Cherokee history, and Cherokee success in adapting to the demands of American mores in the early nineteenth century. The Cherokees created and

participated in a republican form of government modeled on the U.S. Constitution, and they built a capital at New Echota with impressive public buildings. Their response to Georgia's assault on their society and government was to provide testimony to the degree to which Cherokees had adapted and incorporated the "civilized ways" of their non-Indian neighbors. The Cherokees did not resort to violence, striking the war post as Dragging Canoe and his followers had done more than half a century earlier — they took Georgia to court.

Since colonial times, Indians had used British colonial and U.S. courts to seek legal protection and redress of grievances. But the Cherokees were the first to bring a case to the U.S. Supreme Court. They hired as their lawyer former attorney general of the United States William Wirt. Wirt sought an injunction to stop Georgia from executing or enforcing its laws in Cherokee country. The sitting chief justice, John Marshall, had presided over the Supreme Court since 1801, and he consciously used his position to mold the evolving law of the young nation. Despite the precedents of English, colonial, natural, and international law, Marshall believed that "the United States had to have an *American* law developed by American jurists attending to American needs." The Cherokee cases — ***Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*** (1831) and ***Worcester v. Georgia*** (1832) — have been called "the central fury of . . . one of the greatest constitutional crises in the history of the nation." Marshall used the Cherokee cases that came before the Court "to establish the legal

doctrine . . . of an American law of United States–Native American relations.”<sup>76</sup>

In an earlier case, *Johnson v. McIntosh* (1823), Marshall had restricted tribal rights to transfer lands only to the U.S. government. In a case marked by collusion, Marshall declared that Indians possessed only a right of occupancy but that Europeans had acquired ownership by right of discovery and that the United States had inherited that ownership. “Discovery converted the indigenous owners of discovered lands into tenants on those lands.” They could lease or sell land, but only to the discovering sovereign. In 1823 that meant they could sell their lands only to the United States. It was a doctrine with disastrous consequences for Native people in America and around the world.<sup>77</sup> In *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, the Supreme Court found that it lacked original jurisdiction, but Justice Marshall tried to define the exact status of the Cherokees — and by extension all Indian tribes — within the United States. The Cherokees and other Native tribes in the United States, he decided, were “domestic dependent nations” who had retained some aspects of their sovereignty through treaties. He likened the Indians’ relationship to the government to that between a ward and a guardian. However, without a strong show of federal power to enforce U.S. laws protecting tribal sovereignty, the Cherokees were vulnerable to Georgia’s strong antisovereignty position. “Marshall’s opinion,” writes one legal scholar, “was a feeble gesture compared with Georgia’s dramatic assertion of state power when it hung Corn Tassel.”<sup>78</sup> (For more on the case of Corn Tassel, see [page 264](#).)

In 1832 the Cherokees succeeded in getting their case into the Supreme Court via a U.S. citizen. Samuel Worcester, a missionary from Vermont, defied a law passed by the Georgia legislature requiring non-Indians living in Cherokee country to take an oath of allegiance to Georgia. Worcester and another missionary, Elihu Butler, were arrested and sentenced to four years of hard labor. Worcester and Butler petitioned the Supreme Court, which accepted the case. As in *Cherokee Nation*, Georgia refused to appear. Marshall, seventy-five years old and in poor health, took just two weeks to write the Court's opinion. In March 1832 the Supreme Court rendered its decision in *Worcester v. Georgia*. Worcester's arrest, said Marshall, was illegal. Georgia had no authority to execute its laws within an Indian nation protected under the treaty clause of the U.S. Constitution. The Cherokee Nation was "a distinct community, occupying its own territory . . . in which the law of Georgia can have no right to enter but with the assent of the Cherokees."

The cases clearly asserted the authority of the federal government, but where did they leave the legal status of the Cherokees? Georgia refused to release the missionaries and openly defied the Court. President Andrew Jackson had no intention of executing the law in this case, and the two missionaries remained in prison until 1833, when a new governor released them. Georgia continued its campaign to undermine Cherokee government. Many Cherokees and their supporters came to believe that in winning their Supreme Court victory they had, in fact, lost their last battle.

Even so, John Marshall's opinions established the legal foundation for the existence of Indian tribes within the borders of the United States. Indians were to be considered domestic, dependent nations, but Indian country had distinct legal boundaries within which state law did not apply. As John Wunder notes in his study of Indians and the Bill of Rights, some of the chickens hatched in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* came home to roost in modern times: "Whereas nineteenth-century law focused on defining 'domestic' and 'dependent' for nineteenth-century audiences anxious to take Indian lands, twentieth-century courts after World War II expanded the meaning of 'nation.'"<sup>79</sup> Law professor Charles F. Wilkinson regards *Worcester* as "one of the Supreme Court's most lasting statements." Its principles are fundamental to understanding modern Indian law and the modern Court's protective stance toward Indian self-government: "Tribes are sovereign nations with broad inherent powers that, almost without exception, exist by dint of inherent right, not by delegation."<sup>80</sup>

Marshall's opinions in *Cherokee Nation* and *Worcester* thus define the status of Indian tribes in the United States. *Cherokee Nation* defines the tribes' relationship to the federal government, *Worcester* their relationship to the states. Tribes are under the protection of the federal government, but they possess sufficient sovereignty to defend themselves from intrusion by the states.<sup>81</sup>

The federal government, of course, has not always carried out its responsibility to protect tribal sovereignty against state encroachment, but legal relationships — and the existence of federal, state, and tribal jurisdictions — laid out in *Cherokee Nation* and *Worcester* are keys to understanding many aspects of U.S.–Indian affairs in the past and many developments in Indian country today.

Marshall's ruling in *Worcester* represented a major — but short-lived — victory for Cherokee chief John Ross, who had fought long and hard against passage of the Indian Removal Act. As he wrote to Davy Crockett, who as Democratic congressman from Tennessee had broken party ranks and voted against the removal bill, Ross lived in hope that humanity and justice would ultimately prevail over greed, intrigue, and corruption. “Whether this day will come in time to save the suffering Cherokees from violence and fraud, it is for wisdom, magnanimity & justice of the United States to determine.”<sup>82</sup> The Supreme Court decision was a victory for justice, but Ross knew all too well the forces and interests arrayed against the Cherokees.

In 1992 the Georgia State Board of Pardons and Paroles acted “to remove a stain on the history of criminal justice in Georgia”; 160 years after *Worcester v. Georgia*, the board issued full and unconditional pardons to Samuel Worcester and Elihu Butler.<sup>83</sup>

## **JOHN MARSHALL *Cherokee Nation v. State of Georgia* (1831) and *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832)**

CHEROKEE NATION V. STATE OF GEORGIA

Mr. Chief Justice Marshall delivered the opinion of the court:

This bill is brought by the Cherokee Nation, praying an injunction to restrain the State of Georgia from the execution of certain laws of that State, which as it is alleged, go directly to annihilate the Cherokees as a political society, and to seize, for the use of Georgia, the lands of the nation which have been assured to them by the United States in solemn treaties repeatedly made and still in force.

If the courts were permitted to indulge their sympathies, a case better calculated to excite them can scarcely be imagined. A people once numerous, powerful, and truly independent, found by our ancestors in the quiet and uncontrolled possession of an ample domain, gradually sinking beneath our superior policy, our arts and our arms, have yielded their lands by successive treaties, each of which contains a solemn guarantee of the residue, until they retain no more of their formerly extensive territory than is deemed necessary to their comfortable subsistence. To preserve this remnant the present application is made.

Before we can look into the merits of the case, a preliminary inquiry presents itself. Has this court jurisdiction of the cause?



The third article of the Constitution describes the extent of the judicial power. The second section closes an enumeration of the cases to which it is extended, with “controversies” “between the State or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.” A subsequent clause of the same section gives the Supreme Court original jurisdiction in all cases in which a state shall be a party. The party defendant may then unquestionably be sued in this court. May the plaintiff sue in it? Is the Cherokee Nation a foreign state in the sense in which that term is used in the Constitution?

The counsel for the plaintiffs have maintained the affirmative of this proposition with great earnestness and ability. So much of the argument as was intended to prove the character of the Cherokees as a State, as a distinct political society separated from others, capable of managing its own affairs and governing itself, has, in the opinion of a majority of the judges, been completely successful. They have been uniformly treated as a State from the settlement of our country. The numerous treaties made with them by the United States recognize them as a people capable of maintaining the relations of peace and war, of being responsible in their political character for any violation of their engagements, or for any aggression committed on the citizens of the United States by any individual of their community. Laws have been enacted in the spirit of these treaties. The acts of our government plainly recognize the Cherokee Nation as a State, and the courts are bound by those acts.

A question of much more difficulty remains. Do the Cherokees constitute a foreign state in the sense of the Constitution?

The counsel have shown conclusively that they are not a State of the Union, and have insisted that individually they are aliens, not owing allegiance to the United States. An aggregate of aliens composing a State must, they say be a foreign state. Each individual being foreign, the whole must be foreign.

This argument is imposing, but we must examine it more closely before we yield to it. The condition of the Indians in relation to the United States is perhaps unlike that of any other two people in existence. In the general, nations not owing a common allegiance are foreign to each other. The term "foreign nation" is, with strict propriety, applicable by either to the other. But the relation of the Indians to the United States is marked by peculiar and cardinal distinctions which exist nowhere else.

The Indian Territory is admitted to compose part of the United States. In all our maps, geographical treaties, histories and laws, it is so considered. In all our intercourse with foreign nations, in our commercial regulations, in any attempt at intercourse between Indians, and foreign nations, they are considered as within the jurisdictional limits of the United States, subject to many of those restraints which are imposed upon our own citizens. They acknowledge themselves in their treaties to be under the protection of the United States; they admit that the United States shall have the

sole and exclusive right of regulating the trade with them, and managing all their affairs as they think proper; and the Cherokees in particular were allowed by the treaty of Hopewell, which preceded the Constitution, “to send a deputy of their choice, whenever they think fit, to Congress.” Treaties were made with some tribes by the State of New York under a then unsettled construction of the confederation, by which they ceded all their lands to that State, taking back a limited grant to themselves, in which they admit their dependence.

Though the Indians are acknowledged to have an unquestionable, and, heretofore, unquestioned right to the lands they occupy until that right shall be extinguished by a voluntary cession to our government, yet it may well be doubted whether those tribes which reside within the acknowledged boundaries of the United States can, with strict accuracy, be denominated foreign nations. They may, more correctly, perhaps, be denominated domestic dependent nations. They occupy a territory to which we assert a title independent of their will, which must take effect in point of possession when their right of possession ceases. Meanwhile they are in a state of pupilage. Their relation to the United States resembles that of a ward to his guardian.

They look to our government for protection; rely upon its kindness and its power; appeal to it for relief to their wants; and address the President as their great father. They and their country are considered by foreign nations, as well as by ourselves, as being

so completely under the sovereignty and dominion of the United States, that any attempt to acquire their lands, or to form a political connection with them, would be considered by all as an invasion of our territory, and an act of hostility.

These considerations go far to support the opinion that the framers of our Constitution had not the Indian tribes in view when they opened the courts of the Union to controversies between a State or the citizens thereof, and foreign states.

In considering this subject, the habits and usages of the Indians in their intercourse with their white neighbors ought not to be entirely disregarded. At the time the Constitution was framed, the idea of appealing to an American court of justice for an assertion of right or a redress of wrong, had perhaps never entered the mind of an Indian or of his tribe. Their appeal was to the tomahawk, or to the government. This was well understood by the statesmen who framed the Constitution of the United States, and might furnish some reason for omitting to enumerate them among the parties who might sue in the courts of the Union. Be this as it may, the peculiar relations between the United States and the Indians occupying our territory are such that we should feel much difficulty in considering them as designated by the term "foreign State," were there no other part of the Constitution which might shed light on the meaning of these words. But we think that in construing them, considerable aid is furnished by that clause in the eighth section of the third article, which empowers Congress to "regulate commerce

with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes.”

In this clause they are as clearly contradistinguished by a name appropriate to themselves from foreign nations as from the several States composing the Union. They are designated by a distinct appellation; and as this appellation can be applied to neither of the others, neither can the appellation distinguishing either of the others be in fair construction applied to them. The objects to which the power of regulating commerce might be directed, are divided into three distinct classes — foreign nations, the several States, and Indian tribes. When forming this article, the convention considered them as entirely distinct. We cannot assume that the distinction was lost in framing a subsequent article, unless there be something in its language to authorize the assumption.

#### WORCESTER V. GEORGIA

The Indian nations had always been considered as distinct, independent political communities, retaining their original natural rights, as the undisputed possessors of the soil from time immemorial, with the single exception of that imposed by irresistible power, which excluded them from intercourse with any other European potentate than the first discoverer of the coast of the particular region claimed: and this was a restriction which those European potentates imposed on themselves, as well as on the Indians. The very term “nation,” so generally applied to them,

means “a people distinct from others.” The Constitution, by declaring treaties already made, as well as those to be made, to be the supreme law of the land, has adopted and sanctioned the previous treaties with the Indian nations, and consequently admits their rank among those powers who are capable of making treaties. The words “treaty” and “nation” are words of our own language, selected in our diplomatic and legislative proceedings, by ourselves, having each a definite and well understood meaning. We have applied them to Indians, as we have applied them to the other nations of the earth. They are applied to all in the same sense.

Georgia herself has furnished conclusive evidence that her former opinions on this subject concurred with those entertained by her sister States, and by the government of the United States. Various acts of her Legislature have been cited in the argument, including the contract of cession made in the year 1802,<sup>o</sup> all tending to prove her acquiescence in the universal conviction that the Indian nations possessed a full right to the lands they occupied, until that right should be extinguished by the United States, with their consent; that their territory was separated from that of any State within whose chartered limits they might reside, by a boundary line, established by treaties; that, within their boundary, they possessed rights with which no State could interfere, and that the whole power of regulating the intercourse with them was vested in the United States. A review of these acts, on the part of Georgia, would occupy too much time, and is the less necessary because they have been accurately detailed in the argument at the bar. Her

new series of laws, manifesting her abandonment of these opinions, appears to have commenced in December, 1828.

In opposition to this original right, possessed by the undisputed occupants of every country; to this recognition of that right, which is evidenced by our history, in every change through which we have passed, is placed the charters granted by the monarch of a distant and distinct region, parceling out a territory in possession of others whom he could not remove and did not attempt to remove, and the cession made of his claims by the Treaty of Peace.

The actual state of things at the time, and all history since, explain these charters; and the King of Great Britain, at the Treaty of Peace, could cede only what belonged to his crown. These newly asserted titles can derive no aid from the articles so often repeated in Indian treaties; extending to them, first, the protection of Great Britain, and afterwards that of the United States. These articles are associated with others, recognizing their title to self-government. The very fact of repeated treaties with them recognizes it; and the settled doctrine of the law of nations is that a weaker power does not surrender its independence — its right to self-government, by associating with a stronger and taking its protection. A weak State in order to provide for its safety, may place itself under the protection of one more powerful without stripping itself of the right of government, and ceasing to be a State. Examples of this kind are not wanting in Europe. “Tributary and feudatory states,” says Vattel,  
- “do not thereby cease to be sovereign and independent states so

long as self-government and sovereign and independent authority are left in the administration of the state.” At the present day, more than one State may be considered as holding its right of self-government under the guaranty and protection of one or more allies.

The Cherokee nation, then, is a distinct community, occupying its own territory, with boundaries accurately described, in which the laws of Georgia can have no force, and which the citizens of Georgia have no right to enter but with the assent of the Cherokees themselves or in conformity with treaties and with the acts of Congress. The whole intercourse between the United States and this nation is, by our Constitution and laws, vested in the government of the United States.

The act of the State of Georgia under which the plaintiff in error was prosecuted is consequently void, and the judgment a nullity.

<sup>o</sup> The Compact of 1802, by which Georgia ceded her western land claims to the federal government. See [page 258](#).

<sup>o</sup> Emer de Vattel (1714–67), a Swiss diplomat.

*SOURCE:* Supreme Court of the United States, 1831. 30 U.S. (5 Pet.) 1, 8 L.Ed. 25. Supreme Court of the United States, 1832. 31 U.S. (6 Pet.) 515, 8 L.Ed. 583.

**JOHN ROSS *Reactions to Worcester v. Georgia: Letter to Richard Taylor, John Baldrige, Sleeping Rabbit, Sicketowee, and Wahachee (April 28, 1832)***



My Friends,

. . . The Supreme Court in the case of Worcester & Butler vs. the State of Georgia has determined the question of our national rights as fully as can be. The decision is final & cannot be revoked: but the course of legal proceedings is necessarily attended with tardiness, consequently should the authorities of Georgia, refuse, as they have done, to release immediately those much injured imprisoned gentlemen, and continue still to arrest & oppress our citizens, we should not be discouraged, because the President, out of his disappointment, may still pursue a political course towards us, under the hope that by withholding from us the protection of the government, a Treaty may yet be effected previous to the time when it shall become his imperious duty to act for the enforcement of this decision of the Supreme Court [in *Worcester v. Georgia*]. The conflict is now between the United States & Georgia. The final issue ere long will be seen. Should Georgia prevail, the Union of the States is dissolved: but should the United States regard the constitutional liberties guaranteed to their citizens, Georgia must submit to see the Cherokees triumph over their oppressions under her usurped authority; therefore, let the people endure patiently to await the final result. We have gained a great point and they should be watchful over the conduct of such disappointed traitors as may be found amongst them. Thro' the false impressions made by them upon the government, our sufferings have been prolonged, and protections withheld from us. Our country is again full of surveyors who are engaged by the authorities of Georgia, to run out a large

portion of our Territory into small lots. This illegal proceeding can have no effect to weaken our national rights, even should they proceed so far as to draw for the lands: the title granted by the drawer of lots<sup>o</sup> will not be valid, unless our national title be first extinguished by a Treaty with the United States, which contingency can never take place, if our people continue to remain firm & be united in the support of our common interests. I cannot believe that the General Government would allow Georgia to go so far as to draw for and *occupy our lands by force*. The President has repeatedly said to us, that the Cherokees will be *protected in their territorial possessions*; and he has also boasted of never having told a red brother a lie, nor ever having spoke to them with a forked tongue. We have a right, however, to judge of this bravado for ourselves from his own acts. The decision of the Supreme Court, under the Treaties, Laws & Constitution, is the strong shield by which our rights must be respected & protected; and under any other administration than Gen. Jackson, there would be no trouble or difficulty on the subject. Even under his, the crisis is at hand to induce him to act otherwise than he had done, or else his political career will be prostrated. I beseech the people to continue to be patient, firm & united & to have as little intercourse with the white intruders in our country as possible, & above all things, to discountenance & refrain from the introduction & use of ardent spirits. A tippling shop is the fountain from which every species of evil that befalls our citizens & our country flows; and it should be spurned & shunned as the bosom of desolation, by every true friend to humanity & patriotism.

Your friend

John Ross

° Georgia awarded Cherokee lands to its citizens by lottery.

SOURCE: John Ross, *The Papers of Chief John Ross* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 2:242–43. Reproduced with permission of University of Oklahoma Press in the format Republish in a book via Copyright Clearance Center.

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. What do the Marshall and Ross documents reveal about the status of Indian nations in the United States? Identify key passages and consider their bearing on the standing and sovereignty of Indian tribes.
2. How does John Marshall define the place of Indian tribes in the federal constitutional system?
3. Which of Marshall's statements about Indian rights and sovereignty seem to be most important — and most relevant to the political aspirations of Indian peoples today?

# PICTURE ESSAY

## Indian Life on the Upper Missouri: A Catlin/Bodmer Portfolio



THEIR CENTRAL IMPORTANCE AS THE HUB of intersecting trade networks ensured that the villages of the Mandans and Hidatsas received a regular stream of visitors. Indians from dozens of other tribes went there to trade and smoke; French, Canadian, and Spanish traders centered their operations there; and Lewis and Clark wintered there in 1804–5. In the early 1830s, the Swiss artist Karl Bodmer and the American artist George Catlin both traveled up the Missouri River, stopped off at the Mandan villages and other locations, and painted portraits of Indian people and scenes of Indian life much as Lewis and Clark would have seen them thirty years earlier.

Catlin, a Pennsylvania lawyer-turned-artist, made several trips to the West, including a voyage up the Missouri River in 1832. In 1837–38, he exhibited more than six hundred paintings and his collection of Indian artifacts in eastern cities, and he hoped to sell his “Indian

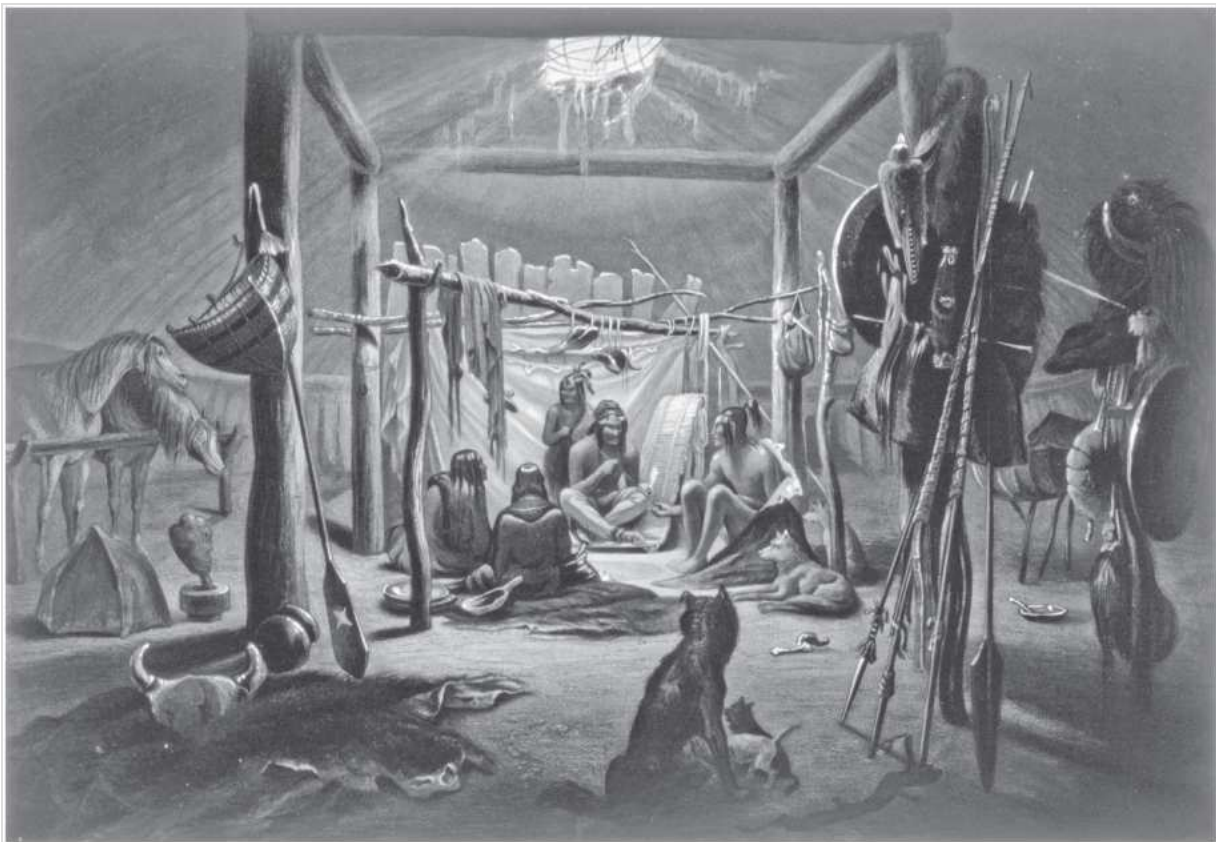
gallery” to Congress for a national museum. Failing to gain congressional support, he tried his luck in Europe, but was finally forced to sell his collection to meet his debts. Many of his sketches and paintings appeared as illustrations to his published accounts of travel among the Indians of the West.<sup>[84](#)</sup>

Karl Bodmer traveled up the Missouri in 1833. He had been hired by a German prince, Maximilian of Wied, to accompany him on a scientific tour of the United States. Bodmer’s watercolors and sketches illustrated the prince’s account of his travels, published in German in 1839 and in English in 1840.<sup>[85](#)</sup>

Between them, these two artists left an invaluable visual record of Indian life on the upper Missouri in the years just before the smallpox epidemic of 1837 devastated the tribes and virtually annihilated the Mandans. They depicted the earth-lodge villages of the Mandans and their neighbors and scenes of everyday life inside these lodges, such as Lewis and Clark would have experienced during their winter sojourn.

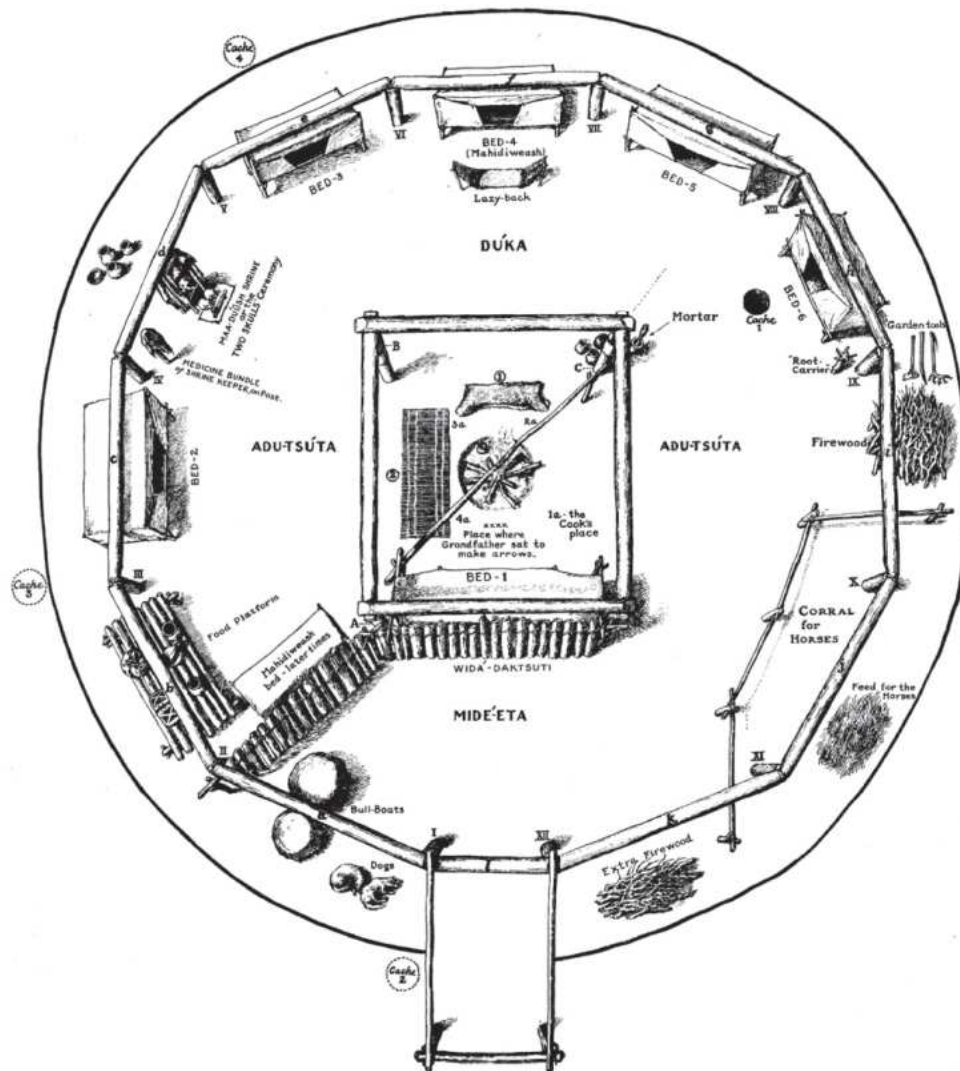
Bodmer’s painting of the interior of a Mandan earth lodge ([Figure 5.1](#)) shows the occupants sitting on buffalo robes between the four central posts and under the open skylight. ([Figure 5.2](#) is a diagrammatic sketch of the interior of such a lodge, which shows how space was organized and allocated in these communities.) The lodge housed an extended family and contains their valued possessions, including prized horses. The men’s weapons lean

against a post in the foreground. Mandan women were the producers of food — a wooden mortar and pestle used for grinding corn and large baskets in the background testify to the food supplies that supported the tribe's prosperity and trade system. Catlin and Bodmer both recorded pictures of Mandan women. Shakoha, or Mint, whom Catlin calls “a pretty girl with piercing black eyes” ([Figure 5.3](#)), was twelve years old when Catlin painted her in 1832, but he said she was already famous for her conquests.<sup>86</sup>



GRANGER — All rights reserved.

♦ Figure 5.1 Karl Bodmer, *The Interior of the Hut of a Mandan Chief*



American Museum of Natural History Library.

♦ Figure 5.2 Diagram of the Interior of an Earth Lodge



Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, DC/Art Resource, NY.

♦ Figure 5.3 George Catlin, *Mint, a Pretty Girl*

In his painting of Pehriska-Ruhpa or Two Ravens, Bodmer shows a Hidatsa warrior of the Dog Society ([Figure 5.4](#)). Two Ravens wears a headdress of owl, raven, and magpie feathers, designed to be seen in motion, an eagle bone whistle hangs from his neck, and he carries a rattle made of small hooves in one hand and bow and arrows in the other. Bodmer did a watercolor of the subject but reworked it for publication as an engraving, adding motion to the figure and meticulous detail to the costume. “I have long considered this the finest full-length portrait of an Indian I have seen,” wrote a scholar of northern Plains art and history.<sup>[87](#)</sup>





Medicine man of the Mandan tribe in the costume of the Dog Dance, 1834 (colour litho)/Bodmer, Karl (1809–93)/PETER NEWARK'S PICTURES/Private Collection/Bridgeman Images.

◆ Figure 5.4 Karl Bodmer, *Pehriska-Ruhpa, Moennitarri Warrior, in the Costume of the Dog Dance*

No matter their firsthand experiences, the artists also shared and shaped the prejudices and perspectives of their time. They regarded Indians as part of a vanishing frontier, doomed as “civilization” engulfed their world. Catlin’s paintings of the Assiniboiné chief Ah-jon-jon ([Figure 5.5](#)), also known as the Light (or, according to Catlin, Pigeon’s Egg Head), exemplify this view. Catlin saw Ah-jon-jon in St. Louis in 1832 when the chief was on his way to Washington as part of a delegation from the upper Missouri; he saw him again as a fellow passenger on the steamboat *Yellow Stone*, heading back up the Missouri on his return home. Struck by the transformation in

Ah-jon-jon, Catlin painted a full-length, two-figure oil portrait depicting the contrast. Military coat, top hat, high-heeled boots, and white gloves have replaced buckskins, headdress, and moccasins. In Catlin's portrait, the Indian has lost his dignified bearing and cuts a ridiculous figure as he returns home with an umbrella, a fan, and a rum bottle in his coat pocket. In Catlin's view, Ah-jon-jon was an Indian "betrayed by civilization."



Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, DC/Art Resource, NY.

◆ Figure 5.5 George Catlin, *Pigeon's Egg Head (The Light) Going to and Returning from Washington*

Ah-jon-jon came to a tragic end. He acted as the government hoped Indian delegates to the capital would and tried to convince his people of the superiority of American power by describing the wonders he had seen in the East. His people came to regard him as a braggart, and the chief was eventually killed by one of his own tribe.<sup>88</sup> It seemed as if Catlin's assessment of the impact of contact with "civilization" was accurate. Ah-jon-jon passed into recorded history as a victim and as something of a fool.

Ah-jon-jon's present-day descendants remember a different man and a more complex personality, however, and Catlin's assumption that outward forms of cultural borrowing represent cultural suicide was too simple. Ah-jon-jon may have alienated people with his stories and his boasting, but he discarded his fancy clothes soon after he returned home. Every year thousands of people from the eastern United States visit the West and stagger home in cowboy hats and boots without abandoning their eastern way of life. It might be more accurate to see Ah-jon-jon as a tourist rather than a symbol of a disappearing way of life.

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. What do the pictures and diagram reveal about Mandan and Hidatsa social organization?
2. What do Catlin and Bodmer, two outsiders, manage to convey about Indian life on the upper Missouri?
3. Which aspects of Indian life do the artists seem to have been most interested in?

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CHAPTER 6

# Defending the West

1840–1890



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## FOCUS QUESTION

When evaluating American expansion between 1840 and 1890 from the perspective of American Indians, what factors explain how the West was lost?

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### 1837–1840

Smallpox epidemic on the northern Plains

### 1840

Comanche delegates murdered at peace council in Texas

### 1845

Texas enters the Union

### 1846–1848

War with Mexico; Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo; Mexico cedes most of the present-day Southwest to the United States

**1848**

Gold discovered in California; produces massive decline in California Indian population

**1849**

Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) transferred from War Department to new Department of the Interior

**1849–1850**

Cholera epidemic on the Great Plains

**1851**

Treaty of Fort Laramie establishes tribal boundaries on the Plains

**1853**

Gadsden Purchase acquires additional Indian lands from Mexico

**1855**

Rogue River and Yakima wars in the Northwest

**1861–1865**

American Civil War

**1862**

“Great Sioux Uprising” in Minnesota

**1863**

Bear River massacre of Shoshonis in present-day Idaho

**1864**

Sand Creek massacre of Cheyennes and Arapahos in Colorado

**1864**

Navajo "Long Walk" to Bosque Redondo

**1866–1867**

"Red Cloud's War" to close the Bozeman Trail

**1867**

United States purchases Alaska from Russia

**1867**

Indian Peace Commission established

**1867**

Treaty of Medicine Lodge between the United States and southern Plains tribes

**1867–1883**

Slaughter of the buffalo herds

**1868**

Navajo Indian Reservation created

**1868**

Second Treaty of Fort Laramie

**1869**

Ely S. Parker becomes the first Indian to head the BIA

**1869**

First transcontinental railroad completed

**1869–1870**

Smallpox epidemic on the northern Plains

**1870**

Marias River massacre of Blackfeet in Montana

**1871**

Congress terminates treaty making with Indian tribes

**1871**

Over one hundred Aravaipa Apaches murdered at Camp Grant

**1872–1873**

Modoc War in California and Oregon

**1874–1875**

Red River War on the southern Plains

**1876**

Sioux and Cheyenne defeat Seventh Cavalry at Little Bighorn

**1876**

American troops destroy Cheyenne villages in Montana and Wyoming, send surviving Cheyennes to Indian Territory

**1877**

Crazy Horse assassinated

**1877**

Congress annexes the Black Hills

**1877**

Nez Perce War and flight

**1877**

U.S. government forcibly removes members of the Ponca tribe from Nebraska to Indian Territory

**1878**

Northern Cheyennes attempt to return north to Montana

**1881**

Sitting Bull surrenders

**1886**

End of Apache military resistance; U.S. military conquest of the West is complete

**1890**

Ghost Dance religion spreads to the Lakotas

**1890**

Sitting Bull assassinated

**1890**

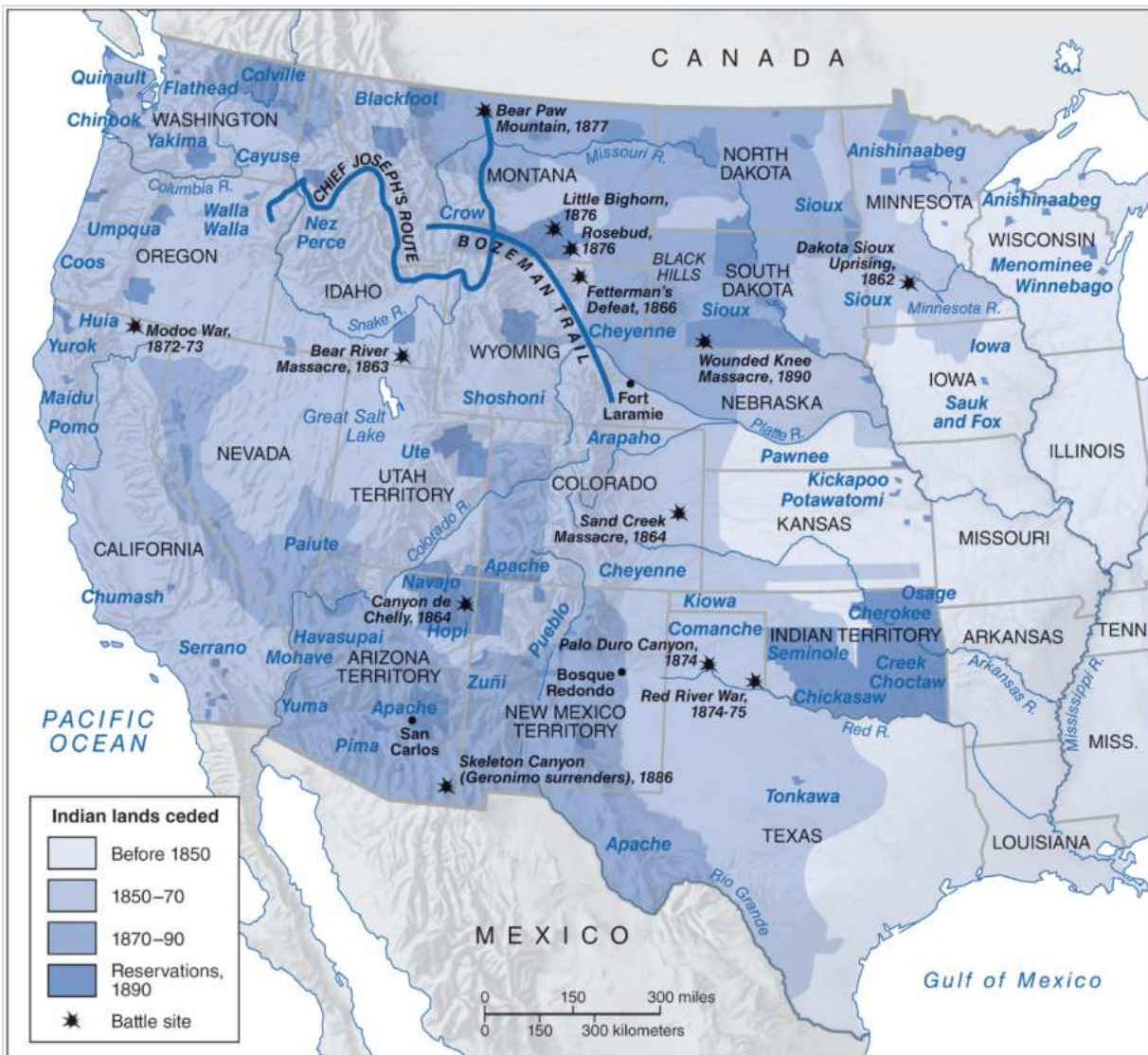
Wounded Knee massacre

# INVADERS FROM THE EAST: INCURSIONS BEFORE THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

THE AMERICAN WEST in 1840 was still Indian country. But as American expansion gathered pace, the doctrine of Manifest Destiny<sup>o</sup> proclaimed that Americans had a God-given right to occupy all land west to the Pacific and a duty to extend the blessings of American democracy to the peoples already living there, whether Mexican or Indian. Between 1840 and 1890, when the U.S. Census Bureau declared the frontier officially “closed,” the American nation underwent massive and rapid expansion across the trans-Mississippi West. American forces defeated Indians and Mexicans, American settlers and ranchers occupied the lands of displaced peoples, American miners extracted resources, American railroad companies linked East and West, and American hunters cleared the plains of buffalo, making way for American cattle. In many history books and in popular culture, these events represented the *winning* of the West; the people who were pushed aside, however, saw their West being lost, not won. Americans then and since depicted Indian resistance as a futile effort to stem the tide of civilization and hold back the future; Indians who fought and died, however, did so to

defend their homelands, families, and ways of life and to try to ensure that their people survived in the future.

Eighteenth-century European traders had penetrated the West in small numbers, followed by American explorers in the early nineteenth century, but the first actual invading forces to come from the East were Indians. In the 1830s, Indians expelled from their eastern homelands by U.S. removal policies migrated into areas of present-day Oklahoma, Arkansas, Kansas, and Missouri. Like the Americans who followed, the Cherokee, Creek, Shawnee, Potawatomi, and other Indian emigrants did not enter a static situation; they added to the far-reaching changes already taking place in Indian country and encountered Indian peoples who had been contesting among themselves for generations. They came into conflict with local tribes like the Osages, who were pushed into increased conflict with Comanche enemies to their southwest. Southern Plains Indians resisted the invasion of their homelands by the “Five Civilized Tribes”<sup>o</sup> from the Southeast.<sup>1</sup> But white Americans were not far behind: the expanding power of the Comanches on the southern Plains and of the Lakota Sioux in the north would soon clash head-on with the expanding power of the United States. As Americans spread from coast to coast, they seized Indian lands by war and treaties until only a small fraction of the tribal homelands remained in Native possession ([Map 6.1](#)).



Calloway, *First Peoples*, 6e, © 2019 Bedford/St. Martin's

#### ◆ Map 6.1 Conflicts with the United States and Indian Land Cessions, 1850–1890

The rapid expansion of the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century demanded the defeat and dispossession of the Indian peoples living in the West. By 1890, Indian military resistance was broken, and Indian homelands were reduced to a fraction of their original size.

◌ The term “manifest destiny” was first coined by newspaperman John L. Sullivan in 1845, but it was a concept that had grown from the beginning of the century.



<sup>2</sup> The Five Civilized Tribes comprised the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles.

## The Ravages of Disease

Smallpox was a regular visitor to the American West after the great pandemic of 1779–84, repeatedly devastating Indian communities (see [“Smallpox Used Them Up,” pages 221–23](#)). Smallpox struck the Missouri valley again in 1801–2: Lewis and Clark passed deserted villages on their voyage upriver in 1804. Disease struck the sedentary tribes harder than the nomads, further shifting the balance of power in the region from river peoples like the Mandans and Hidatsas to Plains groups like the Lakotas. But nomads also suffered terribly. As many as four thousand Comanches died in a smallpox epidemic in 1816; another epidemic hit the Sioux in 1819. Half of the Pawnees died in an epidemic on the central Plains in the early 1830s.

The Mandan trading villages along the upper Missouri River in North Dakota were particularly susceptible. Their location at the center of a trade network on the Missouri River guaranteed that Mandans received germs as well as goods from Europeans. The Mandans' population, as many as 15,000 when the French met them in 1738, declined steadily. They suffered heavily during the 1779–81 pandemic and probably numbered no more than 2,000 by the summer of 1837. Then, in June 1837, an American steamboat

carrying smallpox docked at the Mandan villages. Within a few weeks, fever appeared. Soon people were dying by the hundreds. “I Keep no a/c of the dead, as they die so fast it is impossible,” wrote Francis Chardon, a trader at Fort Clark near the Mandan villages, as he watched his customers succumb to the epidemic. By October, only 138 Mandans remained.<sup>2</sup>

Between 1837 and 1840, the disease spread thousands of miles and killed thousands of people: half of the Assiniboines, two-thirds of the Blackfeet, half of the Arikaras, a third of the Crows, and perhaps a quarter of the Pawnees. At Fort Union, where the Yellowstone River meets the Missouri, a trader reported “such a stench in the fort that it could be smelt at a distance of 300 yards.” So many Assiniboines died that bodies were buried in large pits until the ground froze, after which there was no choice but “to throw them into the river.”<sup>3</sup> A Kiowa winter count recorded 1839–40 as a year of smallpox on the southern Plains (see [“Sixty Years of Kiowa History,” pages 330–33](#)).

The discovery of gold in California in 1848 brought increased migrant traffic across the Plains. European immigrants on the overland trails brought more diseases to the Indian communities. Cholera, measles, and scarlet fever were soon adding to the toll of deaths. “If I could see this thing, if I knew where it came from, I would go there and fight it,” cried an anguished Cheyenne warrior as cholera raged through the tribe in 1849.<sup>4</sup> Smallpox hit the Blackfeet again in 1869 and continued to ravage Indian country into the next

century. The American military conquest of the West took place in the wake of biological disasters that had reduced Indian power to resist and, for some pockmarked survivors who watched loved ones die horrible deaths, the will to live. Those who did survive had to deal with more and more American intruders as the United States pushed west to realize its “**Manifest Destiny**” and occupy the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific.



Library of Congress, LC-DIG-ppmsca-09855.

♦ John Gast, *American Progress*, 1872

Gast's famous painting was widely disseminated as a commercial color print and helped to establish ideas and assumptions about American expansion, technological progress, and the inevitable exit from the American stage of Indians and wild animals as “civilization” advanced westward.

# Ethnic Cleansing in Texas, c. 1836–48

Before the war with Mexico in 1846–48, the region that today constitutes the American Southwest was claimed first by Spain, then Mexico, when in reality the land had long belonged to Indian peoples. In Texas, in addition to farming tribes like the Caddos with a deep historic presence in the area, nomadic peoples like the Kiowas, Comanches, and Lipan Apaches vied for dominance. Not only did these Indian nations remain independent on the northern frontiers of Mexico, but they also were actually expanding. They incorporated other Native peoples into their societies and, in some cases, pushed back the Hispanic frontier. The movement of Indian nations, the emergence and competition of the Mexican and American nation-states, and the intrusion of new economic forces made the southern Plains a volatile region in which people shifted loyalties, and sometimes identities, according to changing circumstances, opportunities, and imperatives.<sup>5</sup> As it had throughout the eighteenth century, Indian power shaped the outcome of imperial struggles. Comanches and neighboring tribes who had raided south of the Rio Grande for years escalated their incursions in the 1830s and 1840s. Their attacks diverted and drained Mexican resources, drove away Mexican settlers, left whole areas devastated, and generated political instability. By the time

American armies marched in, the Comanches, Kiowas, and Apaches had rendered Mexico's northern provinces ripe for conquest.<sup>6</sup>

After Texans won their independence from Mexico in 1836, Sam Houston became the first president of the Republic of Texas. Houston tried to pursue a policy of negotiation in dealing with Indians, especially with immigrant Cherokees, Shawnees, and Delawares, who he hoped might form a buffer between Texan settlements and raiding Comanches, Kiowas, and other Plains tribes. But in 1838 Mireau B. Lamar, a Texan from Georgia, became president. Lamar despised Houston and his conciliatory Indian policy, and he initiated a policy of ethnic cleansing to drive all Indians out of Texas. Indians and whites could not live side by side, said Lamar; "the proper policy to be pursued toward the barbarian race is absolute expulsion from the country."

Anglo-Texans drove the Cherokees and Shawnees north into what is now Oklahoma and pushed the Comanches and other Plains tribes into western Texas. A Texan army routed the Cherokees, and when a delegation of thirty-five Comanches came with their women and children to a peace council at San Antonio in 1840, Texans first seized the chiefs and then, in the ensuing fight, killed the delegates. Texas plunged into bitter warfare. Comanche raiders struck settlements, killing people and carrying off captives and livestock; Texas Rangers struck Comanche villages, looting and killing indiscriminately. Houston returned as president in 1841, but he could do little to stem the tide of violence.

The Texas Rangers are often regarded as a heroic frontier police force, but many were vigilante companies motivated by hatred of Indians and a desire for plunder. In an environment of intense racial violence, fueled by fear, rumors, and reports of atrocities, rangers often fell on camps of peaceful Caddos rather than pursuing Comanches who remained beyond their reach on the high Plains. After Texas entered the Union in 1845, the U.S. cavalry carried out a policy of driving the Comanches onto reservations. Indians who were not on reservations were assumed to be “hostile.” The cavalry hunted Indians on the Plains and attacked them in their villages. Some northern Comanches clung to the Panhandle, but dozens of tribes, both immigrants and those indigenous to Texas, were forced out; by 1859, writes one historian, “Texas had become a conquered land.” The campaigns against the Kiowas and Comanches continued. In 1835 some thirty-five thousand Indians lived in Texas; forty years later, they were all but gone.<sup>7</sup>

At the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ending the war with Mexico in 1848, the United States acquired California, Arizona, New Mexico, and parts of Utah and Colorado. It acquired additional Indian lands from Mexico by the Gadsden Purchase in 1853. Americans were soon encroaching on lands that the Indians of the Southwest regarded as their own, not to be transferred from Mexico to the United States without their consent. Pueblo Indians had seen Spanish, Mexican, and now American invaders claim their land and they once again revolted in 1847. Apaches watched with concern as American surveyors ran a boundary line between the United States

and Mexico, and wondered where Apache country figured into the picture.<sup>8</sup>

## American Empire Reaches the Pacific Northwest, 1846–56

Indians in the Pacific Northwest had dealt with maritime traders since the late eighteenth century, but in the 1840s their homelands became a contested zone between the British Empire in the form of the Hudson's Bay Company in the North and the forerunners of American empire in the form of immigrant settlers from the East. In 1846 Britain and the United States agreed to divide the Oregon Territory along the forty-ninth parallel. This agreement confirmed American possession of the lands south of the line and opened Native homelands to transformation at the hands of an empire that demanded Indian land rather than Indian furs.<sup>9</sup>

The Indians of the region had experienced epidemics in the late eighteenth century and again in the 1830s, and they continued to suffer from newly introduced diseases. When a measles epidemic hit the Cayuse Indians in 1847, American missionary Marcus Whitman and his wife treated Indian as well as non-Indian children, but the Cayuse children died while others recovered. The Cayuses feared the Whitmans were poisoning their children and murdered them and a dozen other settlers. The ensuing war lasted until 1850.

Such “Indian massacres” were used to justify military reprisals and dispossessions.

Oregon Territory was organized in 1848; five years later, it was divided into the territories of Washington and Oregon. Between 1853 and 1855, Governor Joel Palmer of Oregon and Governor Isaac Stevens of Washington negotiated a string of treaties with the Walla Walla, Umatillas, Cayuses, Yakamas, and others. The Indians ceded millions of acres of tribal homelands to the United States, but unrelenting American pressure produced conflicts, most notably in the Rogue River War in southwestern Oregon and the Yakima War. By 1856, most of the Native population of western Oregon had been removed to new reservations.

## Genocide and Exploitation in California

In California, the Indian population was shattered by the massive upheavals that followed the discovery of gold in 1848. As many as 300,000 people lived in the area at the time of first contact with Spaniards. By 1848, the Indian numbers had been cut in half at least. Disease, starvation, exploitive labor systems, enslavement, and murder reduced them to a mere 30,000 by 1861.<sup>10</sup> Americans in California routinely depicted the Native inhabitants as degenerate and primitive, little better than wild animals.<sup>11</sup> Miners, settlers, and



“volunteer companies” hunted down Indians in systematic campaigns of extermination. When Pomo Indians killed two avaricious miners who had ruthlessly exploited their Indian laborer, American soldiers retaliated in 1850, killing more than 100 Pomo men, women, and children in “a perfect slaughter pen” according to the officer commanding the troops.<sup>12</sup> Historians disagree about whether it is appropriate to use the term “genocide” in American Indian history. Those who first addressed the question head-on often tended to be polemical; their work was suggestive and provocative but of uneven quality and limited usefulness. Other historians have too easily dismissed the term as not applicable to the United States. But “genocide studies” is now an established field of scholarship, and scholars of **Native American genocide** now engage in painstaking accumulation of evidence rather than sweeping generalizations.

If genocide occurred anywhere in the United States, it seems, it occurred in California in the wake of the gold rush. “*Genocide* is a term of awful significance,” wrote the late historian Tom Hagan, “but one which has application to the story of California’s Native Americans.” Many scholars today agree. Whether it is called genocide, ethnic cleansing, or simply murder, there seems little doubt that California became a killing field, where white vigilante groups carried out mass killings and many more people “through apathy, inaction, or tacit support” allowed it to happen. Between 1846 and 1873, state and federal policies, vigilante violence, destruction of villages and food resources, unfree labor,

kidnapping, reservation neglect, lack of legal protection, disease, and mass murders reduced California's Indian population by 80 percent (from perhaps 150,000 to some 30,000).<sup>13</sup>

The influx of thousands of single men to work the gold fields put Indian women in a precarious and often perilous position. Some men turned to Native women for companionship and lasting relationships. But unlike fur traders, miners did not need to establish long-term relationships with Native women or kinship ties with Native communities to achieve their economic goals.<sup>14</sup> Many men turned on Indian women in acts of sexual violence. Poverty and starvation forced some women into prostitution.<sup>15</sup> Thousands of women and children throughout California were sold into slavery.



*Courtesy of the California History Room, California State Library, Sacramento, California.*

#### ♦ Mono Women

Mono women photographed in front of a bark lodging in the late nineteenth century. Native women in California were often vulnerable to acts of sexual violence after thousands of single men arrived to work the gold fields.

Many white Californians depended on Indian labor on their ranches, and capturing and indenturing or selling Indian children was common. When California achieved statehood in 1850, ranchers lobbied hard to get the state to implement an “Indian code,” which like the slave codes in the South would regulate and control the labor force. The delegates to California’s constitutional convention voted unanimously to prohibit slavery in California, but they were thinking of black slavery, not Indian slavery. California

Indians were to remain a subservient class of laborers without political rights and with inferior legal rights. Contemporary stereotypes depicted California Indians as dissolute and idle. Under California's laws, Indians were free, but "they were not free to be idle."<sup>16</sup>

The first session of the California state legislature passed an **Act for the Government and Protection of Indians**. As historian Albert Hurtado points out, few people believed "that paper guarantees could have protected Indians caught in the maw of the gold rush." In reality, the law served white ranchers more than Indians, "by providing a legal process . . . to procure Indian workers and Indian land." Indian vagrants, Indians convicted of crimes (including specifically "Indian" practices, such as "loitering or strolling about"), and even orphaned Indian children could be contracted out to ranchers to pay off their fines. Ostensibly for the "Protection of Indians," the law actually forced many Indians into servitude and protected white ranchers' access to their labor. It also stipulated that white men could not be convicted of any offense on the testimony of an Indian. Despite repeated genocidal acts against the Indian peoples of California, many whites preferred to keep them as a subservient workforce rather than see them exterminated. The act was amended in 1860 and repealed in 1863.<sup>17</sup>

In January 1851, federal treaty commissioners published an address to the people of California in the *Daily Alta California*

newspaper. With Indian people being pushed to extinction, the commissioners advocated a policy of moderation:

As there is now *no further west* to which they *can* be removed, the General Government and the people of California appear to have left but one alternative in relation to these remnants of once numerous and powerful tribes. viz: *extermination* or *domestication*. As the latter includes all proper measures for their protection and gradual improvement, and secures to the people of the State an element greatly needed in the development of its resources, viz: cheap labor — it is the one which we deem the part of wisdom to adopt.<sup>18</sup>

The U.S. government created a series of reservations. Operating in a period of massive upheaval and casualties, these reservations have been likened to refugee camps.

With ongoing white migration to the Pacific after the gold rush, California Indians struggled to remain on their traditional lands. Debris from mining and logging operations choked fishing streams; the newcomers' fences and "property rights" kept Indians from places where they had formerly fished, hunted, and gathered. Cahuilla Indians sent a petition to the U.S. commissioner of Indian affairs in 1856, complaining that the Americans not only took their best farming and grazing lands but also diverted the water they needed for irrigation. In some instances, the water had been "wholly monopolized by the white settlers thereby depriving us of

the most essential means for the successful cultivation of our crops,” and forcing them “to abandon portions of our improved lands greatly to the detriment and distress of our people.”<sup>19</sup> As in other areas of the country, Indians who survived in California did so by adapting to harsh new circumstances. Many became part of the market economy and the agricultural labor force. Indians, said one California farmer in 1851, were “all *among* us, *around* us, *with* us — hardly a farm house — a kitchen without them.”<sup>20</sup>

## Opening Clashes on the Plains, 1851–56

Contrary to Hollywood’s obsession with Indian raids on wagon trains, emigrants crossing the Plains to Oregon and California experienced relatively little hostility from Indians. Of 250,000 emigrants who crossed the Plains between 1840 and 1860, only 362 died in all of the recorded conflicts with Indians. More often, Indians acted as pilots and guides, aided emigrants at river crossings, and traded horses and food for guns and cloth. But tensions were inevitable. The Indians regarded the emigrants as trespassers and expected them to pay tribute. “The Indians say that the whites have no right to be in their country without their consent,” reported Thomas H. Harvey, the superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis in 1845. They “complain that the buffalo are

wantonly killed and scared off, which renders their only means of subsistence every year more precarious.”<sup>21</sup>

It was only a matter of time before the United States clashed headlong with the Sioux. The Lakotas, the western Sioux<sup>o</sup> who had established themselves as the dominant Native power on the northern and central Plains, built alliances with the Northern Cheyennes and Arapahos and pushed aside weaker tribes. At first the United States hoped to create safe passage for white immigrants and to reduce conflict among settlers and tribes: at the first Treaty of Fort Laramie in 1851, delegates from all the major tribes on the northern Plains came together in a huge council. The federal treaty commissioners proposed that the Indians recognize and respect each other's tribal boundaries. The United States wanted to restrict the tribes to designated areas in an effort to reduce intertribal conflict and prevent confrontations with Americans. The commissioners also asked each tribe to select a head chief who would act as liaison with the government and ensure that reparations were made for any depredations. The tribes went along with it and each selected a head chief to sign the treaty and speak for them. However, tribes like the Arapahos and Cheyennes had no tradition of one person acting as head chief who could make decisions for everyone; all the chiefs could do was try and convey consensus.<sup>22</sup> The treaty did not hold and fighting broke out only a few years later. In 1854 a young army officer overreacted when a Brulé Sioux Indian killed an immigrant's cow. Lieutenant John Grattan led his command to the Indian village, demanded the killer

be delivered up, and opened fire: when the smoke cleared, Grattan and his men lay dead. General William Harney retaliated by destroying a Brulé village at Ash Hollow in Nebraska the following year. The stage was set for more than twenty years of open warfare between the Sioux and the U.S. army.

<sup>o</sup> The Lakotas comprised the Oglala, Hunkpapa, Miniconjou, Brulé (Sicangu), Blackfeet (Sihhaspa), Two Kettle, and Sans Arc tribes.



## WARS AND TREATIES, 1861–74

In 1861 the southern states seceded from the United States in an effort to preserve and protect their way of life from what they perceived as northern aggression, and the North went to war to ensure that the Union would endure. In the aftermath of the Civil War, many Americans believed that “Winning the West” could help restore the nation’s unity and heal its wounds. Rebuilding and expansion required constructing transcontinental railroads across Indian lands, replacing Indian hunters and buffalo with American ranchers and cattle, confining Indians to reservations, and exercising control over Indian lives as Native Americans were brought around to live like white Americans. Many Indians resisted American efforts to absorb them and their homelands into the reunited nation, but the forces arraigned against them were overwhelming. “The whites are as numerous as the years,” said one Sioux chief.<sup>[23](#)</sup>

## Indian Experiences during the American Civil War

The American Civil War, 1861–65, temporarily slowed migration westward and called most troops away from the frontier. But conflicts between Indians and whites continued with little respite, and many Indians were pulled into the nation's strife. Some twenty thousand Indians enlisted, serving on both the Union and Confederate sides. Confederate agents made overtures to many of the tribes on the southern Plains and signed nine treaties with tribes in Indian Territory, the area to which many eastern Indians had been removed. Many Cherokees fought for the South and many more sympathized with the southern cause, but others supported the Union. Old divisions from the removal era persisted. For example, Stand Watie had signed the Treaty of New Echota (see [page 265](#)) and his brother, Elias Boudinot, was assassinated by followers of Chief John Ross. Watie became a Cherokee general in the Confederate army, and in 1863 he burned John Ross's home. The American Civil War became a Cherokee civil war and undid much of the rebuilding Cherokees had accomplished in Indian Territory after the Trail of Tears. Ely S. Parker, a Seneca, was military secretary to General Ulysses S. Grant and drew up the articles of surrender signed by General Robert E. Lee at Appomattox in 1865. Stand Watie surrendered later, one of the last Confederate generals to surrender. At the end of the war, at Fort Smith, Arkansas, federal officials told the Five Civilized Tribes that since some of them had supported the Confederacy, they had all broken their treaties with the United States and forfeited their treaty rights.<sup>24</sup>

In Minnesota, the Dakota Sioux,<sup>o</sup> eastern relatives of the Lakota Sioux, were on the verge of starvation when the Civil War began. Their chief Little Crow for years pursued a policy of accommodation in dealing with the United States and took the lead in signing treaties selling Dakota lands. But the Americans failed to deliver the annuities, and the Indian agent told the hungry Dakotas to eat grass. In 1862 Little Crow agreed to lead his angry warriors in a desperate war against the Americans. The war tore apart kinship and other relationships that had evolved over years as Dakota people intermarried and coexisted with white traders and neighbors. Families of mixed heritage faced divided loyalties. Dakota warriors killed more than one thousand settlers. But, as Little Crow had warned his angry young men when they demanded he lead them to war, the Americans were as thick as locusts in flight: “Count your fingers all day long and white men with guns . . . will come faster than you can count.” American troops quelled the **“Great Sioux Uprising.”** About seventeen hundred Sioux were marched to Fort Snelling and confined in a wooden stockade. Four hundred Indians were put on trial for murder, and thirty-eight were eventually executed at Mankato in the largest public hanging in American history.<sup>25</sup> Some Dakota refugees fled west to join their Lakota relatives on the Plains.



*Little Crow, 1851 (pencil on paper)/Mayer, Frank Blackwell (1827–89)/NEWBERRY LIBRARY/Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois, USA/Bridgeman Images.*

#### ◆ Little Crow

Artist Frank Blackwell Mayer sketched this portrait of the Mdewakanton chief Taoyateduta, or Little Crow (c. 1810–63), during negotiations of the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux in 1851, in which the Dakotas ceded much of their land to the United States. Mayer described Little Crow as an intelligent man in his forties, with a “very determined & ambitious nature, but with all exceedingly gentle and dignified in his deportment.” His whole bearing, said Mayer, was “that of a gentleman.” After attempting accommodation with the United States for a decade, Little Crow led his young men to war in 1862. The next year, he was shot dead by an American settler while picking raspberries with his son. His body was then scalped and dismembered by Americans.

Two of the worst massacres of the wars for the West occurred during the Civil War. In January 1863, Colonel Patrick Connor and a force of California Volunteers struck a hoshoni-Bannock village on Bear River in present-day Idaho, killing more than two hundred men, women, and children. The following year witnessed the infamous **Sand Creek massacre**. In 1858 gold was discovered in Colorado. Thousands of settlers poured into the area, transforming the front range of the Rockies and the Plains and destroying the Cheyenne Indians' way of life. Tensions escalated, heightened by settlers' fears during the Civil War that the withdrawal of American troops east for war duty would precipitate an Indian uprising. Black Kettle and many other chiefs had tried to pursue a strategy of maintaining peace with the Americans since the 1851 Treaty of Fort Laramie, and in 1864 Black Kettle's band of Cheyennes and some Southern Arapahos were camped at Sand Creek near Fort Lyon, Colorado, on land set aside by, and supposedly under the protection of, the U.S. government. On a November morning, Colonel J. M. Chivington and the Third Colorado Cavalry attacked the village. Black Kettle raised an American flag and a white flag, but the soldiers butchered between 150 and 270 people, mostly women and children. Some soldiers refused to shoot or participate in the slaughter, but most appear to have gone on a rampage of killing. Black Kettle's wife, who survived, sustained nine gunshot wounds. According to testimony gathered for a congressional investigation, the victims of the Sand Creek massacre "were mutilated in the most horrible manner." In the Treaty of Little Arkansas the following year, the United States apologized to the Cheyennes and Arapahos and

promised reparations for what happened, but as word of the massacre spread across the Plains, Indian warriors retaliated and the war that settlers feared became a reality. A Civil War monument erected in 1909 on the steps of the state capitol in Denver included Sand Creek in its list of “battles” in which Coloradoans had fought. It has since been erased, but the site of the massacre — and how to remember what happened there — continues to be a source of controversy and contention.<sup>26</sup>

In the Southwest, Colonel Edward Canby, General James Carleton, and Colonel Christopher (Kit) Carson, accompanied by Ute Indian allies, campaigned vigorously and mercilessly against the Navajos, destroying sheep herds and homes. Finally, many Navajos surrendered, and in 1864 thousands of Navajo people were removed to Bosque Redondo Reservation at Fort Sumner, New Mexico, a four-hundred-mile trek known as the **Navajo “Long Walk”** that cost some two hundred lives. Carleton hoped that relocating the Navajos to Bosque Redondo would create a buffer zone protecting New Mexicans from Comanche raids. Confined to barren lands, the Navajos endured malnutrition and disease, bad water, drought, and swarms of grasshoppers. The government provided rations that were sometimes unfit for human consumption, and there were tensions with New Mexicans and raids by the local Comanches. As many as two thousand Navajos died during their imprisonment at Bosque Redondo. Meanwhile, the government tried to transform Navajos into farmers. The Navajo chief Manuelito, who had been one of the last to surrender, traveled to

Washington, D.C., to plead that his people be permitted to return home. After four years, the Navajos were allowed to return to their traditional homes with fifteen thousand head of sheep and goats as breeding stock to replenish their severely depleted herds. In return for being given a chance to rebuild their communities, they promised to stay on their reservation, to stop raiding, and to become farmers and ranchers. Like the Trail of Tears for the Cherokees, the “Long Walk” remained a traumatic and defining event in Navajo history.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> The Dakota Sioux comprised the Mdewakantons, Wahpetons, Wahpekutes, and Sissetons.

## Final Treaties and Ongoing Conflicts, 1866–74

While conflict raged on the southern Plains in the wake of the Sand Creek massacre, in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War the Lakotas fought to protect their lands in the northern Plains against the building of the Bozeman Trail, which was to run from Fort Laramie in eastern Wyoming to gold fields in Montana. The Oglala chief Red Cloud fought the U.S. army to a standstill in 1866–67, in what is known as **Red Cloud’s War**. His warriors annihilated Captain William Fetterman’s entire command in December 1866. With American expansion stalled by Indian resistance on both the northern and southern Plains, the U.S. Congress responded by

establishing the **Indian Peace Commission** in 1867. The commissioners were to make treaties that would end the fighting and prevent future conflicts by confining the Indians on reservations where they could be segregated, supervised, and educated in “civilized” ways, leaving the way open for the construction of the railroads that drove American expansion across the west.<sup>[28](#)</sup>

The U.S. peace commissioners met first with delegates of the Kiowas, Comanches, Plains Apaches, Southern Cheyennes, and Southern Arapahos at Medicine Lodge in Kansas in 1867. At the Treaty of Medicine Lodge, the Kiowa chief, Satanta, declared, “All the land south of the Arkansas belongs to the Kiowas and Comanches, and I don’t want to give away any of it. I love the land and the buffalo, and will not part with any.” But the commissioners promised the Indians they could continue to hunt buffalo as long as the herds existed “in sufficient numbers to justify the chase” and induced the tribes to accept reservation lands in Indian Territory.<sup>[29](#)</sup> Tensions persisted, and the army launched a series of campaigns to punish Indian raids and “bring in” tribes who refused to accept confinement. In 1868 George Armstrong Custer attacked Black Kettle’s Southern Cheyenne village on the Washita River in the dead of winter. Black Kettle and his wife had survived Sand Creek, but they both died at the Washita, along with more than one hundred people. In addition, Custer’s command slaughtered hundreds of Indian ponies: an Indian on foot was immobilized and easily defeated. The government failed to deliver the annuities promised



under the Treaty of Medicine Lodge and failed to keep buffalo hunters out of the lands guaranteed to the Indians. Faced with chronic food shortages on the reservations, Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches turned to hunting the same buffalo that white hunters were slaughtering, but they could do so only with the Indian agents' permission. Young men resumed raiding for horses and mules, an activity that had long been part of their economy and which the United States had previously ignored when the raiders targeted Mexico, or Texas when it was a Republic or part of the Confederacy. Now the government declared the raids acts of war and further reduced rations on the reservations in an effort to force the outlaws to "come in."<sup>30</sup>

Escalating tensions on the southern Plains erupted in the Red River War, or **Buffalo War**, of 1874. In September 1874, at the Battle of Palo Duro Canyon in Texas, Colonel Ranald Mackenzie attacked an encampment of Comanches, Kiowas, and Southern Cheyennes, burning four hundred lodges and slaughtering 1,400 ponies. That winter starving Indians drifted into the reservations from the snow-covered Plains. Seventy-two of the alleged "ringleaders" were sent as prisoners of war to Fort Marion in Florida (see [Chapter 7 Picture Essay, "The Fort Marion Artists," pages 425–30](#)).

After the Medicine Lodge treaty, the members of the Peace Commission traveled north to deal with the Sioux. At the second **Treaty of Fort Laramie** in 1868 (see ["The Sioux, the Treaty of Fort Laramie, and the Black Hills," pages 336–47](#)), Lakota spokesmen

made clear their reasons for going to war, and the United States agreed to abandon the Bozeman Trail, although by that time it had built a railroad beyond the contested area, rendering the trail obsolete and no longer worth fighting for.<sup>31</sup> Having won his war, Red Cloud kept his word and kept the peace. But American pressures on the Sioux only intensified: “We are melting like snow on the hillside, while you are grown like spring grass,” Red Cloud told the secretary of the interior during a visit to Washington, D.C., in 1870. “When the white man comes in my country he leaves a trail of blood behind him.”<sup>32</sup> Leadership of the Sioux warriors gradually passed to younger men like Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull, who advocated uncompromising resistance against American expansion and colonialism.

Elsewhere in the West, Colonel Eugene Baker led his U.S. cavalry in a dawn attack on a village of Blackfeet on the Marias River in Montana in January 1870. The inhabitants were huddled in their tipis, cold and reeling from a recent smallpox epidemic. The soldiers killed 173 people, mostly old men, women, and children, and slaughtered 300 horses. It was the wrong village. The cavalry were after Mountain Chief’s band; this was Heavy Runner’s village.<sup>33</sup> And in 1872–73, the United States defeated the Modocs of southern Oregon and northern California in a brutal war, which settlers portrayed as an outbreak of Indian violence against innocent Americans.<sup>34</sup>

# LAND SEIZURE AND REMOVAL TO RESERVATIONS

For almost a century, the United States made treaties with Indian nations. But there was growing sentiment that the United States should treat Indians as wards of the government, not as independent nations. The House of Representatives, which was left out of the treaty-making process — the Senate, not the House, ratified treaties — also wanted change, and in 1871 Congress declared an end to making treaties. In the years that followed, treaties that had already been made also came under attack. But the United States still needed mechanisms by which to deal with Indian tribes and create Indian reservations, and they did so by agreements, statutes, and presidential executive orders.<sup>35</sup> Indian people continued to resist the assault on their lands and, in many cases, fought rather than succumbed to the reservation system ([Map 6.2](#)).



Information from maps by Harry Scott taken from *The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846–1890* by Robert Utley. Copyright © 1984 University of New Mexico Press.

#### ♦ Map 6.2 Indian Reservations in the West, 1890

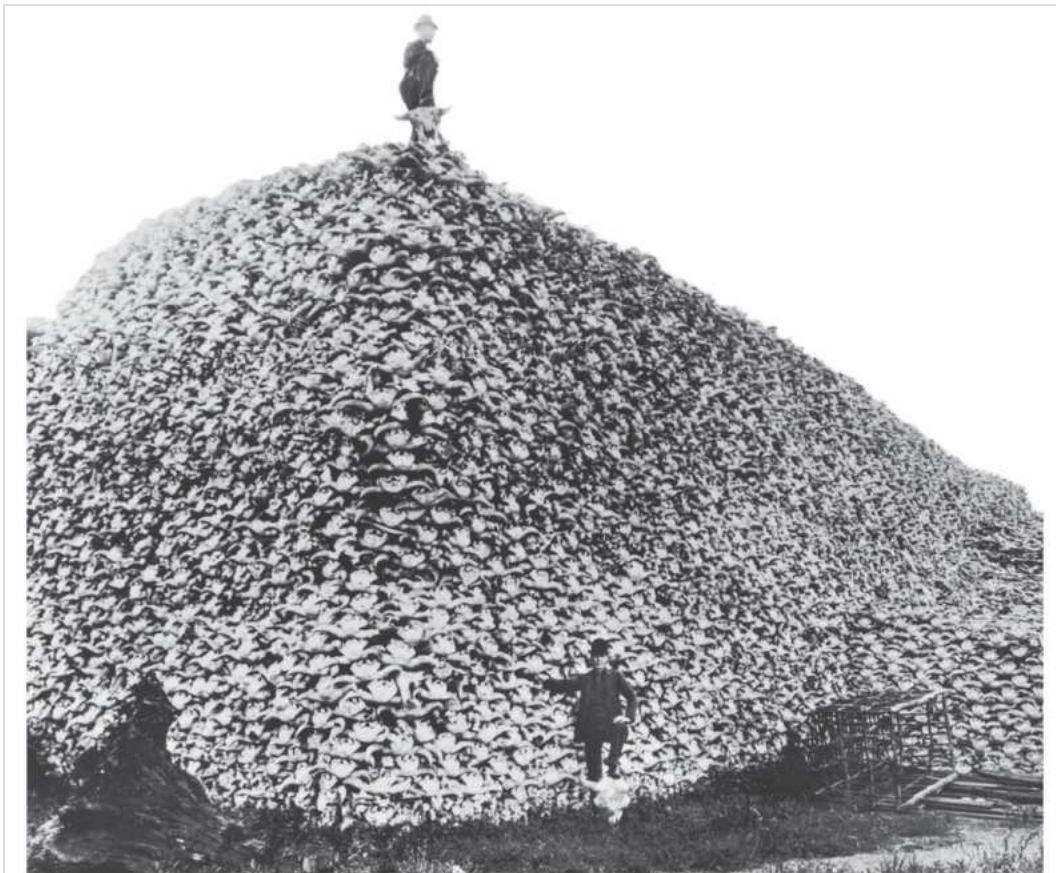
When Lewis and Clark journeyed across the West in the first decade of the nineteenth century, they entered an Indian world through which they traveled at their risk and by Indian tolerance and guidance. By the end of the century, that world was transformed, and Indian peoples were confined on patches of the lands they once occupied or were removed to Indian Territory. (See [Map 6.4, page 340](#), for the Lakota Sioux reservations.)

Other forces, more powerful than army bullets, were at work bringing an end to the Plains Indians' world. The first **transcontinental railroad** was completed in 1869; other lines proliferated in the years that followed, bringing more immigrants west and facilitating the movement of troops and supplies. At the same time, the buffalo herds — the staple diet of the Plains Indians and the basis of their culture — were systematically slaughtered between 1867 and 1883. Some estimates based on the reports of

travelers across the Plains in the early nineteenth century put buffalo numbers as high as 40 million or more. The influx of Indian peoples onto the Plains and the development of more efficient hunting techniques from horseback placed the herds under substantial pressure. Hunting for the American hide market, together with a drought in the 1840s and the possible impact of bovine diseases, further reduced buffalo populations, and there were reports of Indians starving even before 1850.<sup>36</sup> And the herds received no relief, as another pressure arose in the wake of the immigrants.

In 1871 a Pennsylvania tannery found that buffalo hides could be used to manufacture belts for industrial machinery. Roads and railroads brought immigrants and hide hunters by the hundreds to the Indians' hunting grounds, and in just a few short years American buffalo hunters, with the support and encouragement of the U.S. army, brought the species to the brink of extinction. Colonel Richard Irving Dodge, stationed in Kansas, witnessed the slaughter. In 1871 the buffalo seemed limitless. The hunting was sufficient the next year. But by 1873, everything had changed. "Where there were myriads of buffalo the year before, there were now myriads of carcasses. The air was foul with sickening stench, and the vast plain, which only a short twelvemonth before teemed with animal life, was a dead, solitary, putrid desert." A year later, there seemed to be more buffalo hunters than buffalo. The **extermination of buffalo** left fewer than a thousand buffalo surviving in 1895.<sup>37</sup> "We believed for a long time that the buffalo

would again come to us,” recalled a Crow woman, Pretty Shield, “but they did not.” Crow hunters rode far and wide looking for buffalo but came back empty-handed. “‘Nothing; we found nothing,’ they told us; and then, hungry, they stared at the empty plains, as though dreaming.”<sup>38</sup> With their food supply gone, Indians faced a choice between starvation and the reservation.



*Courtesy of the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.*

◆ **Buffalo Skulls to Be Sold as Fertilizer, c. 1880**

The slaughter of the buffalo herds in the late nineteenth century struck at the core of Plains Indian life and reduced once-independent peoples to dependence on government rations.

# Battles for Sacred Lands and Homelands, 1875–78

Indian people felt the outside world rushing in on them. Red Dog, a Sioux chief who had visited Washington, told U.S. commissioners that when he was there he did not pull a twig from a tree or disturb anything, but Americans entering Indian land did not treat it with the same respect. “This is our country,” he said, “and when white men come into it, it makes our hearts beat fast.”<sup>39</sup> Red Dog had good reason to be anxious. In 1874 George Custer led an expedition into the Black Hills of South Dakota that verified reports of gold in the region. The Black Hills were sacred to the Sioux and had been guaranteed to them in the Treaty of Fort Laramie. Prospectors who trespassed there were killed. The government offered to purchase the Black Hills, but the Sioux dismissed their offers. Sitting Bull said that the Black Hills were simply not for sale.<sup>40</sup>

The United States resolved to take them anyway. The army sent an ultimatum ordering all Sioux and Northern Cheyenne bands onto the reservations by January 31, 1876, and then launched a three-pronged “pacification campaign” against the “hostiles” who refused to come in. Crazy Horse, the renowned Oglala war chief, turned back one prong, led by General George Crook, at the Battle of the Rosebud in South Dakota. A week later, Custer and the Seventh Cavalry, approaching from the east, came upon a huge Indian



village in the valley of the Little Bighorn and rashly attacked it. The Hunkpapa chief Sitting Bull had had a vision of soldiers without ears — indicating that they refused to listen — falling into the Indians' camp. When the cavalry's attack came, Sitting Bull's vision seemed to be coming true. The Lakotas and Cheyennes wiped out Custer's command in a battle that was commemorated in countless movies and paintings (see [Picture Essay, "The Battle of the Little Bighorn in Myth and History," pages 359–63](#)).

This most famous Indian victory occurred when Indians were nearing the end of fighting for their freedom. The bands that had congregated at the Little Bighorn split up and were tracked down and rounded up in the next year or two. Sitting Bull fled to Canada; Crazy Horse surrendered in 1877 and was bayoneted to death while “trying to escape.”<sup>41</sup> The Lakotas were confined to reservations (see [Map 6.4, "The Lakota Reservations, 1890," page 340](#)), and Congress passed a law taking the Black Hills and extinguishing all Lakota rights outside the Great Sioux Reservation. American troops destroyed the Northern Cheyenne village of Dull Knife and Little Wolf on the Powder River in Wyoming in November 1876. Fifty years later, a Northern Cheyenne woman named Iron Teeth remembered the attack: “They killed our men, women, and children,” she said. Her husband died in the fighting. Afterward, with men dying from their injuries and women and children freezing to death without blankets or shelter, Cheyenne mothers “killed some of their ponies, removed the entrails, and placed their [infants] inside the steaming carcasses to keep them from



freezing.”<sup>42</sup> The surviving Cheyennes were shipped to Indian Territory, where they began to die of malaria. After repeated pleas that they be allowed to return to their tribal lands, in September 1878 about three hundred Cheyennes began a desperate attempt to go home. Hungry, sick, and exhausted, they made their way north through Kansas, Nebraska, and Dakota, finally reaching Montana after traveling 1,500 miles across the Plains in the fall and winter. Most were captured and many were killed, but some eventually were allowed to return home to a reservation in southern Montana.<sup>43</sup>

In 1877 Chief Joseph and the Nez Perces of Oregon also made a 1,500-mile bid for freedom, trying to reach Canada rather than go to a reservation. They defeated and eluded various American armies sent in pursuit but were caught just short of the border and exiled to Indian Territory (see [“Chief Joseph’s Plea for Freedom,” pages 348–58](#)). Also in 1877, the government forcibly removed members of the Ponca tribe from Nebraska to Indian Territory. (The Poncas’ land had been assigned to them by treaty in 1865 but was subsequently included in the reservation area ceded to the Sioux by the Treaty of Fort Laramie in 1868.) The following year Ponca chief Standing Bear and a small group set off on a six-hundred-mile walk to carry the body of his only son back home to Nebraska for burial. When he reached his destination, he was arrested and imprisoned. Standing Bear brought a *habeas corpus* suit<sup>o</sup> in federal district court, arguing in effect that an Indian was a person under federal law. The judge concurred, and Standing Bear ultimately won his

freedom. His case sparked controversy, generated national publicity, and fueled demands for reform in Indian policy.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> A legal action by which prisoners may seek release from unlawful imprisonment.

## The End of Apache Resistance

In Arizona and New Mexico, Apaches continued to raid into Mexico as they had for generations and steadfastly resisted American invasion of their homeland after 1848. Apache warriors fought with ferocity and Americans responded with equal ferocity. American soldiers killed the Mimbrenño Apache chief, Mangas Coloradas, while he was shackled and under guard, and they botched an attempt to capture the Chiricahua chief, Cochise, under a flag of truce. As the Mexicans had done for generations, Americans offered bounties on Apache scalps. “When I was young I walked all over this country, east and west, and saw no other people than the Apaches,” said Cochise in 1866. “After many summers I walked again and found another race of people had come to take it. How is it? Why is it that the Apaches wait to die?”<sup>45</sup> Even Apaches who attempted to live in peace found no safe haven. In 1871 a group comprising Mexicans, Tohono O’odam Indians, and American citizens of Tucson massacred more than one hundred Aravaipa Apaches who had settled at Camp Grant under the protection of the army.<sup>46</sup>

Eventually, most Apache bands were confined on a reservation at San Carlos, Arizona Territory. Daklugie, an Apache who lived there as a child, told researcher Eve Ball in the 1940s that San Carlos was “the worst place in all the great territory stolen from the Apaches.” The only vegetation was cacti. “Where there is no grass there is no game. . . . The heat was terrible. The insects were terrible. The water was terrible.” Rattlesnakes and mosquitoes thrived there, but Apaches died of “the shaking sickness,” malaria. San Carlos, said Daklugie, “was considered a good place for the Apaches — a good place for them to die.” Daklugie was the son of an Apache chief named Juh and retained an implacable hatred for white Americans. Even though he had spent a dozen years at Carlisle boarding school and worked as an interpreter, he pretended he could not speak English. “It took four years to get him to talk,” said Ball.<sup>47</sup>

Not surprisingly, many Apaches rebelled against reservation confinement, preferring death in battle to a slow death at San Carlos. Victorio led his Warm Springs people off the reservation in 1877. “I will not go to San Carlos,” he said. “I will not take my people there. We prefer to die in our own land under the tall cool pines. We will leave our bones with those of our people. It is better to die fighting than to starve.”<sup>48</sup> For three years he outwitted, outmaneuvered, and outfought the troops sent against him. In 1880, driven across the Mexican border by pursuing American troops, Victorio’s band clashed with a force of Mexicans and Tarahumara Indians in a two-day battle in Chihuahua. When the smoke cleared, Victorio lay dead.

The United States also spent years chasing down a small band of Chiricahuas led by **Geronimo** and Naiche. General Crook, whom Crazy Horse turned back at the Battle of the Rosebud, employed Chiricahua scouts and always maintained that they “did most excellent service, and were of more value in hunting down and compelling the surrender of the renegades, than all other troops engaged in operations against them combined.” Two Chiricahua scouts, Martine and Kayitah, risked their lives to get Geronimo to surrender to General Nelson Miles in 1886. Miles had five thousand soldiers, one-fourth of the regular army, under his command. Geronimo’s band consisted of only eighteen warriors and some women and children. Even so, Geronimo and other Apaches agreed that Miles had to lie to them to get their surrender. Jasper Kanseah, Geronimo’s nephew who was about fifteen at the time of the surrender and had been fighting with Geronimo for three years, said, “Nobody ever captured Geronimo. I know. I was with him. Anyway,” he added, “who can capture the wind?”<sup>49</sup>

After Geronimo and his band of Chiricahua Apache holdouts surrendered in September 1886, they were sent to Fort Pickens, Florida. The rest of the Chiricahuas, most of whom had not supported Geronimo’s war and some of whom had served the U.S. army as scouts against him, were also loaded onto trains to Fort Marion, a military prison in Florida. Martine and Kayitah, who had risked their lives to bring peace, were thrown on the train still wearing their army uniforms. Crowded into the run-down old fortress at Fort Marion, the Chiricahuas endured an unfamiliar

climate and malaria. “We were accustomed to dry heat,” said James Kaywaykla, “but in Florida the dampness and the mosquitoes took toll of us until it seemed that none would be left. Perhaps we were taken to Florida for that purpose.”<sup>50</sup> Army officers who had fought alongside the Apache scouts and the Indian Rights Association took up the Chiricahuas’ cause, but they succeeded only in having them removed to Alabama. In 1894 the surviving Chiricahuas were relocated to the Kiowa and Comanche Reservation in Indian Territory. Geronimo, along with the Comanche chief Quanah Parker, Little Plume (Blackfeet), Charles Buck (Ute), and Hollow Horn Bear (Lakota) rode in President Theodore Roosevelt’s inaugural parade in 1905. Four days later Geronimo, through an interpreter, asked for his people to be released from their nineteen-year captivity. Roosevelt replied, “It’s best that you stay where you are.” Geronimo died of pneumonia in Oklahoma in 1909. Not until 1913 were the Chiricahuas allowed to return to the Southwest, many of them joining the Mescalero Apaches in New Mexico.<sup>51</sup> With the Apaches’ defeat, American military conquest of the West was complete.



*Granger, NYC.*

◆ **Apache Leaders before Surrender**

Geronimo, Naiche (wearing brimmed hat), and Naiche's son (standing next to Naiche), with an unidentified Apache and child in a photograph taken by C. S. Fly of Tombstone, Arizona, shortly before the Apaches first surrendered to General Crook in March 1886.

# DIFFERENT STRATEGIES FOR SURVIVAL

Not all Indians resisted American expansion westward; some participated in it and played an active role in bringing change to the West. One Delaware, Black Beaver (1806–80), lived through the era of American exploration, conquest, and settlement of the West and participated in almost every phase of it. Born in Illinois in the year that Lewis and Clark returned from their western travels, Sekettu Maquah, or Black Beaver, became a trapper and trader, a guide, an army scout, and an interpreter. As a young man, he traveled west. Along with many other Delaware and Iroquois Indians, he worked as a trapper in the Rocky Mountain fur trade. He never learned to read or write but mastered the sign language of the Plains Indians and could speak several Indian languages as well as English, French, and Spanish. In 1834 he served as interpreter for an expedition led by Colonel Richard Dodge to the Red River country of the Comanches, Kiowas, and Wichitas. A dozen years later, he was a scout for the U.S. army during the war with Mexico and commanded a company of thirty-five Delawares and Shawnees. He guided Captain Randolph Marcy and a company of dragoons<sup>o</sup> in establishing a route to Santa Fe and accompanying a wagon train of five hundred emigrants across the Southwest. Marcy said Black Beaver “had visited nearly every point of interest within the limits

of our unsettled territory. . . . His life is that of a veritable cosmopolite, filled with scenes of intense and startling interest, bold and reckless adventure.” In the 1850s, Black Beaver worked as a farmer, trader, and guide. By the Civil War, he had a ranch on the Wichita Agency in Indian Territory (Oklahoma). Along with many other Delawares, he served the Union; as a result, Confederates seized his cattle and horses and destroyed his ranch. He acted as an interpreter in negotiations with the tribes of the southern Plains, and in 1872 he was a member of an Indian delegation from the Wichita Agency to Washington, D.C. Toward the end of his life he became a Baptist minister. When he died in 1880, he had outlived most of the people he had known and whose roles in westward expansion were far more renowned.<sup>52</sup>

 Heavily armed troops on horseback.

## Indian Scouts and Allies

Like Black Beaver, some leaders opted for accommodation and attempted to control the pace of change. Washakie of the Shoshonis, Ouray of the Utes, Plenty Coups of the Crows, Red Cloud of the Oglalas after his successful war of resistance in the 1860s, and many others realized that the survival of their people depended upon dealing with the reality of American power and presence. They attempted to cooperate with government agents in the hope of securing better food, clothing, and shelter for their



people, but continued the fight to be Indian. Some men who found themselves deprived of their traditional roles in society as warriors and hunters joined the Indian police as a means of attaining status and a way of helping their people make the transition through hard times.

American expansion and wars against the Sioux offered some Indian peoples an opportunity to secure powerful allies in their own struggles. Crows, Arikaras, Pawnees, and Shoshonis all, at one time or another, fought alongside the U.S. army in its battles against the Lakota Sioux and their allies. The Pawnees, for example, formed a battalion of scouts that served alongside U.S. troops during the height of the Plains wars between 1864 and 1877.<sup>53</sup> The westward expansion of the Lakotas in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had placed all these tribes on the defensive, and many of them had lost lands and relatives to the Lakotas. The Crows' rich hunting territories had come under virtual siege from neighboring tribes as buffalo herds in these tribes' lands diminished: "Look at our country, and look at our enemies," Crow chiefs declared in 1870, "they are all around it; the Sioux, Blackfeet, Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Flatheads, all want our country, and kill us when they can." It made sense for the Crows to align themselves with the Lakotas' new enemies, the Americans. In June 1876, Crows and Shoshonis fought with General Crook against Crazy Horse at the Battle of the Rosebud, where a Crow woman named Other Magpie fought to avenge her brother's death at the hands of the Lakotas. Crow and Arikara scouts guided Custer to the Little Bighorn. Before the so-

called Sioux War of 1876–77 was over, Crows, Shoshonis, Arikaras, Utes, Bannocks, Pawnees, and even some Arapahos, Cheyennes, and Sioux had all served with the U.S. army.

The Crows and Shoshonis each managed to secure and retain a reservation in their traditional homelands in the late nineteenth century, when many Indian peoples were being uprooted and shipped off to Indian Territory. In later life, the Crow chief Plenty Coups explained that his people allied with the United States “not because we loved the whiteman [*sic*] who was already crowding other tribes into our country, or because we hated the Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho, but because we plainly saw that this course was the only one which might save our beautiful country for us. When I think back my heart sings because we acted as we did. It was the only way open to us.” The late tribal historian Joe Medicine Crow agreed: “We were looking for survival and I think we played it smart.” Like the Shoshonis, they used the United States as allies, and doing so brought short-term gains.<sup>54</sup> The Crows survived their long military struggle against the Lakotas with the help of American allies, but the Americans would soon pose a greater threat to the Crows’ country and culture.



*National Archives and Records Administration.*

◆ **A Crow Delegation to Washington, D.C., Spring 1880**

The chiefs (from left to right) are Old Crow, Medicine Crow, Two Belly, Long Elk, Plenty Coups, and Pretty Eagle. Indian delegations to Washington were a regular feature of U.S.–Indian relations in the second half of the nineteenth century, as the government conducted negotiations with key chiefs and tried to impress them with American power. For the delegates, visiting the nation’s capital offered an opportunity to represent their people’s interests to the president, Congress, and senior officials.

## Return of the Prophets

For most Indian people, the hard times following defeat and dispossession proved traumatic. They suffered defeat in war, saw their subsistence base destroyed, and lost most of their lands. Once

prosperous and powerful, the Plains tribes were reduced to poverty, forced to rely on government handouts and the assistance of the agents. Once free and mobile, they were confined to arid, nonproductive reservations, which they could not leave without permission. Poor health and diet, a high mortality rate, and a low life expectancy became the norm on many Indian reservations. Even the environment was transformed as Americans pushed relentlessly to master the West and exploit its resources. The United States demanded that the defeat of the western tribes involve the destruction of their way of life as well as their military subjugation.

Some people sought escape from the harsh reality of their situation and succumbed to alcoholism. Others looked inward and tried to restore harmony and meaning to their world through religion and ritual. As had Handsome Lake and the Shawnee Prophet at the beginning of the century, new prophets were believed to have died, traveled to heaven, and returned with divine messages that promised deliverance from suffering and oppression and a new era for Indian people. The prophets initiated religious movements that combined old beliefs and new teachings and offered an outlet for frustration and a source of solace for people in crisis. In the 1850s, Smohalla, a Wanapum Indian from the Columbia River region, began prophesying a restoration of the Indian world and the destruction of whites. He taught his followers to abstain from alcohol, to revive the old ways, and to purify themselves of white influences. His religion became known as the Dreamer religion, with believers spending long periods in

meditation. Smohalla opposed the government's program of converting his people into farmers — “You ask me to plow the ground. Shall I take a knife and tear my mother's bosom?” — and rejected the Protestant work ethic promoted by Christian missionaries and Indian agents: “My young men shall never work. Men who work can not dream, and wisdom comes to us in dreams.” Smohalla was persecuted and jailed, but the Dreamer religion he founded spread across the Pacific Northwest and survives today.<sup>55</sup>

Another Northwest Coast prophet, Squsachtun or John Slocum, founded the Indian Shaker religion in the Puget Sound region in 1881. Squsachtun, a Nisqually Indian, experienced trances in which he received divine messages on how Indian people could survive the trauma of reservation life. He taught his followers to believe in God and Christ, heaven and hell, but to rely on his prophecies for sacred guidance. His followers, who shook their bodies while ritually brushing away their sins, became known as Shakers. Like Smohalla, Squsachtun was harassed and imprisoned, but, like the Dreamer religion, the Shaker sect survived. The religion spread through the Northwest and northern California, and the Indian Shaker Church was incorporated in 1910.

Prophetic movements on the northern Plains produced different, tragic results. A young Crow medicine man named Sword Bearer gained a following of frustrated young Crows who could no longer subsist by warring or hunting. He was reputed to have great power and preached an apocalyptic vision that alarmed the government

and the citizens of Montana. The army was sent in, Sword Bearer was killed, and the potential movement was crushed. A possible bloodbath was averted. Three years later the Lakotas were not so fortunate.

The **Ghost Dance** religion that swept the Plains at the end of the 1880s originated in the Nevada region. A Paiute Indian named Wovoka preached a religion that promised a return of the old ways that would reunite its practitioners with departed ancestors if they abstained from alcohol, lived in peace, and followed a prescribed ritual, including a dance in a circle called the Ghost Dance. It also promised that the white man would disappear. The religion spread rapidly on the Plains. The Lakotas sent messengers who traveled by train to receive the new religion.

Many Lakotas embraced the Ghost Dance as a religious response to the harsh conditions on the reservations. The Ghost Dancers harmed no one and destroyed no property — they hoped to restore their world by dancing, not fighting — but non-Indians became alarmed by reports of warriors performing a strange new dance that was supposed to result in the disappearance of whites and the return of the buffalo. Inexperienced Indian agents tried in vain to stop the dancing and began to see it as preparation for an uprising. By November, they were warning Washington of an impending war. With midterm elections looming (including the election of a senator from South Dakota, which had become a state in 1889), President Benjamin Harrison's Republican administration likely wanted to be

seen as protecting South Dakota's citizens against an Indian uprising, and mobilizing troops would also give a timely boost to the local economy. General Miles ordered troops onto the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations.<sup>56</sup>

Sitting Bull had returned from Canada and surrendered to U.S. forces in 1881, but he was always regarded as a potential “troublemaker” by the authorities. He was killed by Indian police as they tried to arrest him at his cabin on the Standing Rock Reservation in mid-December 1890. Two weeks later, perhaps still smarting from their defeat at the Little Bighorn fourteen years before, the Seventh Cavalry intercepted Big Foot's band of Miniconjou Lakotas at **Wounded Knee** in South Dakota as they were making their way to the Pine Ridge Reservation. After a botched attempt to disarm the Indians, the soldiers opened fire on the encampment and massacred between two and three hundred men, women, and children. Many wounded people left to die on the site of the massacre succumbed to subzero temperatures as a blizzard hit the Plains. Charles Eastman, the Sioux doctor who had returned to Pine Ridge as agency physician (see [Chapter 7, page 393](#)), treated wounded and mutilated survivors in a makeshift hospital in a chapel. On New Year's Day 1891, after the blizzard had ended, Eastman and others combed the “battlefield” searching for survivors. He found a woman's body three miles from the site of the massacre, “and from this point on we found them scattered along as they had been relentlessly hunted down and slaughtered while fleeing for their lives.” He found a little girl about a year old, warmly

wrapped and still alive, lying near her dead mother. The child was wearing a fur bonnet beaded with an American flag. Standing amid the fragments of burned tipis and the frozen bodies was, Eastman wrote with considerable understatement, “a severe ordeal for one who had so lately put all his faith in the Christian love and lofty ideals of the white man.” Early army accounts depicted the “battle” as a heroic action; as Lakota people made their voices heard, it became clear that it was a massacre and a national disgrace.<sup>57</sup>

The Oglala holy man Black Elk, a young man at the time of the massacre, later reflected on the events at Wounded Knee. His words, as recorded by poet John G. Neihardt, have often been cited as elegiac testimony to the end of a way of life.

When I look back now from this high hill of my old age, I can still see the butchered women and children lying heaped and scattered all along the crooked gulch as plain as when I saw them with eyes still young. And I can see that something else died there in the bloody mud, and was buried in the blizzard. A people's dream died there.

The “nation's hoop” — Lakota society — was “broken and scattered,” concluded Black Elk. Wounded Knee put a grisly end to armed conflict on the northern Plains, but Indian people around the country were already engaged in another desperate struggle. In time, the hoop of the Lakota Nation would be mended.<sup>58</sup>



# CONCLUSION

By 1890, the United States had achieved Thomas Jefferson's dream and built an ocean-to-ocean republic. Accompanied and abetted time and again by lethal epidemics, American expansion to the Pacific brought devastation to the indigenous population of California and defeat and dispossession to Indian nations who, just a generation before, had dominated their worlds. As the United States after the Civil War grew into an industrial power, it replaced Plains Indians with ranchers and buffalo herds with cattle, confining Indian people to reservations to make way for railroads that united East and West, transported immigrants to western lands, and shipped beef to eastern markets. To many Americans at the time and since, it seemed that the Native American story was over.

# CHAPTER 6 REVIEW

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## KEY TERMS

[“Manifest Destiny”](#)

[Native American genocide](#)

[Act for the Government and Protection of Indians](#)

[Great Sioux Uprising](#)

[Sand Creek massacre](#)

[Navajo “Long Walk”](#)

[Red Cloud’s War](#)

[Indian Peace Commission](#)

[Buffalo War](#)

[Treaty of Fort Laramie](#)

[Transcontinental railroad](#)

[Extermination of buffalo](#)

[Geronimo](#)

[Ghost Dance](#)

[Wounded Knee](#)

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## REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Where and in what ways did American expansion affect western Indian peoples before the mid-nineteenth century?
2. What factors determined the defeat of the Plains Indians in their wars against the United States?
3. Why did the United States relocate and confine Indian people to reservations?
4. How did different tribes, and different individuals at different times, respond to American expansion and colonialism?

# DOCUMENTS

## Sixty Years of Kiowa History



ALL PEOPLES DEVISE WAYS OF RECORDING their history and preserving for posterity the events that give meaning to their collective lives. In oral cultures like those of the Plains Indians, the memories of the elders served as repositories of tribal histories. Retellings of significant events fastened them into the communal memory, just as songs, stories, dances, and other public performances fastened traditions in the lives of successive generations. Tribal historians on the Plains also compiled calendars of events — often called winter counts — significant to the community as a whole.

Usually painted on a buffalo robe in a spiral denoting successive years, these calendars chronicle the people's history with each year marked by a pictographic device symbolizing a memorable event. The symbols functioned as mnemonic devices, allowing the keeper of the chronicle at some future date to draw on his fund of memory and knowledge, recalling more details and other events. Sometimes

a single individual would compile a winter count, recording the years of his own life; other calendars would be made over two or three generations, or compiled by one person in consultation with elders who remembered the events or who had received knowledge of them from people long since dead. The keepers of the chronicles would bring them out to be displayed and discussed around the campfires during winter evenings.

Winter counts are of great value to modern ethnohistorians when used in conjunction with documentary evidence. Most calendars record outbreaks of smallpox and other epidemics, and most note “the winter when the stars fell,” the meteor shower visible throughout the western United States in November 1833. But sometimes these tribal records make no reference to things outsiders might assume would be significant: they contain many references to horse raids, the Sun Dance, battles with enemy tribes, deaths of prominent chiefs, and domestic squabbles that resulted in violence — things that were noteworthy in the community and also served to jog the memory about other events — but might ignore major battles and treaties with the United States.<sup>59</sup>

Like other historical sources, winter counts have limitations: their chronology usually cannot be established without cross-referencing to other sources. Interpretation of the mnemonic devices can vary considerably, and when winter counts were explained to outsiders in the early twentieth century it was not always clear how much of the interpretation came from the keeper

of the calendar, how much from the translator, and how much from the ethnologist or other scholar who then transferred what he had been told into a written chronology of events. Nevertheless, they provide scholars with a unique research tool and, properly analyzed, allow integration of Indian and non-Indian records to create a richer story of the past.<sup>60</sup>

Moreover, winter counts are by no means the only source of history for the Plains Indian societies who created and kept them. Lakota author Mary Crow Dog, recounting her life in the twentieth century, commented on some of the ways through which history survived among a people who did not record it in writing: “The Sioux used to keep winter counts, picture writings on buffalo skin, which told our people’s story from year to year,” she said. “Well, the whole country is one vast winter count. You can’t walk a mile without coming to some family’s sacred vision hill, to an ancient Sun Dance circle, an old battleground, a place where something worth remembering happened.”<sup>61</sup>



*Nebraska State Historical Society, photo no. RG2969. Copy and reuse restrictions apply.*

◆ **Sam Kills Two**

The Lakota Sam Kills Two adds the symbol of another year to a winter count documenting 130 years of tribal history. The chronicles created and preserved by tribal record keepers such as Sam Kills Two supplemented oral histories handed down from generation to generation.

The chronicle reproduced here records Kiowa history during sixty years of calamitous change. Kiowa traditions tell that the people entered the world through a hollow log “in the bleak northern mountains” in western Montana. Life there was hard, and

in the late seventeenth century they began to migrate southward ([Map 6.3](#)). “The great adventure of the Kiowas was a going forth into the heart of the continent,” wrote Kiowa author N. Scott Momaday. They began a long migration from the headwaters of the Yellowstone River, east to the Black Hills, where they befriended the Crows. They acquired horses, “and their ancient nomadic spirit was suddenly free of the ground.” They acquired Tai-me, the sacred Sun Dance doll, and with it “the religion of the Plains.” And they acquired “a love and possession of the open land.” Pushed out of the Black Hills by the Lakotas and Cheyennes, they moved south through Wyoming along the Front Range of the Rockies and toward the Ouachita Mountains in Oklahoma. By the time they reached the southern Plains, they had been transformed. “In the course of that long migration they had come of age as a people,” said Momaday. “They had conceived a good idea of themselves; they had dared to imagine and determine who they were.”<sup>62</sup>





Calloway, *First Peoples*, 6e, © 2019 Bedford/St. Martin's

#### ◆ Map 6.3 Kiowa Migration Route, 1832-1869

Migration south across the Great Plains brought the Kiowas to new homes and a new way of life. But as they journeyed, the Kiowas encountered Americans, whose growing presence would soon change forever the way of life the Kiowas created on the Plains and who would eventually confine them on a reservation.

By the early nineteenth century, the Kiowas were ranging across western Oklahoma, northern Texas, northeastern New Mexico, southeastern Colorado, and southwestern Kansas. They became allied with the Comanches sometime around 1790, and together they dominated the southern Plains. Kiowas traded with Pueblo

peoples in New Mexico, but as the calendar indicates, they were also far-ranging raiders, striking deep into Mexico as well as against other Indian tribes. They lived in small, independent bands. But each summer the people came together for the Sun Dance, the central ceremony of the tribe, where they reaffirmed their unity, renewed relationships, and hunted buffalo, the foundation of Kiowa economy and culture. That way of life collapsed under the onslaught of American expansion and the assaults of American colonialism in the years documented by the calendar.

### ***The Dohasan Calendar (1832–92)***

This calendar was begun by a Kiowa chief named Dohasan, whom the artist George Catlin met and painted in 1834 and described as “a very gentlemanly and high minded man.”<sup>63</sup> When Dohasan died in 1866, the calendar was continued to 1892 by his nephew, also called Dohasan. It contains two pictorial devices for each year — one representing the winter and one the summer. The chronicle was originally painted on hides that were renewed from time to time as they became worn out from age and handling, but Dohasan drew a copy with colored pencils on paper which he gave to Captain Hugh L. Scott of the Seventh Cavalry at Fort Sill in 1892. Four years later anthropologist James Mooney compiled an explanation of the events associated with each picture, primarily from information supplied to Scott by Dohasan before his death in 1893, and supplemented with information from other Kiowa chronicles.

The pictographs are arranged in a continuous spiral. The calendar begins in the winter of 1832–33 at the lower left-hand corner (1), when a man (indicated by his breech cloth) named Black Wolf (identified by the symbol above his head) was killed in an encounter with a party of Americans.<sup>64</sup> The next symbol (2) refers to an Osage attack on a Kiowa camp that summer, when the Osages cut off the heads of their victims.<sup>65</sup> Then, three stars (3) indicate the meteor shower in the winter of 1833, which, according to Momaday, “has a special place in the memory of the Kiowa people” and “marks the beginning as it were of the historical period in the tribal mind.”<sup>66</sup> Black bars, representing dead vegetation, mark the winters; summers are usually indicated by a Sun Dance lodge with a door. (In years when the Sun Dance was not held, the season is marked by a tree in leaf or simply by the symbol for that summer’s event between the two winter bars.) The major event of the season is indicated by a pictograph above or beside the winter mark or the Sun Dance lodge.<sup>67</sup>



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#### ♦ The Dohasan Calendar

The numbers appearing with individual pictographs correspond to the numbers in brackets or parentheses in the accompanying text.

The story recorded here is a familiar one in the histories of other peoples on the Plains. New diseases scythed the Kiowa population as American immigrants encroached on their territory. (The calendar records epidemics among the Kiowas in the winters of 1839–40 [4] and 1861–62 [6], and cholera in the summer of 1849 — the figure over the central Sun Dance lodge is doubled over with the pangs of cholera [5].)<sup>68</sup> Escalating tensions exploded in outbursts of sporadic violence and occasional pitched conflicts. The superior numbers, resources, and firepower of the United States compelled the Kiowas and their neighbors to contemplate an unknown kind of life: in the Treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867 (“Timber Hill winter” indicated by the large black tree [7]),<sup>69</sup> Kiowas, Comanches, Southern Cheyennes, Southern Arapahos, and Plains Apaches agreed to move on to a reservation in what is now Oklahoma. Meanwhile, the slaughter of the southern herds continued without respite, and in 1874 Kiowa and other southern Plains warriors went to war rather than die of hunger. The U.S. army responded with overwhelming force and destroyed the Kiowas’ lodges and horse herds at the Battle of Palo Duro Canyon. The Kiowas surrendered to the army at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, and seventy-two “ringleaders” of the southern Plains Indians were shipped to Florida as prisoners of war. (The calendar records clashes with Texans and U.S. soldiers, and the arrests of chiefs.) “The young Plains culture of the Kiowas,” wrote Momaday, “withered and died like grass that is burned in the prairie wind.”<sup>70</sup>

The summer of 1879, marked by a horse head above a Sun Dance lodge (8), was remembered as the “Horse-Eating Sun Dance.” The buffalo were so scarce that the Kiowas had to kill and eat their horses to keep from starving. “This may be recorded as the date of the disappearance of the buffalo from the Kiowa country,” wrote Mooney. “Thenceforth the appearance of even a single animal was a rare event.”<sup>71</sup> In subsequent years, as indicated by trees in leaf rather than Sun Dance lodges, the Sun Dance sometimes could not be held, because of the lack of buffalo. The last Kiowa Sun Dance in the nineteenth century was held in 1887. The buffalo and the Sun Dance were the anchors of Kiowa culture and experience. “Those were the two things that were always there. Things changed around them, but the buffalo and the Sun Dance stayed the same. Now they were both gone, together.”<sup>72</sup> With buffalo gone, Kiowas began to lease grasslands to cattlemen, as indicated by the drawing of a cow (9).

The calendar ends with a measles epidemic in 1892 (10). The epidemic broke out at the reservation school and spread rapidly when the school superintendent sent the sick children home. When James Mooney visited the Kiowas in early summer the disease had spent its force, but deaths were still occurring every day or two and its impact was evident everywhere: “nearly every woman in the tribe had her hair cut off close to her head and her face and arms gashed by knives, in token of mourning, while some had even chopped off a finger as a sign of grief at the loss of a favorite child. The men also had their hair cut off at the shoulders and had



discarded their usual ornaments and finery.” Bereaved relatives wailed, burned blankets, tipis, and other property, and shot horses and dogs over the graves of their owners, “to accompany them to the world of shades.” The scenes of mourning continued for months.<sup>73</sup>

The calendar provides a tribal record of the years when “the West was lost,” when peoples like the Kiowas went from a life of mobility and independence to one of confinement and dependence. Those Kiowas who survived the wars and diseases of the nineteenth century had to learn new ways to survive in the world that had been imposed on them.<sup>74</sup>

*Source: A Chronicle of the Kiowa Indians, 1832–1892 (1968). Courtesy of Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of the University of California.*

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. What does the Dohasan Calendar suggest about different ways of understanding and remembering history?
2. What things seem to have been important to the Kiowas? Are they the same kind of things that non-Indians might have recalled and recorded during these years?
3. What does the calendar tell us about Kiowa relations with other Indian tribes and about how the Kiowas witnessed their world

changing before their eyes?

## The Sioux, the Treaty of Fort Laramie, and the Black Hills



LAKOTA PEOPLE MAINTAIN THAT THEY EMERGED into this world from the Black Hills in western South Dakota. French sources and most historians locate the Sioux on the headwaters of the Mississippi in Minnesota at the time of first contact with Europeans, and the Crows, Kiowas, and other tribes have historical connections to the Black Hills. But whenever and however they arrived there, the Lakotas came to regard the Black Hills, Paha Sapa, as sacred ground, the center of their universe, “the heart of everything that is.” The Sioux struggle to keep and to recover the Black Hills has been and remains at the heart of their relations with the United States.

In the first Treaty of Fort Laramie in 1851, the United States recognized the territory of the Lakotas or Teton Sioux as covering most of the present-day states of North and South Dakota and parts of Nebraska, Montana, and Wyoming, an enormous expanse of territory constituting approximately 5 percent of the continental United States. The Black Hills lay within that territory.



When the United States attempted to establish the Bozeman Trail through Sioux Territory to gold mines in Montana (see [Map 6.1, “Conflicts with the United States and Indian Land Cessions, 1850–1890,” page 306](#)), the Lakotas and their Northern Cheyenne and Arapaho allies fought the army to a standstill in the so-called Red Cloud’s War, which took its name from the Oglala Sioux chief who led the charge. They laid siege to the posts the army built along the trail at Fort Reno, Fort Phil Kearny, and Fort C. F. Smith, and in December 1866 they annihilated the entire command of Captain William Fetterman, who had boasted that with eighty men he could ride through the Sioux Nation. Faced with embarrassing defeats, the United States looked for peace. The result was the second Treaty of Fort Laramie in 1868, one of the most significant and controversial treaties in the history of Indian–U.S. relations. It ended the war, planted the seeds for another war, and provided the legal foundation for Sioux claims to the Black Hills for more than a hundred years. The U.S. Peace Commission consisted of military men — Generals William Tecumseh Sherman, William S. Harney, Alfred H. Terry, Christopher C. Augur, and John B. Sanborn — and politicians and reformers — Commissioner of Indian Affairs Nathaniel G. Taylor, Senator John B. Henderson, and Indian agent Samuel F. Tappan. The commission’s goals were to end warfare on the Plains and to consolidate the Indians on reservations.

In the spring of 1868, the commissioners dispatched messengers to the Indian encampments in the Powder River country, inviting Red Cloud, Old Man Afraid of His Horses, and their followers to

meet them at Fort Laramie. The more compliant bands who lived close to the fort — nicknamed the “Laramie loafers” — were happy to sign the treaty and receive gifts. Several Brulé chiefs made clear that the United States had caused the war by placing soldiers and forts in Sioux country and both would have to be removed.<sup>75</sup> Red Cloud and the more militant Oglalas remained aloof: “We are on the mountains looking down on the soldiers and the forts,” he said. “When we see the soldiers moving away and the forts abandoned, then I will come down and talk.”<sup>76</sup>

Over a six-month period, 159 chiefs from ten Sioux bands “touched the pen” to the treaty. The commissioners left in May without meeting Red Cloud. Only after the forts were abandoned and burned did Red Cloud ride into Fort Laramie and sign the treaty with the post commander in November. Having signed the treaty, Red Cloud kept it. The United States did not.

By the terms of the treaty, both sides agreed to end the war and live in peace. But the treaty also contained the seeds of future conflicts and included contradictory provisions. The government undertook to punish persons under U.S. jurisdiction who committed offenses against the Indians, but it also secured agreement that any Indians committing offenses against American citizens should be delivered to the United States for punishment. The Americans agreed to close the Bozeman Trail, but, having just fought and won a war to close one road, the Lakotas now agreed to allow other roads and railroads to be built through their hunting

grounds. The government set aside South Dakota west of the Missouri River as the “Great Sioux Reservation” and confirmed the country north of the North Platte River and east of the Bighorn Mountains as unceded hunting territory. But Article 11 of the treaty stipulated that, at some future date, the Indians “will relinquish all right to occupy permanently the territory outside their reservation.” The treaty guaranteed the Indians the right to hunt north of the North Platte “so long as the buffalo may range thereon in sufficient numbers to justify the chase”; but the campaign to exterminate the buffalo herds was already under way on the southern Plains and would soon spread north. The treaty contained provisions for transforming the Indians into farmers who would “compel” their children to attend schools where they would be educated out of Lakota ways and into American ways. The treaty supposedly guaranteed the northern Plains to the Lakotas, but Congress created Wyoming Territory that same year. The treaty also stipulated that no further cessions of reservation lands would be valid unless agreed to by three-quarters of the adult male Indian population. The Treaty of Fort Laramie contains so many contradictions that it appears to have been designed as “an instrument of chicanery” to obtain from the Indians in peace what the army had been unable to seize in war. The year after the treaty was signed, in June 1869, General Philip Sheridan issued a general order: all Indians on reservations were under the control and jurisdiction of their agents; outside the limits of their reservations they were under military jurisdiction “and as a rule will be

considered hostile.” The “unceded territory” had become “white territory.”<sup>77</sup>

As had been the case in treaty councils between eastern Indians and European colonists, the Treaty of Fort Laramie represented a diplomatic forum that the participants approached with different expectations and understandings. For the Indians, who lived in an oral culture, the council, the spoken words, and the accompanying rituals of smoking together in peace were the important things. For the Americans, these parleys were just the prelude to the “real thing”: a written document on which the Indian delegates recorded their agreement by “touching the pen” or making an X after their names.<sup>78</sup> “In 1868, men came out and brought papers. We could not read them and they did not tell us truly what was in them,” said Red Cloud in a speech to the Cooper Union in New York in 1870. “We thought the treaty was to remove the forts and for us to cease from fighting.” Another Sioux delegate, Bear in the Grass, said that “these words of the treaty were never explained. It was merely said that the treaty was for peace and friendship among the whites. When we took hold of the pen they said they would take the troops away so we could raise our children.”<sup>79</sup> From that day to this, Sioux people have been convinced that the treaty was altered after the delegates signed it. At a gathering of Northern Plains Native Nations at Fort Laramie in 1996, tribal elder Homer Whirl Wind Horse accused white men of always speaking with duplicity. “With one of their tongues they tell us good things, and the other tongue is a pencil,”

he said. “We understood the words of the treaty, but when they wrote it down, the pencil changed it.”<sup>80</sup>

Whatever contradictions and deceptions the Treaty of Fort Laramie contained, it soon became quite clear that the United States would break it. In 1873 gold was discovered in the Black Hills. The next year, George Armstrong Custer led a military expedition into the hills and confirmed the news. The United States was in the grip of a severe depression; it would not leave the Lakotas in undisturbed possession of the gold-rich Black Hills, no matter what the Fort Laramie treaty said.

As miners began to risk their lives by trespassing on Lakota hunting grounds, a government commission tried to buy the Black Hills but met stiff opposition. Some chiefs refused to discuss selling the hills; Little Big Man threatened to kill the first Indian who even spoke of doing so. Others asked for far more than the United States was prepared to offer: Red Cloud demanded enough money to feed his people for seven generations. The commission returned to Washington and the army took over.

The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 had declared that the United States would not disturb Indians in the rightful possession of their lands, except in “just and lawful wars authorized by Congress.” The army withdrew the troops that, under the terms of the Fort Laramie treaty, were supposed to prevent miners from entering the Black Hills. An ultimatum ordered all Lakota and Cheyenne bands to

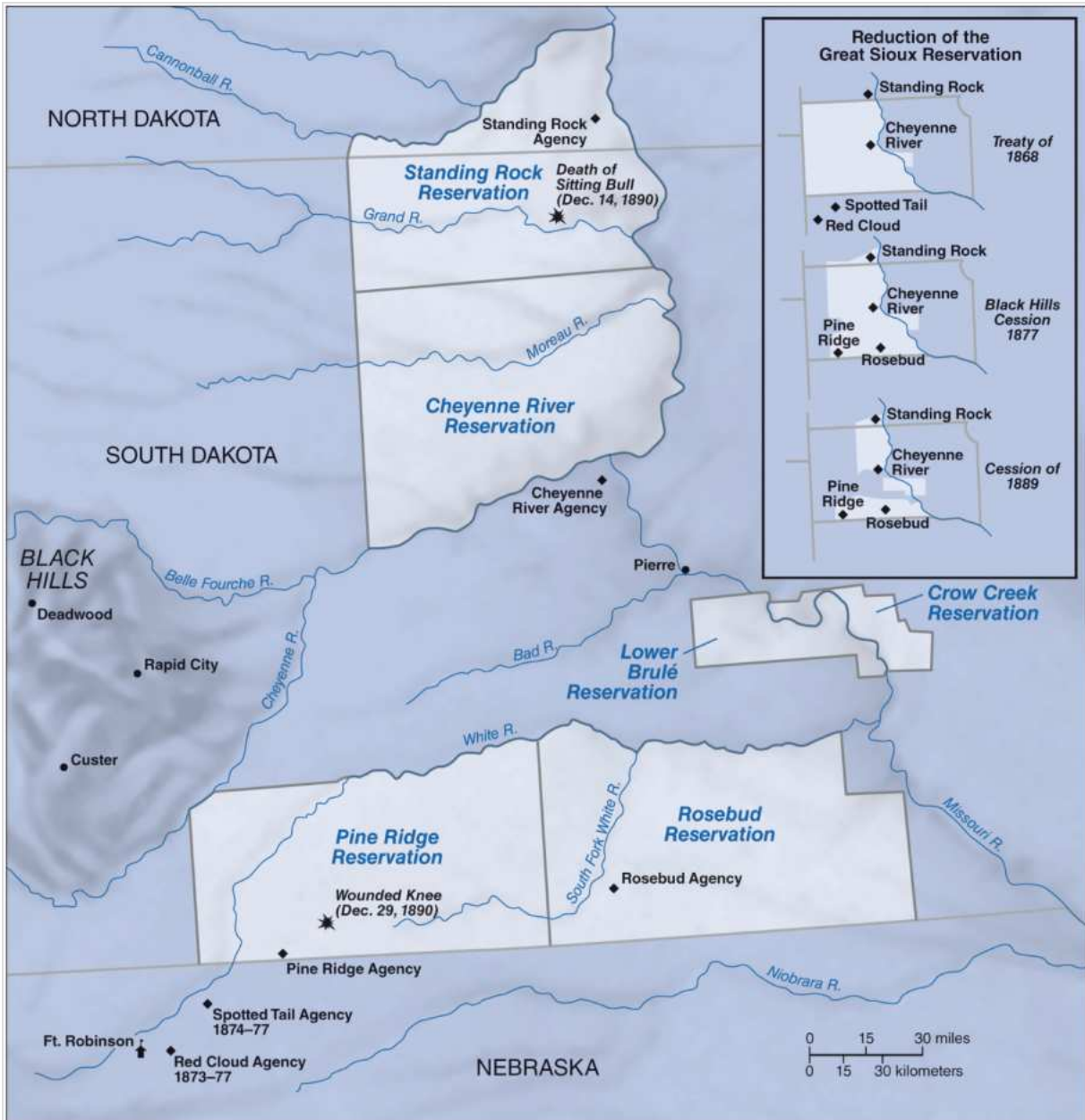
report to the agencies by January 31, 1876, and then declared that those who failed to come in were “hostile.” The war against them *would* be just and lawful.

The army launched a three-pronged invasion to trap and crush Lakota resistance, but things did not go according to plan. Crazy Horse and his warriors turned back General George Crook’s army at the Battle of the Rosebud in mid-June. Eight days later, on June 25, the Lakotas and Cheyennes routed an attack on their village in the Little Bighorn valley and annihilated Custer’s immediate command. (See [Picture Essay, “The Battle of the Little Bighorn in Myth and History,” pages 359–63.](#)) The army won its war, but it did so in a series of mopping-up operations, chasing scattered Indian bands over the northern Plains, attacking winter encampments, and killing old people, women, children, and ponies in the snow. Crazy Horse surrendered and was killed. Sitting Bull fled to Canada.

With Lakota resistance broken, another commission, this one led by George Manypenny, arrived on the reservations to obtain consent to the transfer to the United States of the “unceded territory” that included the Black Hills. Congress cut funding for rations to the agencies until the Lakotas agreed to cede the land. Lakota people recalled having to negotiate under the guns of American soldiers. The Lakotas protested, but the reservation chiefs signed. The commissioners managed to secure the agreement of only about 10 percent of the adult males — about 65 percent short of what the Treaty of Fort Laramie required — but, in

the wake of the “Custer Massacre,” the government was in no mood to worry about such niceties. In February 1877, Congress passed a law taking the Black Hills and extinguishing all Sioux rights outside the Great Sioux Reservation.

The “Great Sioux Nation” had shrunk in less than twenty years from about 134 million acres as recognized in the 1851 Treaty of Fort Laramie to less than 15 million acres. It continued to shrink. The Sioux Act of 1888 applied the Dawes Allotment Act (see [pages 377–80](#)) to the Great Sioux Reservation, opening “surplus lands” to settlement and dividing the Lakotas into six separate reservations ([Map 6.4](#)).



Information from maps by Harry Scott taken from *The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846–1890*, by Robert Utley. Copyright © 1984 University of New Mexico Press.

#### ♦ Map 6.4 The Lakota Reservations, 1890

The Treaty of Fort Laramie in 1868 recognized the territory west of the Missouri River in South Dakota as the Great Sioux Reservation. Following the discovery of gold in the Black Hills and the defeat of the Sioux after the Little Bighorn, the United States systematically reduced Sioux territory, depriving the Lakotas of the sacred Black Hills and dividing them into six separate reservations.



Congress passed another Sioux Act in 1889 and dispatched another commission. This one included General George Crook, a veteran of wars against both the Apaches and the Sioux. Crook told the Indians there was a flood coming and they must save what they could or see it all swept away. He applied divide-and-conquer tactics. The commission found that “it was impossible to deal with the Indians as a body in general councils.” The Lakotas in their own councils had already decided against agreement with the U.S. government, and they presented the commissioners with a united front. The commissioners then “endeavored to convince individuals that substantial advantages to the Indians as a whole would result from an acceptance of the bill.” For a time, they said in their report, “the task seemed almost hopeless, but persistence prevailed and interest was awakened. As soon as the question became debatable the situation changed and success was assured.”<sup>81</sup> Congress cut the amount of rations the commission promised, and another 9 million acres was stripped away from the reservation. Angry and divided, Lakota people watched as settlers moved onto lands that less than twenty-five years earlier had been set apart for their “absolute and undisturbed use and occupation.”

The Sioux never accepted the loss of the Black Hills.<sup>82</sup> In 1923 they filed suit with the U.S. Court of Claims demanding compensation. The Court of Claims dragged its feet and then dismissed the claim in 1942. With the creation of the Indian Claims Commission in 1946, the Sioux tried again, but in 1954 the commission dismissed the case on the grounds that the claim had

already been denied. Two years later, the Sioux fired their lawyer and had their claim reinstated on the basis that they had been represented by “inadequate counsel,” and in 1974 the Indian Claims Commission decided that the government had taken the land in violation of the Fifth Amendment because it had not paid just compensation. The commission awarded the Sioux \$17.5 million plus interest. The government appealed, and the Court of Claims reversed the decision on the basis of *res judicata*, stating that the claim had already been litigated and decided back in 1942. But the court declared that “a more ripe and rank case of dishonorable dealings will never, in all probability, be found in our history,” and opened the door for the Sioux to seek compensation on the grounds of dishonorable dealings.<sup>83</sup> In 1978 Congress passed an act enabling the Court of Claims to rehear the case. The Court of Claims found that the United States had taken the Black Hills unconstitutionally and reinstated the \$17.5 million award, plus 5 percent interest, for a total of \$122.5 million. The Justice Department appealed the decision, and finally, in 1980 — fifty-seven years after the Sioux first brought suit — the Supreme Court heard the Black Hills case. It found that the annexation act of 1877 constituted “a taking of tribal property which had been set aside by the treaty of Fort Laramie for the Sioux’s exclusive occupation” and upheld the award.

The Sioux, having won their long-sought victory, turned down the money. T-shirts and bumper stickers echoed their position that “The Black Hills Are Not For Sale.” Instead, most Sioux insisted that the United States must return the Black Hills to them and pay the

money as compensation for the billions of dollars of wealth that had been extracted and the damages done while whites illegally occupied the hills. The award remains uncollected and, with accumulated interest, now stands at more than \$1.5 billion. The conflict between the Sioux and the United States over the Black Hills remains unresolved, and in recent years the Treaty of Fort Laramie has also featured prominently in the conflict between protesters at Standing Rock reservation and the United States over the Dakota Access Pipeline (see [pages 610–11](#)).

***Treaty with the Sioux — Brulé, Oglala, Miniconjou, Yanktonai, Hunkpapa, Blackfeet, Cuthead, Two Kettle, Sans Arcs, and Santee — and Arapaho (1868)***

*Articles of a treaty made and concluded by and between Lieutenant-General William T. Sherman, General William S. Harney, General Alfred H. Terry, General C. C. Augur, J. B. Henderson, Nathaniel G. Taylor, John B. Sanborn, and Samuel F. Tappan, duly appointed commissioners on the part of the United States, and the different bands of the Sioux Nation of Indians, by their chiefs and head-men, whose names are hereto subscribed, they being duly authorized to act in the premises.*

**Apr. 29, 1868. 15 Stats., 635.**

**Ratified, Feb. 16, 1869.**

**Proclaimed, Feb. 24, 1869.**

ARTICLE 1. From this day forward all war between the parties to this agreement shall forever cease. The Government of the United States desires peace, and its

honor is hereby pledged to keep it. The Indians desire peace, and they now pledge their honor to maintain it.

If bad men among the whites, or among other people subject to the authority of the United States, shall

**War to cease and peace to be kept.**

commit any wrong upon the person or property of the Indians, the United States will, upon proof made to the agent and forwarded to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington City, proceed at once to cause the offender to be arrested and punished according to the laws of the United States, and also reimburse the injured person for the loss sustained.

**Offenders against the Indians to be arrested, etc.**

If bad men among the Indians shall commit a wrong or depredation upon the person or property of any one, white, black, or Indian, subject to the authority of the United States, and at peace therewith, the Indians herein named solemnly agree that they will, upon proof made to their agent and notice by him, deliver up the wrong-doer to the United States, to be tried and punished according to its laws; and in case they wilfully refuse so to do, the person injured shall be reimbursed for his loss from the annuities or other moneys due or to become due to them under this or other treaties made with the United States. And the President, on advising with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, shall prescribe such rules and regulations for

ascertaining damages under the provisions of this article as in his judgment may be proper. But no one sustaining loss while violating the provisions of this treaty or the laws of the United States shall be reimbursed therefor.

**Wrongdoers against the whites to be punished.**

**Damages.**

ARTICLE 2. The United States agrees that the following district of country, to wit, viz:

commencing on the east bank of the Missouri River where the

forty-sixth parallel of north latitude crosses the same, thence along low-water mark down said east bank to a point opposite where the northern line of the State of Nebraska strikes the river, thence west across said river, and along the northern line of Nebraska to the one hundred and fourth degree of longitude west from Greenwich, thence north on said meridian to a point where the forty-sixth parallel of north latitude intercepts the same, thence due east along said parallel to the place of beginning; and in addition thereto, all existing reservations on the east bank of said river shall be, and the same is, set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the Indians herein named, and for such other friendly tribes or individual Indians as from time to time they may be willing, with the consent of the United States, to admit amongst them; and the United States now solemnly agrees that no persons except those herein designated and authorized so to do, and except such officers, agents and employés of the Government as may be authorized to enter upon Indian reservations in discharge of duties

enjoined by law, shall ever be permitted to pass over, settle upon, or reside in the territory described in this article, or in such territory as may be added to this reservation for the use of said Indians, and henceforth they will and do hereby relinquish all claims or right in and to any portion of the United States or Territories, except such as is embraced within the limits aforesaid, and except as hereinafter provided.

**Reservation boundaries.**

**Certain persons not to enter or reside thereon.**

ARTICLE 3. If it should appear from actual survey or other satisfactory examination of said tract of land that it contains less than one hundred

and sixty acres of tillable land for each person who, at the time, may be authorized to reside on it under the provisions of this treaty, and a very considerable number of such persons shall be disposed to commence cultivating the soil as farmers, the United States agrees to set apart, for the use of said Indians, as herein provided, such additional quantity of arable land, adjoining to said reservation, or as near to the same as it can be obtained, as may be required to provide the necessary amount.

**Additional arable land to be added, if, etc.**

ARTICLE 4. The United States agrees, at its own proper expense, to construct at some

place on the Missouri River, near the center of said reservation, where timber and water may be convenient, the following

buildings, to wit: a warehouse, a store-room for the use of the agent in storing goods belonging to the Indians, to cost not less than twenty-five hundred dollars; an agency-building for the residence of the agent, to cost not exceeding three thousand dollars; a residence for the physician, to cost not more than three thousand dollars; and five other buildings, for a carpenter, farmer, blacksmith, miller, and engineer, each to cost not exceeding two thousand dollars; also a school-house or mission-building, so soon as a sufficient number of children can be induced by the agent to attend school, which shall not cost exceeding five thousand dollars.

**Buildings on reservation.**

The United States agrees further to cause to be erected on said reservation, near the other buildings herein authorized, a good steam circular-saw mill, with a grist-mill and shingle-machine attached to the same, to cost not exceeding eight thousand dollars.

ARTICLE 5. The United States agrees that the agent for said Indians shall in the future make his home at the agency-building; that he shall reside among them, and keep an office open at all times for the purpose of prompt and diligent inquiry into such matters of complaint by and against the Indians as may be presented for investigation under the provisions of their treaty stipulations, as also for the faithful discharge of other duties enjoined on him by law. In all cases of depredation on person or property he shall cause the evidence to be taken in writing and forwarded, together with his findings, to the Commissioner of

Indian Affairs, whose decision, subject to the revision of the Secretary of the Interior, shall be binding on the parties to this treaty.

**Agent's residence, office, and duties.**

ARTICLE 6. If any individual belonging to said tribes of Indians, or legally incorporated with them, being the head of a family, shall desire to commence farming, he shall have the privilege to select, in the presence and with the assistance of the agent then in charge, a tract of land within said reservation, not exceeding three hundred and twenty acres in extent, which tract, when so selected, certified, and recorded in the "land-book," as herein directed, shall cease to be held in common, but the same may be occupied and held in the exclusive possession of the person selecting it, and of his family, so long as he or they may continue to cultivate it.

**Heads of families may select lands for farming.**

Any person over eighteen years of age, not being the head of a family, may in like manner select and cause to be certified to him or her, for purposes of cultivation, a quantity of land not exceeding eighty acres in extent, and thereupon be entitled to the exclusive possession of the same as above directed.

**Others may select land for cultivation.**

For each tract of land so selected a certificate, containing a



description thereof and the name of the person selecting it, with a certificate endorsed thereon that the same has been recorded, shall be delivered to the party entitled to it, by the agent, after the same shall have been recorded by him in a book to be kept in his office, subject to inspection, which said book shall be known as the “Sioux Land-Book.”

**Certificates.**

**Surveys.**

**Alienation and descent of property.**

**Certain Indians may receive patents for 160 acres of land.**

**Such Indians receiving patents to become citizens of the United States.**

The President may, at any time, order a survey of the reservation, and, when so surveyed, Congress shall provide for protecting the rights of said settlers in their improvements, and may fix the character of the title held by each. The United States may pass such laws on

the subject of alienation and descent of property between the Indians and their descendants as may be thought proper. And it is further stipulated that any male Indians, over eighteen years of age, of any band or tribe that is or shall hereafter become a party to this treaty, who now is or who shall hereafter become a resident or occupant of any reservation or Territory not included in the tract of country designated and described in this treaty for the permanent home of the Indians, which is not mineral land, nor reserved by the United States for special purposes other than Indian occupation, and who shall have made improvements thereon of the value of two hundred dollars or more, and continuously occupied the same as a

homestead for the term of three years, shall be entitled to receive from the United States a patent for one hundred and sixty acres of land including his said improvements, the same to be in the form of the legal subdivisions of the surveys of the public lands. Upon application in writing, sustained by the proof of two disinterested witnesses, made to the register of the local land-office when the land sought to be entered is within a land district, and when the tract sought to be entered is not in any land district, then upon said application and proof being made to the Commissioner of the General Land-Office, and the right of such Indian or Indians to enter such tract or tracts of land shall accrue and be perfect from the date of his first improvements thereon, and shall continue as long as he continues his residence and improvements, and no longer. And any Indian or Indians receiving a patent for land under the foregoing provisions, shall thereby and from thenceforth become and be a citizen of the United States, and be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of such citizens, and shall, at the same time, retain all his rights to benefits accruing to Indians under this treaty.

**Education.**

**Children to attend school.**

**Schoolhouses and teachers.**

ARTICLE 7. In order to insure the civilization of the Indians entering into this treaty, the necessity of education is admitted, especially of such of them as are or may be settled on said agricultural reservations, and they therefore pledge themselves to compel their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years, to attend school; and it is hereby made the duty of the agent

for said Indians to see that this stipulation is strictly complied with; and the United States agrees that for every thirty children between said ages who can be induced or compelled to attend school, a house shall be provided and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education shall be furnished, who will reside among said Indians and faithfully discharge his or her duties as a teacher. The provisions of this article to continue for not less than twenty years.

ARTICLE 8. When the head of a family or lodge shall have selected lands and received his certificate as above directed, and the agent shall be satisfied that he intends in good faith to commence cultivating the soil for a living, he shall be entitled to receive seeds and agricultural implements for the first year, not exceeding in value one hundred dollars, and for each succeeding year he shall continue to farm, for a period of three years more, he shall be entitled to receive seeds and implements as aforesaid, not exceeding in value twenty-five dollars.

**Seeds and agricultural implements.**

And it is further stipulated that such persons as commence farming shall receive instruction from the farmer herein provided for, and whenever more than one hundred persons shall enter upon the cultivation of the soil, a second blacksmith shall be provided, with such iron, steel, and other material as may be needed.

**Instructions in farming.**

**Second blacksmith.**

ARTICLE 9. At any time after ten years from the making of this treaty, the United States shall have the privilege of withdrawing the physician, farmer, blacksmith, carpenter, engineer, and miller herein provided for, but in case of such withdrawal, an additional sum thereafter of ten thousand dollars per annum shall be devoted to the education of said Indians, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs shall, upon careful inquiry into their condition, make such rules and regulations for the expenditure of said sum as will best promote the educational and moral improvement of said tribes.

**Physician, farmer, etc., may be withdrawn.**

**Additional appropriation in such cases.**

ARTICLE 10. In lieu of all sums of money or other annuities provided to be paid to the Indians herein named, under any treaty or treaties heretofore made, the United States agrees to deliver at the agency-house on the reservation herein named, on or before the first day of August of each year, for thirty years, the following articles, to wit:

**Delivery of goods in lieu of money or other annuities.**

For each male person over fourteen years of age, a suit of good substantial woolen clothing, consisting of coat, pantaloons, flannel shirt, hat, and a pair of home-made socks.

**Clothing.**

For each female over twelve years of age, a flannel skirt, or the goods necessary to make it, a pair of woolen hose, twelve yards of calico, and twelve yards of cotton domestics.

For the boys and girls under the ages named, such flannel and cotton goods as may be needed to make each a suit as aforesaid, together with a pair of woolen hose for each.

And in order that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs may be able to estimate properly for the articles herein named, it shall be the duty of the agent each year to forward to him a full and exact census of the Indians, on which the estimate from year to year can be based.

And in addition to the clothing herein named, the sum of ten dollars for each person entitled to the beneficial effects of this treaty shall be annually appropriated for a period of thirty years, while such persons roam and hunt, and twenty dollars for each person who engages in farming, to be used by the Secretary of the Interior in the purchase of such articles as from time to time the condition and necessities of the Indians may indicate to be proper. And if within the thirty years, at any time, it shall appear that the amount of money needed for clothing under this article can be appropriated to better uses for the Indians named herein, Congress may, by law, change the appropriation to other purposes; but in no event shall the amount of this appropriation be withdrawn or

discontinued for the period named. And the President shall annually detail an officer of the Army to be present and attest the delivery of all the goods herein named to the Indians, and he shall inspect and report on the quantity and quality of the goods and the manner of their delivery. And it is hereby expressly stipulated that each Indian over the age of four years, who shall have removed to and settled permanently upon said reservation and complied with the stipulations of this treaty, shall be entitled to receive from the United States, for the period of four years after he shall have settled upon said reservation, one pound of meat and one pound of flour per day, provided the Indians cannot furnish their own subsistence at an earlier date. And it is further stipulated that the United States will furnish and deliver to each lodge of Indians or family of persons legally incorporated with them, who shall remove to the reservation herein described and commence farming, one good American cow, and one good well-broken pair of American oxen within sixty days after such lodge or family shall have so settled upon said reservation.

**Census.**

**Other necessary articles.**

**Appropriation to continue for thirty years.**

**Army officer to attend the delivery.**

**Meat and flour.**

ARTICLE 11. In consideration of the advantages and benefits conferred by this treaty, and the many pledges of friendship by the United States, the tribes who are parties to this agreement hereby stipulate that they will relinquish all right to occupy

**Cows and oxen.**

permanently the territory outside their reservation as herein defined, but yet reserve the right to hunt on any lands north of North Platte, and on the Republican Fork of the Smoky Hill River, so long as the buffalo may range thereon in such numbers as to justify the chase. And they, the said Indians, further expressly agree:

**Right to occupy territory outside of the reservation surrendered.**

**Right to hunt reserved.**

1st. That they will withdraw all opposition to the construction of the railroads now being built on the plains.

2d. That they will permit the peaceful construction of any railroad not passing over their reservation as herein defined.

**Agreements as to railroads.**

**Emigrants, etc.**

3d. That they will not attack any persons at home, or travelling, nor molest or disturb any wagon-trains, coaches, mules, or cattle belonging to the people of the United States, or to persons friendly therewith.

**Women and children.**

4th. They will never capture, or carry off from the settlements, white women or children.

5th. They will never kill or scalp white men, nor attempt to do them harm.

**White men.**

**Pacific Railroad, wagon roads, etc.**

**Damages for crossing their reservation.**

6th. They withdraw all pretence of opposition to the construction of the railroad now being built along the Platte River and westward to the Pacific Ocean, and they will not in future object to the construction of railroads, wagon-roads, mail-stations, or other works of utility or necessity, which may be ordered or permitted by the laws of the United States. But should such roads or other works be constructed on the lands of their reservation, the Government will pay the tribe whatever amount of damage may be assessed by three disinterested commissioners to be appointed by the President for that purpose, one of said commissioners to be a chief or head-man of the tribe.

7th. They agree to withdraw all opposition to the military posts or roads now established south of the North Platte River, or that may be established, not in violation of treaties heretofore made or hereafter to be made with any of the Indian tribes.

**Military posts and roads.**

ARTICLE 12. No treaty for the cession of any portion or part of the reservation herein described which may be held in common shall be of any validity or force as against the said Indians, unless executed and signed by at least three-fourths of all the adult male Indians, occupying or interested in the same; and no cession by the tribe shall be understood or construed in such manner as to



deprive, without his consent, any individual member of the tribe of his rights to any tract of land selected by him, as provided in Article 6 of this treaty.

**No treaty for cession of reservation to be valid unless, etc.**

ARTICLE 13. The United States hereby agrees to furnish annually to the Indians the physician, teachers, carpenter, miller, engineer, farmer, and blacksmiths as herein contemplated, and that such appropriations shall be made from time to time, on the estimates of the Secretary of the Interior, as will be sufficient to employ such persons.

**United States to furnish physician, teachers, etc.**

ARTICLE 14. It is agreed that the sum of five hundred dollars annually, for three years from date, shall be expended in presents to the ten persons of said tribe who in the judgment of the agent may grow the most valuable crops for the respective year.

**Presents for crops.**

ARTICLE 15. The Indians herein named agree that when the agency house or other buildings shall be constructed on the reservation named they will regard said reservation their permanent home, and they will make no permanent settlement elsewhere; but they shall have the right, subject to the conditions and modifications of this treaty, to hunt, as stipulated in Article 11 hereof.

**Reservation to be permanent home of tribes.**

**Unceded Indian territory.**

**Not to be occupied by whites, etc.**

ARTICLE 16. The United States hereby agrees and stipulates that the country north of the North Platte River and east of the summit of the Bighorn Mountains shall be held and considered to be unceded

Indian territory, and also stipulates and agrees that no white person or persons shall be permitted to settle upon or occupy any portion of the same; or without the consent of the Indians first had and obtained, to pass through the same; and it is further agreed by the United States that within ninety days after the conclusion of peace with all the bands of the Sioux Nation, the military posts now established in the territory in this article named shall be abandoned, and that the road leading to them and by them to the settlements in the Territory of Montana shall be closed.

**Effect of this treaty upon former treaties.**

ARTICLE 17. It is hereby expressly understood and agreed by and between the respective

parties to this treaty that the execution of this treaty and its ratification by the United States Senate shall have the effect, and shall be construed as abrogating and annulling all treaties and agreements heretofore entered into between the respective parties hereto, so far as such treaties and agreements obligate the United States to furnish and provide money, clothing, or other articles of

property to such Indians and bands of Indians as become parties to this treaty, but no further.

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. Which parts of the treaty were the Lakota delegates least likely to have agreed to or understood?
2. What issues did the Indians and treaty commissioners view differently? What does the treaty suggest about the problems, pitfalls, and opportunities of translation?
3. What relevance does the treaty have to Indian rights in contemporary America?

## Chief Joseph's Plea for Freedom



WHEN LEWIS AND CLARK STUMBLED DOWN from the Lolo Trail across the Bitterroot Mountains on their way west to the Columbia River in the fall of 1805, they met the Nee-me-poo Indians, whom the French called Nez Perces (pierced noses). The Nez Perces had heard of Americans, but few if any had seen them. They could have killed the hungry and exhausted explorers, but instead they welcomed them, fed them, and helped them on their way. Lewis

and Clark developed respect and admiration for them. In part, the Nez Perces were extending traditional hospitality to strangers; in part, they were eager to receive the trade, and especially the guns, that Lewis and Clark promised to bring them in return. Like their Shoshoni neighbors, the Nez Perces were hard-pressed by well-armed Blackfeet who ranged to their north and kept British guns out of their reach.

The Nez Perces lived where the present states of Washington, Idaho, and Oregon meet. After they acquired horses early in the eighteenth century, they built up huge herds and gained a reputation as skilled riders and breeders. From their first meeting with Americans in 1805, they pursued policies of peaceful coexistence with the newcomers. They traded with American fur traders and attended trappers' rendezvous in the 1820s. In 1831 they sent a delegation to St. Louis searching for the "book of heaven." Presbyterian missionaries Reverend Henry Spalding and his wife answered their call and went to live and work among the Nez Perces; other missionaries followed.<sup>84</sup>

In 1855 the Nez Perces signed a treaty with Governor Isaac Stevens of Washington Territory that set aside a large reservation for the tribe. But immigrants pressed in ever-growing numbers and miners encroached on the reservation after gold was discovered in 1860. In 1863 the Americans negotiated a new treaty with a chief named Lawyer. The Nez Perces lost 90 percent of their land and were assigned to a reservation at Lapwai on the Clearwater River in

Idaho (see [Map 6.2, “Indian Reservations in the West, 1890”](#)). Like most of the Nez Perce chiefs, Tu-ke-kas, whom the whites called Old Joseph, refused to sign the treaty; his band continued to live in the Wallowa valley in northeastern Oregon. Just before he died in 1871, Old Joseph made his son promise never to sell his homeland.

Young Joseph (In-mut-too-yah-lat-lat) came under almost immediate pressure to break his promise. Settlers encroached on the Wallowa valley, and the United States dispatched commissioners, first to investigate the situation and then to persuade Joseph to sell and join the “treaty party” on the Lapwai Reservation. The commissioners, led by Oliver Otis Howard, a one-armed Civil War general and founder of Howard University for African American students, declared that the Nez Perces who had not signed the 1863 treaty must come into the reservation or be moved there by force. The Indians pleaded to be allowed to remain on their homelands, but Howard lost patience and had one old chief, Toohoolhoolzote, arrested and thrown into the guardhouse. The Nez Perces were given until April 1, 1877, to complete the move. According to Nez Perce warrior Yellow Wolf, “[t]hat was what brought war, the arrest of this chief and showing us the rifle.”<sup>85</sup>



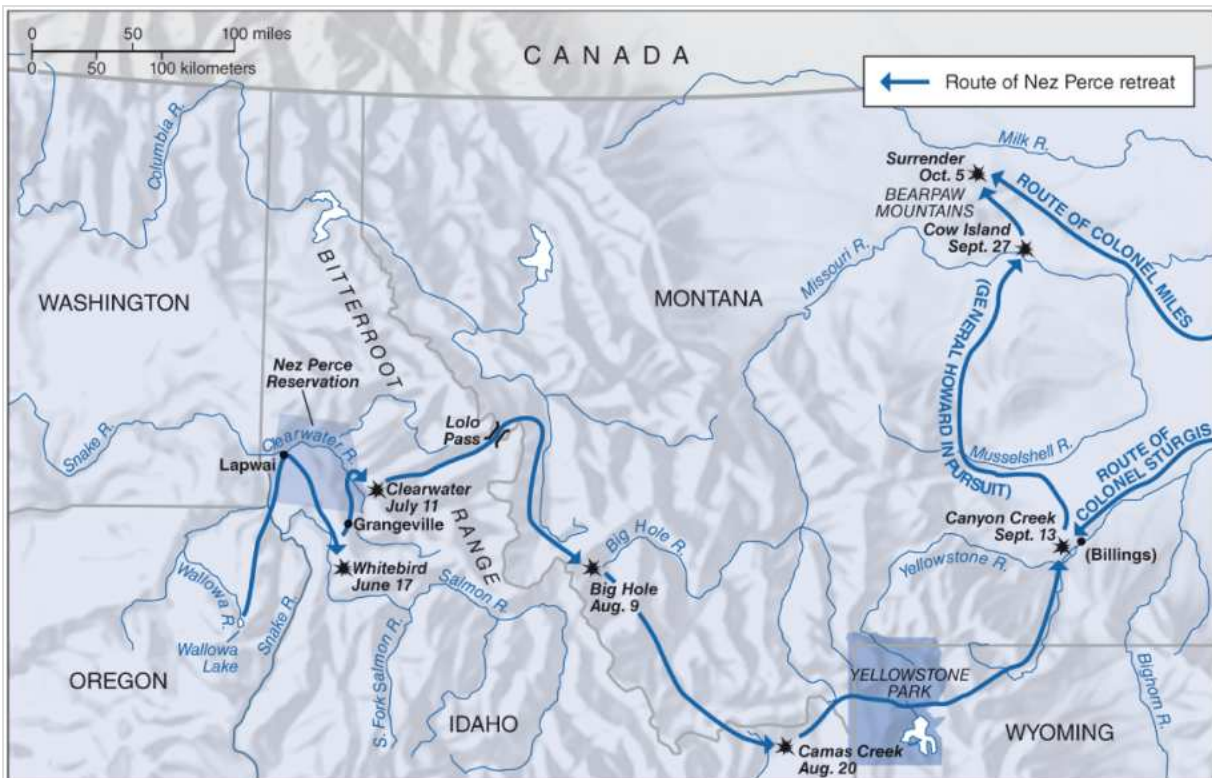
*Chief Joseph (1840–1904) 1878 (photo)/Jackson, William Henry (1843–1942)/PETER NEWARK'S PICTURES /Private Collection/Bridgeman Images.*

♦ **Chief Joseph**

Joseph (c. 1840–1904) is seen here shortly after his surrender to General Miles in 1877. Handsome and dignified in defeat, Joseph came to symbolize the heroic resistance of the Nez Perces.

Despite his promise to his father, Joseph persuaded his angry people to move rather than go to war. “None of the chiefs wanted war,” said Yellow Wolf, one of the last survivors of the conflict, who related his story in 1931.<sup>86</sup> But events were moving beyond their control. Three young warriors killed some men along the Salmon River in revenge for the murder of a chief called Tipyahlanah Siskon, or Eagle Robe. The U.S. army was quick to respond and

attacked the Nez Perces at White Bird Canyon. The Nez Perces routed the soldiers. It was the first of a series of embarrassing defeats for the United States, and the beginning of a fifteen-hundred-mile odyssey for the Nez Perces. Ably led by Joseph, his younger brother Ollokot, and the war chief Looking Glass, some eight hundred Nez Perces fled east. Fighting off Howard's troops, they crossed the Bitterroot Mountains into Montana, where they hoped to find refuge with the Crows. They rested at the Big Hole River, but Colonel John Gibbon struck them in a surprise dawn attack, killing men, women, and children. The warriors rallied and fought off Gibbon's troops until their families could escape. With American troops at their backs and news that Crow scouts were riding for the army, the Nez Perces decided to head for Canada ([Map 6.5](#)). Passing through the newly created park, they frightened tourists in Yellowstone. They defeated General Samuel Sturgis's cavalry at Canyon Creek. Time and again they fended off pursuing troops. Reaching the Bear Paw Mountains, about thirty miles from the Canadian border, they halted in exhaustion, confident they had shaken off their pursuers.



Calloway, *First Peoples*, 6e, © 2019 Bedford/St. Martin's

#### ♦ Map 6.5 The Nez Perce Odyssey, 1877

Nez Perce men, women, and children trekked 1,500 miles and fought off pursuing American armies in a desperate but ultimately unsuccessful bid to reach freedom in Canada.

But General Nelson Miles and six hundred men were rushing to head them off. Miles's Cheyenne scouts found the Nez Perces' tipis and the general attacked immediately. Caught off guard, the Nez Perces were split into groups and lost most of their horses. Ollokot and Toohoolhoolzote died in the fight. The survivors dug rifle pits and settled down for a siege. It began to snow. "Most of our few warriors left from the Big Hole had been swept as leaves before the storm," recalled Yellow Wolf. He looked around: "Children crying with cold. No fire. There could be no light. Everywhere the crying,



the death wail. . . . I felt the coming end.”<sup>87</sup> Looking Glass was killed. White Bird and about three hundred people slipped past the army and made it to Canada. After five days of fighting and a botched attempt to take him prisoner, Joseph finally accepted Miles’s entreaties to surrender. His surrender speech, as reported or attributed to him by Lieutenant Charles Erskin Wood, General Howard’s aide, has become famous.

“I am tired of fighting,” he said as he handed Miles his rifle. “Our chiefs are killed. Looking Glass is dead. Toohoolhoolzote is dead. The old men are all dead. It is the young men who say ‘yes’ or ‘no.’ He who led the young men [Ollokot] is dead. It is cold, and we have no blankets. The little children are freezing to death. . . . I want to have time to look for my children, and see how many of them I can find. Maybe I shall find them among the dead. Hear me, my chiefs! I am tired. My heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands, I will fight no more forever.”<sup>88</sup>

The Nez Perces’ epic trek and Joseph’s dignified conduct and tragic speech all captured public attention. Newspapers across the country carried reports of the war and of the Nez Perces’ military exploits. Even their adversaries expressed admiration. General William Tecumseh Sherman admitted that they “displayed a courage and skill that elicited universal praise; they abstained from scalping, let captive women go free, did not commit indiscriminate murder of peaceful families which is usual, and fought with almost scientific skill, using advance and rear guards, skirmish-lines and

field-fortifications.”<sup>89</sup> Ollokot and Looking Glass had been the masterminds behind the military retreat, but they were dead. Joseph, handsome and dignified in defeat, became a celebrity.

Nevertheless, the Nez Perces were betrayed again. Contrary to Miles’s assurances that they would be allowed to return home if they surrendered, they were loaded on trains and sent first to Fort Leavenworth, then to Indian Territory (Oklahoma). Miles’s role in the betrayal is uncertain (he argued consistently that the Nez Perces be allowed to return home, but the promises made and broken when Joseph surrendered to him are strikingly similar to the promises made and broken when Geronimo surrendered to him seven years later). Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz and Commissioner of Indian Affairs Ezra Hayt concurred with General Sherman and General Philip Sheridan that the Nez Perces should not be allowed to return home.

In late November, 418 Nez Perces arrived at Fort Leavenworth and were put in a winter camp close to the Missouri River. Commissioner Hayt described it as “the worst possible place that could have been selected.” “We were not badly treated in captivity,” said Yellow Wolf. “Only the climate killed many of us. All the newborn babies died, and many of the old people too. It was the climate. Everything so different from our old homes. No mountains, no springs, no clear running rivers. We called where we were Eeikish Pah [Hot Place].”<sup>90</sup> In the summer of 1878, the Nez Perces were moved to the northeastern corner of present-day Oklahoma.

Huddled in refugee camps, they endured hunger, misery, and malaria. By the end of the year, reported Hayt, more than a quarter of them had died.<sup>21</sup>

Joseph tried to secure relief for his people. In January 1879, he and another chief, Yellow Bull, were permitted to travel to Washington to plead that the Nez Perces be sent home. Arthur Chapman accompanied them as interpreter. Chapman was a rancher who had fought against the Nez Perces during the war, but he had an Indian wife, spoke Nez Perce fluently, and was Joseph's friend. They met President Rutherford B. Hayes and Secretary Schurz and received a sympathetic hearing in the East. Joseph made a two-hour speech to a gathering of cabinet members, congressmen, and others in Lincoln Hall and received a standing ovation. In March he met with Commissioner Hayt. A month later his speech was published in the *North American Review*. Some critics have suggested that Chapman, or even the periodical's editor, embellished Joseph's words. Joseph, of course, spoke in his own language, not in English, and the speech that was printed in the *Review* may have been inspired by Joseph's talks on several occasions rather than an accurate record of a single speech. The speech clearly conveys Nez Perce views and focuses public attention on the injustices suffered by the Nez Perces, but, like the surrender speech attributed to Joseph, its language and imagery also suited American tastes and expectations that associated Indian eloquence with defeat and nobility in the face of tragedy.<sup>22</sup> In any

case, Western politicians effectively resisted any efforts to let the Nez Percés go home.

In 1885 the Nez Percés were finally allowed to return to the Northwest. One group of about 188 people who agreed to become Christians went to the Lapwai agency. The others, about 150 people including Joseph, were sent to the Colville Reservation in Washington Territory, where they joined San Poils, Okanogans, Colvilles, Palouses, Wenatchees, and other Indians. Joseph continued the fight to be allowed to return home to the land where his father had died, the land he had promised never to sell. In 1897 he traveled to Washington again to plead his case with President William McKinley. In 1903 he met with President Theodore Roosevelt. In 1904 he had his photograph taken with his old enemy, General Howard. But Joseph did not get to return home. He died that fall, at sixty-four, probably of a heart attack, and was buried on the Colville Reservation.

### **CHIEF JOSEPH *An Indian's View of Indian Affairs* (1879)**

The United States claimed they had bought all the Nez Percés country outside the Lapwai Reservation, from Lawyer and other chiefs, but we continued to live on this land in peace until eight years ago, when white men began to come inside the bounds my father had set. We warned them against this great wrong, but they would not leave our land, and some bad blood was raised. The white

men represented that we were going upon the warpath. They reported many things that were false.

The United States Government again asked for a treaty council. My father had become blind and feeble. He could no longer speak for his people. It was then that I took my father's place as chief. In this council I made my first speech to white men. I said to the agent who held the council:

"I did not want to come to this council, but I came hoping that we could save blood. The white man has no right to come here and take our country. We have never accepted any presents from the Government. Neither Lawyer nor any other chief had authority to sell this land. It has always belonged to my people. It came unclouded to them from our fathers, and we will defend this land as long as a drop of Indian blood warms the hearts of our men."

The agent said he had orders, from the Great White Chief at Washington, for us to go upon the Lapwai Reservation, and that if we obeyed he would help us in many ways. "You must move to the agency," he said. I answered him: "I will not. I do not need your help; we have plenty, and we are contented and happy if the white man will let us alone. The reservation is too small for so many people with all their stock. You can keep your presents; we can go to your towns and pay for all we need; we have plenty of horses and cattle to sell, and we won't have any help from you; we are free now; we can go where we please. Our fathers were born here. Here they

lived, here they died, here are their graves. We will never leave them.” The agent went away, and we had peace for a little while.

Soon after this my father sent for me. I saw he was dying. I took his hand in mine. He said: “My son, my body is returning to my mother earth, and my spirit is going very soon to see the Great Spirit Chief. When I am gone, think of your country. You are the chief of these people. They look to you to guide them. Always remember that your father never sold this country. You must stop your ears whenever you are asked to sign a treaty selling your home. A few years more, and white men will be all around you. They have their eyes on this land. My son, never forget my dying words. This country holds your father’s body. Never sell the bones of your father and your mother.” I pressed my father’s hand and told him I would protect his grave with my life. My father smiled and passed away to the spirit land.

I buried him in that beautiful valley of winding waters. I love that land more than all the rest of the world. A man who would not love his father’s grave is worse than a wild animal.

For a short time we lived quietly. But this could not last. White men had found gold in the mountains around the land of winding water. They stole many horses from us, and we could not get them back because we were Indians. The white men told lies for each other. They drove off a great many of our cattle. Some white men branded our young cattle so they could claim them. We had no

friend who would plead our cause before the law councils. It seemed to me that some of the white men in Wallowa were doing these things on purpose to get up a war. They knew that we were not strong enough to fight them. I labored hard to avoid trouble and bloodshed. We gave up some of our country to the white men, thinking that then we could have peace. We were mistaken. The white man would not let us alone. We could have avenged our wrongs many times, but we did not. Whenever the Government has asked us to help them against other Indians, we have never refused. When the white men were few and we were strong we could have killed them all off, but the Nez Percés wished to live at peace.

If we have not done so, we have not been to blame. I believe that the old treaty has never been correctly reported. If we ever owned the land we own it still, for we never sold it. In the treaty councils the commissioners have claimed that our country had been sold to the Government. Suppose a white man should come to me and say, "Joseph, I like your horses, and I want to buy them." I say to him, "No, my horses suit me, I will not sell them." Then he goes to my neighbor, and says to him: "Joseph has some good horses. I want to buy them, but he refuses to sell." My neighbor answers, "Pay me the money, and I will sell you Joseph's horses." The white man returns to me, and says, "Joseph, I have bought your horses, and you must let me have them." If we sold our lands to the Government, this is the way they were bought.

On account of the treaty made by the other bands of the Nez Percés, the white men claimed my lands. We were troubled greatly by white men crowding over the line. Some of these were good men, and we lived on peaceful terms with them, but they were not all good.

Nearly every year the agent came over from Lapwai and ordered us on to the reservation. We always replied that we were satisfied to live in Wallowa. We were careful to refuse presents or annuities which he offered.

Through all the years since the white men came to Wallowa we have been threatened and taunted by them and the treaty Nez Percés. They have given us no rest. We have had a few good friends among white men, and they have always advised my people to bear these taunts without fighting. Our young men were quick-tempered, and I have had great trouble in keeping them from doing rash things. I have carried a heavy load on my back ever since I was a boy. I learned then that we were but few, while the white men were many, and that we could not hold our own with them. We were like deer. They were like grizzly bears. We had a small country. Their country was large. We were contented to let things remain as the Great Spirit Chief made them. They were not; and would change the rivers and mountains if they did not suit them.

Year after year we have been threatened, but no war was made upon my people until General Howard came to our country two



years ago and told us he was the white war-chief of all that country. He said: "I have a great many soldiers at my back. I am going to bring them up here, and then I will talk to you again. I will not let white men laugh at me the next time I come. The country belongs to the Government, and I intend to make you go upon the reservation." . . .

I knew I had never sold my country, and that I had no land in Lapwai; but I did not want bloodshed. I did not want my people killed. I did not want anybody killed. Some of my people had been murdered by white men, and the white murderers were never punished for it. I told General Howard about this, and again said I wanted no war. I wanted the people who lived upon the lands I was to occupy at Lapwai to have time to gather their harvest.

I said in my heart that, rather than have war, I would give up my country. I would give up my father's grave. I would give up everything rather than have the blood of white men upon the hands of my people.

General Howard refused to allow me more than thirty days to move my people and their stock. I am sure that he began to prepare for war at once.

When I returned to Wallowa I found my people very much excited upon discovering that the soldiers were already in the

Wallowa Valley. We held a council and decided to move immediately, to avoid bloodshed.

Too-hool-hool-suit, who felt outraged by his imprisonment, talked for war, and made many of my young men willing to fight rather than be driven like dogs from the land where they were born. He declared that blood alone would wash out the disgrace General Howard had put upon him. It required a strong heart to stand up against such talk, but I urged my people to be quiet, and not to begin a war.

We gathered all the stock we could find, and made an attempt to move. We left many of our horses and cattle in Wallowa, and we lost several hundred in crossing the river. All of my people succeeded in getting across in safety. Many of the Nez Percés came together in Rocky Cañon to hold a grand council. I went with all my people. This council lasted ten days. There was a great deal of war talk, and a great deal of excitement. There was one young brave present whose father had been killed by a white man five years before. This man's blood was bad against white men, and he left the council calling for revenge.

Again I counseled peace, and I thought the danger was past. We had not complied with General Howard's order because we could not, but we intended to do so as soon as possible. I was leaving the council to kill beef for my family, when news came that the young man whose father had been killed had gone out with several other

hot-blooded young braves and killed four white men. He rode up to the council and shouted: "Why do you sit here like women? The war has begun already." I was deeply grieved. All the lodges were moved except my brother's and my own. I saw clearly that the war was upon us when I learned that my young men had been secretly buying ammunition. I heard then that Too-hool-hool-suit, who had been imprisoned by General Howard, had succeeded in organizing a war party. I knew that their acts would involve all my people. I saw that the war could not be prevented. The time had passed. I counseled peace from the beginning. I knew that we were too weak to fight the United States. We had many grievances, but I knew that war would bring more. We had good white friends, who advised us against taking the war path. My friend and brother, Mr. Chapman, who has been with us since the surrender, told us just how the war would end. Mr. Chapman took sides against us, and helped General Howard. I do not blame him for doing so. He tried hard to prevent bloodshed. We hoped the white settlers would not join the soldiers. Before the war commenced we had discussed this matter all over, and many of my people were in favor of warning them that if they took no part against us they should not be molested in the event of war being begun by General Howard. This plan was voted down in the war council.

There were bad men among my people who had quarreled with white men, and they talked of their wrongs until they roused all the bad hearts in the council. Still I could not believe that they would begin the war. I know that my young men did a great wrong, but I

ask, Who was first to blame? They had been insulted a thousand times; their fathers and brothers had been killed; their mothers and wives had been disgraced; they had been driven to madness by whisky sold to them by white men; they had been told by General Howard that all their horses and cattle which they had been unable to drive out of Wallowa were to fall into the hands of white men; and, added to all this, they were homeless and desperate.

I would have given my own life if I could have undone the killing of white men by my people. I blame my young men and I blame the white men. I blame General Howard for not giving my people time to get their stock away from Wallowa. I do not acknowledge that he had the right to order me to leave Wallowa at any time. I deny that either my father or myself ever sold that land. It is still our land. It may never again be our home, but my father sleeps there, and I love it as I love my mother. I left there, hoping to avoid bloodshed.

If General Howard had given me plenty of time to gather up my stock, and treated Too-hool-hool-suit as a man should be treated, there would have been no war.

My friends among white men have blamed me for the war. I am not to blame. When my young men began the killing, my heart was hurt. Although I did not justify them, I remembered all the insults I had endured, and my blood was on fire. Still I would have taken my people to the buffalo country without fighting, if possible.

I could see no other way to avoid a war. We moved over to White Bird Creek, sixteen miles away, and there encamped, intending to collect our stock before leaving; but the soldiers attacked us, and the first battle was fought. We numbered in that battle sixty men, and the soldiers a hundred. The fight lasted but a few minutes, when the soldiers retreated before us for twelve miles. They lost thirty-three killed, and had seven wounded. When an Indian fights, he only shoots to kill; but soldiers shoot at random. None of the soldiers were scalped. We do not believe in scalping, nor in killing wounded men. Soldiers do not kill many Indians unless they are wounded and left upon the battle field. Then they kill Indians.

Seven days after the first battle, General Howard arrived in the Nez Percés country, bringing seven hundred more soldiers. It was now war in earnest. . . .

We heard nothing of General Howard, or Gibbon, or Sturgis. We had repulsed each in turn, and began to feel secure, when another army, under General Miles, struck us. This was the fourth army, each of which outnumbered our fighting force, that we had encountered within sixty days.

We had no knowledge of General Miles' army until a short time before he made a charge upon us, cutting our camp in two, and capturing nearly all of our horses. About seventy men, myself among them, were cut off. My little daughter, twelve years old, was with me. I gave her a rope, and told her to catch a horse and join the

others who were cut off from the camp. I have not seen her since, but I have learned that she is alive and well.

I thought of my wife and children, who were now surrounded by soldiers, and I resolved to go to them or die. With a prayer in my mouth to the Great Spirit Chief who rules above, I dashed unarmed through the line of soldiers. It seemed to me that there were guns on every side, before and behind me. My clothes were cut to pieces and my horse was wounded, but I was unhurt. As I reached the door of my lodge, my wife handed me my rifle, saying: "Here's your gun. Fight!"

The soldiers kept up a continuous fire. Six of my men were killed in one spot near me. Ten or twelve soldiers charged into our camp and got possession of two lodges, killing three Nez Percés and losing three of their men, who fell inside our lines. I called my men to drive them back. We fought at close range, not more than twenty steps apart, and drove the soldiers back upon their main line, leaving their dead in our hands. We secured their arms and ammunition. We lost, the first day and night, eighteen men and three women. General Miles lost twenty-six killed and forty wounded. The following day General Miles sent a messenger into my camp under protection of a white flag. I sent my friend Yellow Bull to meet him.

Yellow Bull understood the messenger to say that General Miles wished me to consider the situation; that he did not want to kill my

people unnecessarily. Yellow Bull understood this to be a demand for me to surrender and save blood. Upon reporting this message to me, Yellow Bull said he wondered whether General Miles was in earnest. I sent him back with my answer, that I had made up my mind, but would think about it and send word soon. A little later he sent some Cheyenne scouts with another message. I went out to meet them. They said they believed that General Miles was sincere and really wanted peace. I walked on to General Miles' tent. He met me and we shook hands. He said, "Come, let us sit down by the fire and talk this matter over." I remained with him all night; next morning Yellow Bull came over to see if I was alive, and why I did not return.

General Miles would not let me leave the tent to see my friend alone.

Yellow Bull said to me: "They have got you in their power, and I am afraid they will never let you go again. I have an officer in our camp, and I will hold him until they let you go free."

I said: "I do not know what they mean to do with me, but if they kill me you must not kill the officer. It will do no good to avenge my death by killing him."

Yellow Bull returned to my camp. I did not make any agreement that day with General Miles. The battle was renewed while I was with him. I was very anxious about my people. I knew that we were

near Sitting Bull's camp in King George's land, and I thought maybe the Nez Percés who had escaped would return with assistance. No great damage was done to either party during the night.

On the following morning I returned to my camp by agreement, meeting the officer who had been held a prisoner in my camp at the flag of truce. My people were divided about surrendering. We could have escaped from Bear Paw Mountain if we had left our wounded, old women, and children behind. We were unwilling to do this. We had never heard of a wounded Indian recovering while in the hands of white men.

On the evening of the fourth day General Howard came in with a small escort, together with my friend Chapman. We could now talk understandingly. General Miles said to me in plain words, "If you will come out and give up your arms, I will spare your lives and send you to your reservation." I do not know what passed between General Miles and General Howard.

I could not bear to see my wounded men and women suffer any longer; we had lost enough already. General Miles had promised that we might return to our own country with what stock we had left. I thought we could start again. I believed General Miles, or I never would have surrendered. I have heard that he has been censured for making the promise to return us to Lapwai. He could not have made any other terms with me at that time. I would have held him in check until my friends came to my assistance, and then



neither of the generals nor their soldiers would have ever left Bear Paw Mountain alive.

On the fifth day I went to General Miles and gave up my gun, and said, “From where the sun now stands I will fight no more.” My people needed rest — we wanted peace.

I was told we could go with General Miles to Tongue River and stay there until spring, when we would be sent back to our country. Finally it was decided that we were to be taken to Tongue River. We had nothing to say about it. After our arrival at Tongue River, General Miles received orders to take us to Bismarck. The reason given was, that subsistence would be cheaper there.

General Miles was opposed to this order. He said: “You must not blame me. I have endeavored to keep my word, but the chief who is over me has given the order, and I must obey it or resign. That would do you no good. Some other officer would carry out the order.”

I believe General Miles would have kept his word if he could have done so. I do not blame him for what we have suffered since the surrender. I do not know who is to blame. We gave up all our horses — over eleven hundred — and all our saddles — over one hundred — and we have not heard from them since. Somebody has got our horses.

General Miles turned my people over to another soldier, and we were taken to Bismarck. Captain Johnson, who now had charge of us, received an order to take us to Fort Leavenworth. At Leavenworth we were placed on a low river bottom, with no water except river water to drink and cook with. We had always lived in a healthy country, where the mountains were high and the water was cold and clear. Many of my people sickened and died, and we buried them in this strange land. I can not tell how much my heart suffered for my people while at Leavenworth. The Great Spirit Chief who rules above seemed to be looking some other way, and did not see what was being done to my people.

During the hot days (July, 1878) we received notice that we were to be moved farther away from our own country. We were not asked if we were willing to go. We were ordered to get into railroad cars. Three of my people died on the way to Baxter Springs. It was worse to die there than to die fighting in the mountains.

We were moved from Baxter Springs (Kansas) to the Indian Territory, and set down without our lodges. We had but little medicine, and we were nearly all sick. Seventy of my people have died since we moved there.

We have had a great many visitors who have talked many ways. . .

.

At last I was granted permission to come to Washington and bring my friend Yellow Bull and our interpreter with me. I am glad we came. I have shaken hands with a great many friends, but there are some things I want to know which no one seems able to explain. I can not understand how the Government sends a man out to fight us, as it did General Miles, and then breaks his word. Such a government has something wrong about it. I can not understand why so many chiefs are allowed to talk so many different ways, and promise so many different things. I have seen the Great Father Chief (the President), the next Great Chief (Secretary of the Interior), the Commissioner Chief (Hayt), the Law Chief (General Butler), and many other law chiefs (Congressmen), and they all say they are my friends, and that I shall have justice, but while their mouths all talk right I do not understand why nothing is done for my people. I have heard talk and talk, but nothing is done. Good words do not last long unless they amount to something. Words do not pay for my dead people. They do not pay for my country, now overrun by white men. They do not protect my father's grave. They do not pay for all my horses and cattle. Good words will not give me back my children. Good words will not make good the promise of your War Chief General Miles. Good words will not give my people good health and stop them from dying. Good words will not get my people a home where they can live in peace and take care of themselves. I am tired of talk that comes to nothing. It makes my heart sick when I remember all the good words and all the broken promises. There has been too much talking by men who had no right to talk. Too many misrepresentations have been made, too

many misunderstandings have come up between the white men about the Indians. If the white man wants to live in peace with the Indian he can live in peace. There need be no trouble. Treat all men alike. Give them the same law. Give them all an even chance to live and grow. All men were made by the same Great Spirit Chief. They are all brothers. The earth is the mother of all people, and all people should have equal rights upon it. You might as well expect the rivers to run backward as that any man who was born a free man should be contented when penned up and denied liberty to go where he pleases. If you tie a horse to a stake, do you expect he will grow fat? If you pen an Indian up on a small spot of earth, and compel him to stay there, he will not be contented, nor will he grow and prosper. I have asked some of the great white chiefs where they get their authority to say to the Indian that he shall stay in one place, while he sees white men going where they please. They can not tell me.

I only ask of the Government to be treated as all other men are treated. If I can not go to my own home, let me have a home in some country where my people will not die so fast. I would like to go to Bitter Root Valley. There my people would be healthy; where they are now they are dying. Three have died since I left my camp to come to Washington.

When I think of our condition my heart is heavy. I see men of my race treated as outlaws and driven from country to country, or shot down like animals.

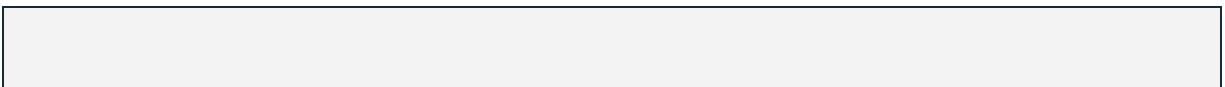
I know that my race must change. We can not hold our own with the white men as we are. We only ask an even chance to live as other men live. We ask to be recognized as men. We ask that the same law shall work alike on all men. If the Indian breaks the law, punish him by the law. If the white man breaks the law, punish him also.

Let me be a free man — free to travel, free to stop, free to work, free to trade where I choose, free to choose my own teachers, free to follow the religion of my fathers, free to think and talk and act for myself — and I will obey every law, or submit to the penalty.

Whenever the white man treats an Indian as they treat each other, then we will have no more wars. We shall all be alike — brothers of one father and one mother, with one sky above us and one country around us, and one government for all. Then the Great Spirit Chief who rules above will smile upon this land, and send rain to wash out the bloody spots made by brothers' hands from the face of the earth. For this time the Indian race are waiting and praying. I hope that no more groans of wounded men and women will ever go to the ear of the Great Spirit Chief above, and that all people may be one people.

In-mut-too-yah-lat-lat has spoken for his people.

*SOURCE: "An Indian's Views of Indian Affairs," North American Review, April 1879.*



## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. What do the extracts from Chief Joseph's speech tell about the war's causes and the conduct of U.S. Indian policy?
2. What does his speech reveal about the options and strategies and the role and authority of an Indian leader in a time of crisis?
3. To what extent does Joseph seem to be speaking in a context and terms defined by whites? What metaphors and expressions might reflect romantic American stereotypes about defeated and disappearing Indians?

# PICTURE ESSAY

## The Battle of the Little Bighorn in Myth and History



THE BATTLE OF THE LITTLE BIGHORN is the exception to the rule that the winners write history. In this case, the losers transformed a defeat into a mythic symbol of nation building. Almost immediately after the death of George Custer and his men on June 25, 1876, Americans began to construct an image of the battle that became part of a national mythology. Even among people who know little or nothing of the battle or its historical circumstances, the very words “Custer’s Last Stand” conjure up images of the blond-haired officer and his gallant band of soldiers surrounded by hordes of Indian warriors.

For many Americans then and since, the battle was the epic struggle of Western history, a final clash between two ways of life, between the old and the new, between “savagery” and “civilization.” It is the soldiers, not the Indians whose land is invaded and whose villages are attacked, who are fighting for their lives. Surrounded

and doomed, they become martyrs to the cause of westward expansion, and their deaths justify the eventual victory of the United States over the Indians. Even as society's values have changed and Custer in some circles has tumbled from gallant hero, to bumbling incompetent, to genocidal maniac, the central image of the battle — beleaguered soldiers on the hilltop — has endured.<sup>23</sup>

Yet this enduring image of the battle was created by people who were not there. The only survivors and eyewitnesses were Indians, most of whom remained tight-lipped about the battle and their role in it, fearing retribution even into the twentieth century. Stories and memories of what really happened survived among the Lakotas and Cheyennes, but most Americans imagined or preferred a different story, one perpetuated in countless books, paintings, and movies.

Less than a month after the battle, William Cary sketched the first image of the fight, subtitled *The Death Struggle of General Custer* ([Figure 6.1](#)). It set the standard for subsequent portrayals. The Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association distributed lithographs of Custer's Last Stand that decorated countless barrooms across the country, and Buffalo Bill Cody got in on the act by staging reenactments that both perpetuated and popularized the heroic image of the battle in his Wild West shows ([Figure 6.2](#)). Twentieth-century movie audiences saw numerous heroic renditions of the battle in films, but by the time of *Little Big Man* (1970), Custer's reputation was at a low ebb. Few Americans who anguished about their country's actions in Vietnam could admire the Indian-killing

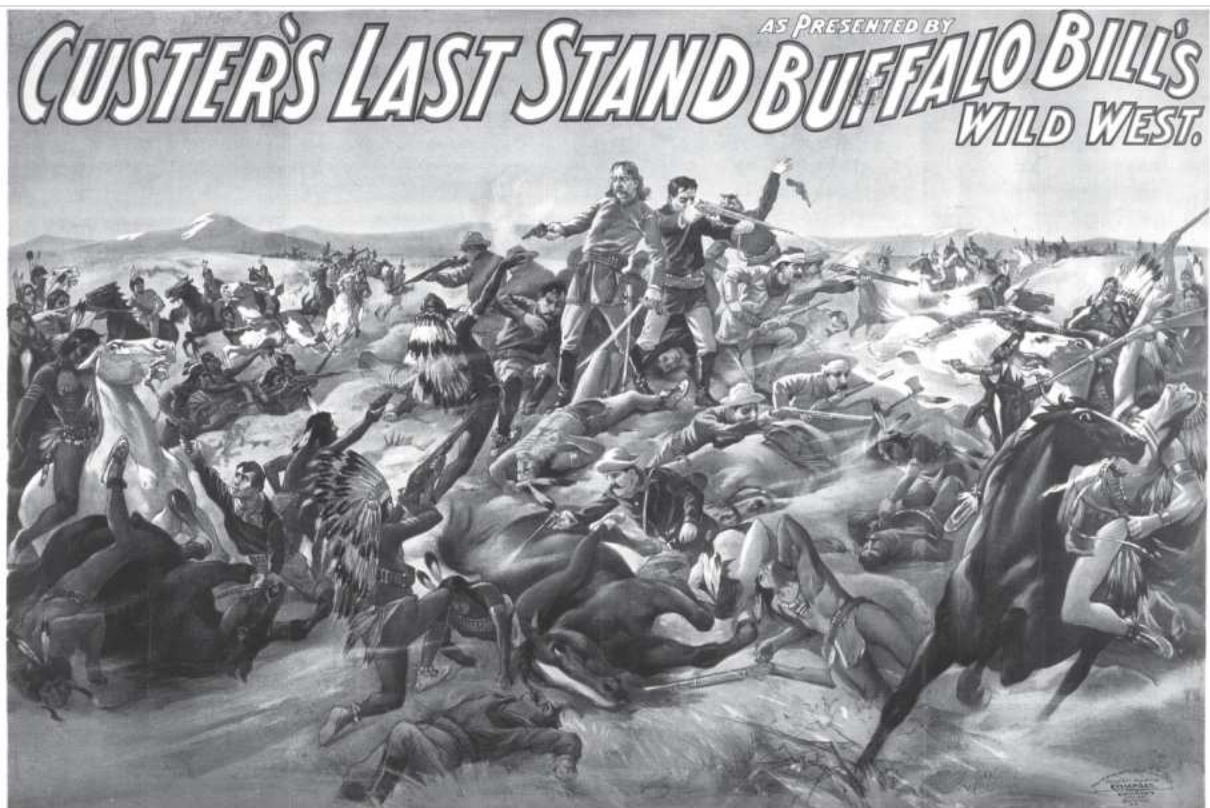


Custer. The film portrayed him, like his country, as bloodthirsty, arrogant, and ultimately mad ([Figure 6.3](#)). The hero turned villain still died alone on the hill.<sup>24</sup>



Library of Congress.

◆ Figure 6.1 William Cary, *The Death Struggle of General Custer* (1876)



Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Cody, Wyoming, U.S.A.; Museum Purchase, 1.69.2165.

♦ Figure 6.2 *Custer's Last Stand* (1904)



Photofest.

◆ Figure 6.3 *Little Big Man* (1970)

But other images of the battle existed. Lakota and Cheyenne participants, in keeping with the traditional practice of recording and recounting warriors' heroic deeds, produced pictographic accounts of the fight. These pictures, like the oral traditions of the battle passed down within the tribes, usually depict it as a rout rather than a heroic last stand ([Figure 6.4](#)). Increasingly sophisticated battlefield archaeology that employs metal detectors and forensic techniques, together with the very placement of the grave markers where the bodies of dead soldiers were found, suggest an interpretation of the battle that more closely resembles that offered by the Indians than that presented by Buffalo Bill or Hollywood: a breakdown of command occurred, discipline



disintegrated, and the men of the Seventh Cavalry died in a series of desperate, piecemeal actions — plenty of tragedy, but little heroism.



National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

◆ Figure 6.4 Lakotas Fighting Custer's Command

Yet the old images endure and will continue to do so, and they are historically significant. They may distort understanding of what really happened at the Battle of the Little Bighorn, but they have become historical documents in their own right, showing how people view the past and exerting powerful influences even to this day.

After Gettysburg, the Little Bighorn is probably America's most famous battlefield, and it continues to generate heated emotions more than 140 years after the event. In 1988 the American Indian

Movement placed an unauthorized plaque at the battlefield that reads: “In honor of our Indian patriots who fought and defeated the U.S. Calvary [*sic*] in order to save our women and children from mass murder. In doing so, preserving rights to our Homelands, Treaties, and Sovereignty.” That was followed by the appointment of the first Indian (a woman) as National Parks superintendent of the site, the 1993 renaming of the battlefield the Little Bighorn instead of the Custer Battlefield, and the erection in 2003 of a memorial to the Indians ([Figure 6.5](#)) alongside the monument to the Seventh Cavalry. The battlefield became a contested site of historical memories, and such developments not only generated controversy but also helped to heal wounds for some people. The battle of the Little Bighorn or the Greasy Grass means different things to different people, but it remains a defining event in American history.<sup>[25](#)</sup>



Calloway, *First Peoples*, 6e, © 2019 Bedford/St. Martin's

◆ Figure 6.5 Indian Memorial at Little Bighorn

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. What do the images in this picture essay suggest about the power of art — and more recently the movies — in shaping history?
2. What do the changing images indicate about how, even when one side controls the interpretations, those interpretations change over time?
3. How do the American and Lakota images differ in their depiction of the battle?

4. Why would adding a memorial to the Indians who fought and died at the battle be controversial? What do memorials say about how we remember historic events and why do they matter?

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- [66.](#) Momaday, *Way to Rainy Mountain*, 85.
- [67.](#) Mooney, *Calendar History*, 143–44.
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- [69.](#) Mooney, *Calendar History*, 320.
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CHAPTER 7

# “Kill the Indian and Save the Man”

1870s–1920s



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## FOCUS QUESTION

What is meant by the phrase “kill the indian and save the man” and how did the government attempt to achieve this goal?

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**1869**

Act creating Board of Indian Commissioners

**1869–1871**

President Grant appoints Ely S. Parker Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the first Indian to hold the position

**1875**

Seventy-two southern Plains Indian POWs incarcerated in Fort Marion, Florida

**1877**

Congress appropriates \$20,000 to Indian education

**1878**

Hampton Institute admits first Indian students

**1879**

Carlisle Indian School established

**1880**

United States bans the Sun Dance

**1881**

Helen Hunt Jackson publishes *A Century of Dishonor*

**1882**

Indian Rights Association founded

**1883**

Courts of Indian Offenses established on reservations

**1883**

Supreme Court's *Ex Parte Crow Dog* decision

**1883**

Sarah Winnemucca publishes *Life among the Piutes*

**1884**

Lake Mohonk Conference proposes disintegration of tribes

**1885**

Major Crimes Act

**1887**

Dawes Allotment Act allots reservation land to individual Indians

**1889**

Unassigned lands in Indian Territory opened to white settlers

**1889**

Nelson Act allots White Earth Reservation land in Minnesota

**1889–1893**

Jerome Commission negotiates allotment agreements in Indian Territory

**1890**

Oklahoma Territory organized out of western half of Indian Territory

**1891**

Congress authorizes enforcement of Indian schooling

**1898**

Curtis Act extends allotment to Oklahoma tribes and dismantles tribal governments

**1898**

United States annexes Hawaii

**1900**

Recorded Indian population in the United States reaches all-time low of 237,000

**1903**

Supreme Court in *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* rules Congress has power to break treaties with Indian tribes

**1906**

Burke Act, amending Dawes Act, allows “competent” Indians to sell allotments

**1906**

Alaska Native Allotment Act

**1907**

Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory combined to form the state of Oklahoma

**1908**

*Winters v. United States* defines federally reserved water rights for Indian tribes

**1911**

Society of American Indians formed in Columbus, Ohio

**1912**

Jim Thorpe wins pentathlon and decathlon at Stockholm Olympic Games

**1912**



Alaska Native Brotherhood established

**1913**

Commissioner of Indian Affairs establishes “competency commissions”

**1914–1918**

World War I (for United States, 1917–18); more than 12,000 Native American men serve in the armed forces

**1918**

Native American Church incorporated

**1919**

United States grants citizenship to honorably discharged Indian veterans

**1922**

All-Pueblo Council formed to resist Bursum legislation

**1923**

New England Indian Council formed

**1923**

American Indian Defense Association formed

**1923**

Navajo tribal council formed

**1924**

Indian Citizenship Act extends citizenship to all Indians

**1928**

Meriam Report published

**1929**

U.S. stock market crashes

# AMERICANIZING THE AMERICAN INDIAN

AS THE WARS FOR THE WEST CAME TO AN END and various organizations mobilized for a reform of Indian policies, Indian people found themselves subjected to attacks of a different kind. After waging war to defeat Indian military resistance and take Indian lands, the United States now waged war on Indian cultures, values, and families. U.S. Indian policy as it evolved after the Civil War was often contentious. Different groups — the army, the Indian Office, business interests, the states, humanitarian reformers, and Indian people themselves — competed for control and influence, and the so-called Indian problem attracted national attention: between 1860 and 1900 the *New York Times* published almost one thousand editorials related to Native Americans.<sup>1</sup>

President Ulysses S. Grant (in office 1869–77) had established precedent by using churchmen as officials and agents as part of his “peace policy,” and some of his appointees had brought an element of humanitarianism to Indian affairs. To implement his peace policy, Grant appointed as commissioner of Indian Affairs Ely S. Parker, author of the Confederate surrender terms at Appomattox and the first Native American to hold the position. In the late 1870s and 1880s, groups that saw themselves as the “friends of the Indian”

attempted to take things further. Tragic events such as the pursuit and relocation of the Nez Perces in 1877, the uprooting of the Ponca tribe to make room for new Sioux reservations the same year, and the desperate flight in 1878 of some three hundred Northern Cheyennes from a reservation in Indian Territory had left an ugly taste in the mouths of those who believed the United States should be extending the blessings of civilization to Indian people, not shooting them down in the snow (see [Chapter 6, pages 320–22](#)). Reformer and activist Helen Hunt Jackson, who had heard Ponca chief Standing Bear speak in Boston, related these and other events in moving terms in her book *A Century of Dishonor*, published in 1881. She described the history of the government's relations with the Indians as “a shameful record of broken treaties and unfulfilled promises” and called for a radical change of Indian policy. She sent a copy of her book to every congressman.<sup>2</sup>

The need for a thorough reform of Indian affairs was clear. The Board of Indian Commissioners, established by Congress in 1869 to curb mismanagement in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, investigated conditions on the reservations, where corruption was notorious. The Indian Rights Association, founded in 1882, pledged to protect the rights and interests of the Indians; its reformers attended annual conferences at Lake Mohonk in upstate New York where they discussed what was best for “the Indian.” The Indian Rights Association did champion Indian causes and on occasion backed Indian cases in the courts, but it shared the commitment of other reform groups to “saving” the Indians by assimilating them. Captain

Richard Henry Pratt, founder of Carlisle Indian boarding school, coined the phrase “Kill the Indian and Save the Man,” but he and his fellow reformers targeted women and children as well as men in their efforts to save Indians by destroying their Indianness.

American continental expansion officially ended in 1890 when the Census Bureau declared that the western “frontier” no longer existed, but the United States began to extend its colonial reach beyond its shores and over other Native peoples. In 1893 plantation owners in Hawaii, acting in conjunction with the U.S. minister to Hawaii and U.S. military forces, overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy and assumed control of the government; five years later the United States annexed Hawaii as a territory. Also, the Spanish-American War in 1898 resulted in the United States’ occupation of Cuba and its acquisition of Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. Meanwhile, Native people in the continental United States continued to experience, adjust to, and resist multiple forms of American colonialism.

Relating his life story in old age, Two Leggings, a Crow warrior, concentrated on his search for a vision and his aspirations and achievements as a warrior. He ended his story at the point when his people were confined to the reservation. Nothing in his warrior tradition and training prepared him for reservation life. “Nothing happened after that,” he said. “We just lived. There were no more war parties, no capturing of horses from the Piegiens and the Sioux, no buffalo to hunt. There is nothing more to tell.”<sup>3</sup> But Two

Leggings lived for another forty years after the end of the old days. There was plenty more to tell.

## Policies of Detribalization

Influential groups in American society combined with the federal government in a sustained campaign to remake Indians in the image of white American citizens. Like earlier generations of Euro-Americans, they wanted to “civilize” Indians and have them lead sedentary lives on fixed plots of land, be self-supporting, and practice Christianity. As the first step in this transformation, American reformers believed it was necessary to eradicate all vestiges of tribal life. Powerful forces acted to suppress Indian culture, undermine tribal ways, and destroy the economic base of tribal communities. The American government and reformers sought to apply a single model of transformation to all tribes, regardless of their differences. Like the European immigrants who were streaming into eastern cities, the first peoples in America were to be made into “Americans.” The result was tremendous suffering and hardship for Indian peoples who saw their land domains diminish, their heritage distorted, and their certainties questioned. But tribal culture and society proved more resilient than the reformers imagined. They could not predict the extent of the “Indian problem” — the failure or refusal of Indians to stop being Indians.

With the defeat of the resistant groups, many of the Indian “ringleaders” were rounded up and sent away as prisoners of war, while their people were herded onto reservations. In 1875 seventy-two southern Plains war leaders were loaded onto trains and transported across the country to St. Augustine, Florida, where they were incarcerated in Fort Marion, a military prison. There, Captain Richard Henry Pratt, the same man responsible for the first off-reservation boarding school, subjected them to an experimental program of “civilization by immersion.” Pratt took off their shackles, cut their hair, gave them army uniforms, and attempted to prepare them for complete assimilation.

At the same time, the government in the late nineteenth century refined its policies for dealing with the Indian people already on its nearly two hundred reservations. The new Indian policies employed a hierarchy of command that ran from the Department of the Interior, down through the Indian Office to the regional superintendents, and on to the Indian agents on the reservations. The reservation was the context in which the process of **detrribalization** was to occur. But in the long-term policy of assimilating Indians, reservations were regarded as temporary, a stage on the road to incorporating Indians into mainstream American society. The agents were the key figures in the administration and enforcement of the government’s Americanization program on the reservations. They relied for assistance on the clerks, doctors, field matrons, farmers, teachers, and blacksmiths who worked with the agencies; they also relied on

the reservation police and the Courts of Indian Offenses, both of which were staffed by Indians and designed to enforce the suppression of tribal culture and traditional activities. In this way, resentment against government policies at the community level often became channeled against the Indians charged with implementing those policies rather than against the federal government or its agents. The Indians' new dependence on the government for rations of food and clothing helped keep them in line. If the system failed and resentment erupted in open resistance, the army could be called in to restore order and enforce compliance.

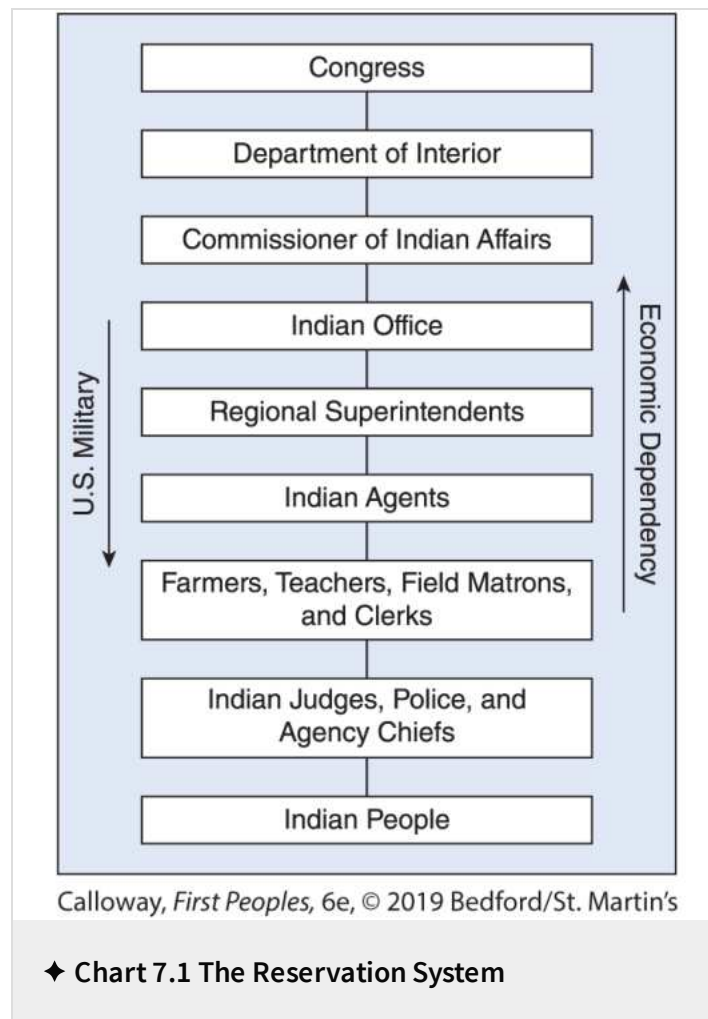


Granger, NYC.



♦ Apache Reservation, c. 1899

With their traditional economies destroyed, Indian people were reduced to unaccustomed poverty and dependence on government rations. Here, Apache men, women, and children wait in line for their rations outside the agency building at San Carlos, Arizona.



Some agents were dedicated and honest men who worked hard to ease the Indians' transition to a new way of life and who displayed genuine sympathy for their charges. Many were not. Often, agents were political appointees in a system that encouraged graft and

corruption, and they made matters worse for the people they were supposed to administer.

The U.S. government regarded Indian tribes as “domestic nations” and set about reducing tribal people to “domestic subjects.” To “civilize” the Indians, it launched a full-scale assault on their cultures, communal homelands, community values, and family structures, and on how they lived and how they taught their children. Transforming Indians into Americans involved rendering Indian women politically and economically subordinate to men and making sure that their roles as wives and mothers fit contemporary American conventions of female domesticity. The government pursued a strategy of “**intimate colonialism**,” employing field matrons on the reservations who supervised and attempted to change family life, child rearing, and even sexual practices.<sup>4</sup> For example, Indian mothers placed their babies in cradle boards; propped against a tree or rock while the mother worked, a cradle board allowed the baby to see the world from an upright position, rather than lying down, and provided security and protection for the baby’s head. Cradle boards were one of the “evils” that government-appointed field matrons sought to eradicate from Indian women’s lives.<sup>5</sup> Indian women often accepted and sometimes cooperated with change — after all, not all changes were bad: advancements in sanitation, nursing, and child care could reduce infant mortality and improve women’s health. But few women succumbed completely to the new policies, and many continued to play key roles in reservation economies, to exert political influence,

to participate in communal activities, and to preserve and pass on cultural traditions.<sup>6</sup>

## Resistance Takes New Forms

As Indian peoples confronted new and renewed assaults, they developed new ways to protest and resist. In public and in print, men like Ely S. Parker and Carlos Montezuma (see [pages 412–14](#)) and women like Sarah Winnemucca and Gertrude Bonnin, also known as Zitkala-Ša (see [pages 414–16](#)), did what they could to shape, temper, or expose U.S. policies. On the reservations, people found ways to shield their lives and values from the prying eyes of Indian agents and maintain ties of family, clan, and community.

**Sarah Winnemucca** refused to be a “domestic subject.” Born in 1844, she saw her Paiute people decline into poverty after they were confined to a Nevada reservation created by presidential order in 1860 and then relocated to the Yakima Reservation in Oregon in 1879. In her book *Life among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims* (1883), which was clearly intended for a white audience, she described the brutality of American expansion, the immorality and hypocrisy of American “civilization” policies, and the greed and corruption of Indian agents. Indians will “never be civilized,” she wrote, “if you keep on sending us such agents as have been sent to us year after year, who do nothing but fill their pockets, and the

pockets of their wives and sisters, who are always put in as teachers, . . . and yet they do not teach.” Indians complained regularly to the government about corrupt agents, “[y]et it goes on, just the same, as if they did not know.” The first known Native woman to publish a book, Sarah Winnemucca went on the lecture circuit, dressed as a Paiute “princess,” to denounce the government’s policies and to call attention to her people’s plight. In historian Frederick Hoxie’s words, “She exposed the violence and injustice that accompanied the ‘winning’ of the West and provided the public with a dramatic substitute for the white male voices that previously had dominated discussions of Indian policy making.”<sup>7</sup> Though she met the president, she died in 1891 without seeing the Paiute people receive justice.



*Granger, NYC.*

♦ **Sarah Winnemucca as Paiute “Princess” While Lecturing in Boston**

Sarah Winnemucca gave more than four hundred speeches in the United States and Europe in an effort to improve conditions for her people.

On the reservations, Indian officials sometimes evaded or diluted the impact of the laws they were supposed to enforce: Wooden Leg, a Northern Cheyenne who had fought at the Little Bighorn and later served as a tribal judge, sent away one of his two wives in

compliance with the government's ban on polygyny, but when he heard that some of the older men refused to obey the order he "just listened, said nothing, and did nothing." The government originally conceived of Indian judges as men who would simply enforce the rules, but many judges had other ideas. In time, notes one historian, Crow judges evolved into "government-sanctioned elders who worked to reconcile their oaths of office with individual behavior and the standards of their communities."<sup>8</sup>

As they had in the East and California in colonial times, missionaries on the reservations tried to get Indians to reject their "heathen" ways and embrace Christianity, and the government outlawed or discouraged many traditional religious ceremonies such as the Sun Dance. But efforts at suppression did not match Indian insistence on preservation. Indian people continued to practice their religious ceremonies illegally and found ways to covertly evade government regulations and hold dances. Kiowas, for instance, transferred elements from the Sun Dance, which was banned, into the new Gourd Dance, which was not.<sup>9</sup> As the practice of Native ceremonies on reservations today indicates, the government's attempts at "cultural genocide" and religious oppression were only partially successful at best. Still, some Indian people became Christians or at least embraced elements of Christian teachings, and in some cases actively sought missionaries as allies in a changing world. On the Crow Creek Reservation in South Dakota, for example, tribal leaders asked for a Catholic mission school to help teach their children.<sup>10</sup>

On the neighboring Pine Ridge Reservation, with the buffalo herds all but exterminated and government beef rations woefully inadequate, the Oglala Lakotas turned to building their own cattle herd. But instead of becoming American-style cattle ranchers, they made cattle an opportunity to maintain a traditional mobile subsistence economy while they adapted to reservation life. They herded cattle communally, branded them with the Pine Ridge “flying O” brand, and when they received shipments of steers would often hunt them from horseback and kill them with arrows, to the dismay of their agents.<sup>[11](#)</sup>

Where international borders had cut across tribal spaces and turned Indian homelands into borderlands, some bands — Anishinaabeg on the northern shores of the Great Lakes, for example, and Blackfeet and Sioux on the northern Plains — experienced similar policies emanating from the Canadian government. Borderland peoples sometimes made strategic use of the white man’s “medicine line” to preserve their autonomy, passing back and forth across the U.S.–Canadian border to limit interference by either government in their lives.<sup>[12](#)</sup>

American reformers in the East were appalled by the poverty and ill health that typified life on the reservations out west. They were outraged by the corruption and mismanagement they saw in the Indian Service and in the administration of Indian affairs. They also realized that, despite the massive assaults on Indian life and cultures, the reservations were nevertheless failing in one of their

primary purposes: Indians were not abandoning the old ways; they refused to stop being Indians. Reservations were supposed to be crucibles of change where tribalism would perish and “civilization” flourish, but Indian people made them into homelands where tribal ways refused to die. In the eyes of reformers determined to save Indians from themselves, the reservations came to be “obstacles to progress.”

## The Dawes Allotment Act (1887)

Since the days of Thomas Jefferson, reservations had been regarded as places where Indians would learn to live more like their white neighbors. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the number of reservations increased, as did demands to speed up the pace of change. But by 1880 reformers, many of whom called themselves “Friends of the Indian,” began advocating that reservations be dismantled as the best way to push Indians into the modern world. In some cases, concentrating Indians on reservations stimulated tribal organization and identity — the far-ranging Comanche bands, for example, came together as a nation after they were confined to a reservation in the 1870s ([Map 7.1](#)). But reformers wanted to dismantle the *tribes* themselves. “The organization of the Indian tribes is, and has been, one of the most serious hindrances to the advancement of the Indian toward civilization,” the Indian Rights Association proclaimed at its 1884



Lake Mohonk Conference: “every effort should be made to secure the disintegration of all tribal organizations.”<sup>13</sup> The reformers wanted to grant Indians citizenship and to educate them in Christian and American ways. They rejected the notion that Indians were different; they felt that Indians should dissolve tribal ties and assimilate into American society just as European and Asian immigrants were expected to do. Reformers and federal officials shifted their support from a policy based on reservations to a policy based on *breaking up* reservations.



Information from *The American Indian: Prehistory to the Present*, first edition, by Arrell M. Gibson. Copyright ©1980 Wadsworth, a part of Cengage Learning, Inc.

#### ◆ Map 7.1 Confining the Comanches, 1865–1901

The Comanche experience dramatically illustrates the impact of the assault on tribal lands that culminated in the 1887 Allotment Act. For much of the nineteenth century, the Comanches ranged across a huge region from north of the Arkansas River to south of the Rio Grande. The Treaty of the Little Arkansas in 1865 began to compress the tribal domain, and the end of the Civil War initiated new pressures on Indian lands. In the Treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867, the Comanches ceded most of their lands to the United States and agreed to live on a 3-million-acre reservation. After the Allotment Act was applied around the turn of the century, the reservation shrank to a patchwork of holdings. For Indian people, land loss meant a shift from mobility, prosperity, and independence to confinement, poverty, and dependence, and also separation from familiar sites linked to individual, family, and tribal memories.

In 1887 Congress passed the **Dawes or General Allotment Act** to reduce reservations and allot lands to individual Indians as private property. Reformers saw these provisions as the way to radically change federal Indian policy and initiate a new era for American Indians. Like the Indian removal policy of the 1830s, allotment was a program on which both pro- and anti-Indian groups could agree as a solution to the “Indian problem.” The new policy would terminate communal ownership, push Indians into mainstream society, and offer for sale “surplus” land not used by Indians. The law was an attempt to impose a revolution on Indian societies. Allotment, its advocates believed, would liberate Indians from the stifling hold of community and instill individual ambition, American ideas of property rights, habits of thrift and industry. It would also break up extended families and undermine leaders who worked for the collective good. Indians could progress no further as long as they

held land in common, said Senator Henry Dawes of Massachusetts, the main proponent of the Allotment Act. “There is no selfishness, which is at the bottom of civilization.”<sup>14</sup> Thus the acquisition of private property was vital if an Indian was to become a fully participating and competing member of American society. “The desire for a home of his own awakens him to new efforts,” declared Merrill Gates, a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners. “Discontent with the tepee and the starving rations of the Indian camp in winter is needed to get the Indian out of the blanket and into trousers, — and trousers with a pocket in them, and with a *pocket that aches to be filled with dollars!*”<sup>15</sup> Theodore Roosevelt put it more bluntly: allotment, he said, was “a vast pulverizing engine to break up the tribal mass.”<sup>16</sup>

The Dawes Allotment Act passed through Congress and was implemented with speed. It contained the following provisions:

1. The president was authorized to assign allotments of 160 acres to heads of families, with lesser amounts to younger persons and orphans.
2. Indians were to select their own lands, but if they failed to do so, the agent would make the selection for them. Reservations were to be surveyed and rolls of tribal members prepared prior to allotment.
3. The government was to hold title to the land in trust for twenty-five years, preventing its sale until allottees could learn to treat it as real estate.

4. All allottees and all Indians who abandoned their tribal ways and became “civilized” were to be granted citizenship.
5. “Surplus” reservation lands could be sold.

The law remained in force from 1887 to 1934. Its main effect was to strip Indian people of millions more acres of land. Indians whose lands were allotted became U.S. citizens. Their lands could now be taxed by the state in which they lived, and land transfers could be treated as individual sales of property, which allowed Americans to legally purchase even more Native land once its title was handed over to its allottee. Conversely, the protections provided to Indian allottees were steadily whittled away. In 1902 Congress allowed Indian heirs to sell inherited land without approval from the secretary of the interior. In 1906 the Burke Act declared that Indians whom the secretary of the interior deemed “competent” to manage their own affairs could be granted patents in fee simple, which meant they no longer had to wait twenty-five years before they could sell their allotments. In 1913 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs established “competency commissions,” which issued fee patents to Indians judged competent to sell their land. Often, “competency” was determined by blood quantum — finding a French-Canadian fur trader in someone’s heritage was sufficient evidence of “competency” to issue a patent, and to render land available for purchase.

On the White Earth Reservation in northern Minnesota, American businessmen and speculators steadily eroded the land

base of the Anishinaabe residents. The U.S. government had established White Earth in 1867 as a reservation for all Anishinaabe people, and the various bands who lived there made a promising start. But the rich timber lands in the eastern part of the reservation and fertile farm lands to the west attracted the attention of outsiders. In 1889 the Nelson Act mandated that all the land be allotted under the terms of the Dawes Act. In 1906 Minnesota senator Moses A. Clapp, a former lumber baron, attached a provision to the annual Indian appropriations bill stating that “mixed-blood” adults on White Earth were “competent” to dispose of their land parcels immediately. One Anishinaabeg, a school superintendent from 1903 to 1911, said that the Clapp amendment “brought grief and happiness to many people.” Speculators approached Indian people who knew nothing about the legislation and got witnesses to “subscribe to affidavits that the Indian in question had white blood in his veins and in many cases the white blood ran through the branches of the family . . . for many generations to some remote Canadian Frenchman.”<sup>17</sup> Powerful lumber interests bought up timber-rich allotments for a fraction of their value and proceeded to clear the northern forests that had sustained Anishinaabe people for centuries.

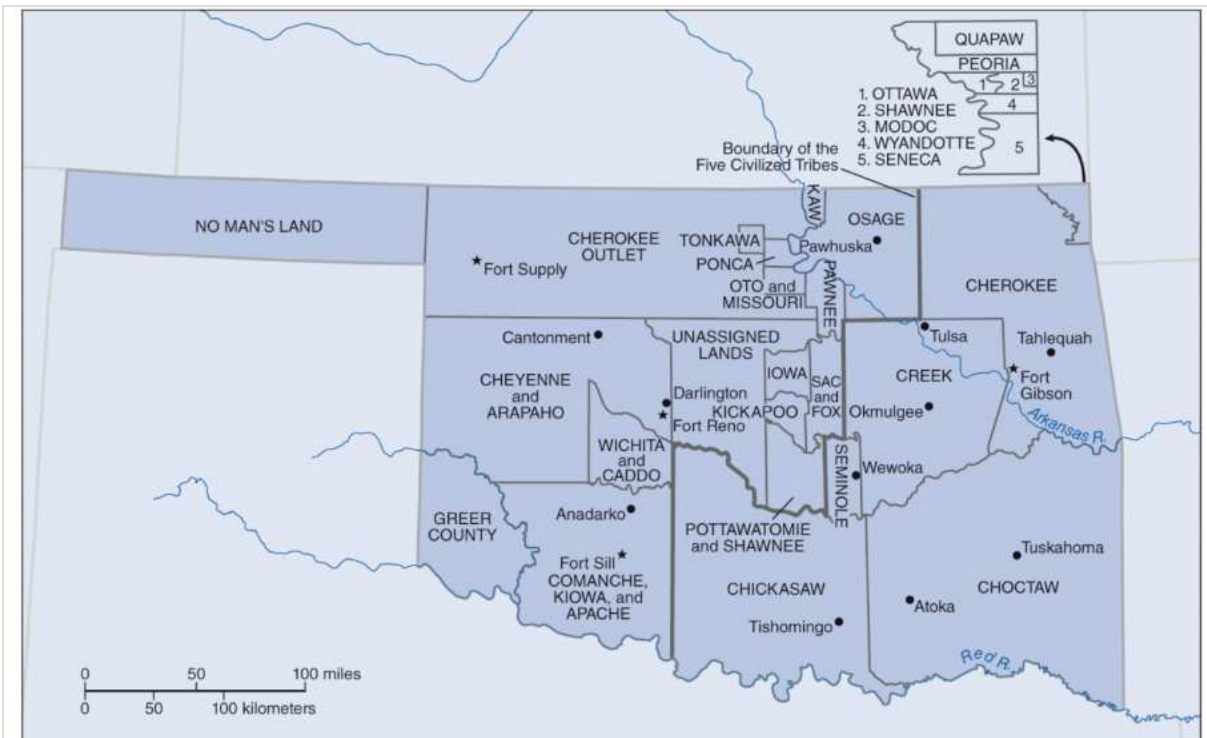
As reservation lands and resources dwindled, social and political conflicts within Anishinaabe society increased. Before the 1906 Clapp amendment, the people of White Earth had been adapting relatively well to life on the reservation and to the demands and opportunities of a market economy; an investigation in 1909 found

them with “no lands, no money.” By 1920, “most of the reservation land base had transferred to Euroamerican hands,” and by 1994, “only 7 percent of White Earth’s land base remain[ed] under Indian control.”<sup>18</sup>

Even as allotment was implemented, however, Indian people found ways to evade its assimilationist intent. Some Indians — Jicarilla Apaches and the bands on the Grand Ronde Reservation in western Oregon, for example — actually requested allotment and used it to secure control of land and to build new agricultural communities defined as much by their own choices and standards as by government policies. Others — the Nez Perces, for instance — selected their allotments of land “with agendas other than assimilation in mind.” They used space in Indian rather than Euro-American ways, occupied land as families and communities rather than as individual property owners, and perpetuated rather than terminated traditional environmental practices.<sup>19</sup> Kiowas in Indian Territory, who had begun to take up farming after the buffalo herds were destroyed, now had to adjust to allotment and to individual rather than collective farming. Yet most maintained their tribal connections and social bonds even as the outside world pressured them to change.<sup>20</sup>

## Indian Territory Becomes Oklahoma

The “Five Civilized Tribes” in Indian Territory were originally excluded from the provisions of the Allotment Act because of earlier treaty provisions. The Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles had rebuilt their economic, educational, and political structures after removal, had weathered the divisive effects of the Civil War, and functioned as autonomous societies. Beginning in 1870, representatives from the various tribes in Indian Territory met at the Okmulgee Council to unify for collective defense of their sovereignty. But in 1890 Indian Territory was divided into Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory. Congress appointed a commission to negotiate allotment agreements with the five tribes ([Map 7.2](#)). Between 1889 and 1893, the “Cherokee Commission” (or the **Jerome Commission**, as it was often known, after its chairman David H. Jerome) dealt with about twenty tribes in Indian Territory. The commission controlled the negotiations and often resorted to intimidating tactics. The Cherokees, Iowas, Pawnees, Poncas, Tonkawas, Wichitas, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Sauks and Foxes, and others agreed to accept allotment and sell surplus lands at a price set by the government. Many tribal leaders opposed allotment, but the Curtis Act of 1898 effectively terminated the Indian governments and allotment proceeded in the remainder of Indian Territory. By 1900, 15 million acres of “surplus land” were opened to white settlers, “making possible . . . the state of Oklahoma.” For Indian Territory, the Jerome Commission was a disaster.<sup>[21](#)</sup>



*Information from Atlas of American Indian Affairs by Francis Paul Prucha by permission of the University of Nebraska Press.*

#### ♦ Map 7.2 Indian Territory, 1866–1889

Following the Indian Removal Act of 1830, thousands of Indian people from the East were relocated to Indian Territory. Other peoples from other regions were moved there in later years. They rebuilt their societies in what was originally supposed to be “permanent” Indian territory, but allotment produced huge losses of land in what became the state of Oklahoma.

In 1907 Congress combined Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory to create the new state of Oklahoma. Although the Muscogee (Creek) National Council agreed to allotment, some Creeks followed the lead of Chitto Harjo, or Crazy Snake, in resisting allotment. After violence erupted with whites in 1909, the Oklahoma National Guard was called out to quell the “uprising.” In the meantime, fraud and chicanery characterized the allotment process in Oklahoma. Non-Indians married Indians to get on the tribal rolls and thereby become eligible for allotments. They



cheated the Indians out of their allotments with words or whiskey, and, in the view of one Oklahoma historian, “lurked about the Indian nations, a predacious wolf pack lusting for the last parcels of tribal land.”<sup>22</sup> Between 1890 and 1940, the lands belonging to the Five Tribes shrank from nearly 20 million acres to 1.8 million acres, a loss of more than 90 percent in fifty years. As Indian allotments moved onto the open market, unscrupulous speculators, many of them leading Oklahoma citizens, snapped them up, an “orgy of theft” courageously detailed by Oklahoma historian Angie Debo in her book *And Still the Waters Run*, published in 1940.<sup>23</sup> In the United States as a whole between 1887 and 1934, tribal landholding was reduced from some 138 million acres to about 48 million acres.

# INDIAN LAND FOR SALE

GET A HOME  
OF  
YOUR OWN  
EASY PAYMENTS



PERFECT TITLE  
POSSESSION  
WITHIN  
THIRTY DAYS

## FINE LANDS IN THE WEST

IRRIGATED      GRAZING      AGRICULTURAL  
IRRIGABLE      DRY FARMING

IN 1910 THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR SOLD UNDER SEALED BIDS ALLOTTED INDIAN LAND AS FOLLOWS:

Location	Acres	Average Price per Acre	Location	Acres	Average Price per Acre
Colorado	5,211.21	\$7.27	Oklahoma	34,664.00	\$19.14
Idaho	17,013.00	24.85	Oregon	1,020.00	15.43
Kansas	1,684.50	33.45	South Dakota	120,445.00	16.53
Montana	11,034.00	9.86	Washington	4,879.00	41.37
Nebraska	5,641.00	36.65	Wisconsin	1,069.00	17.00
North Dakota	22,610.70	9.93	Wyoming	865.00	20.64

FOR THE YEAR 1911 IT IS ESTIMATED THAT **350,000 ACRES** WILL BE OFFERED FOR SALE

For information as to the character of the land write for booklet, "INDIAN LANDS FOR SALE," to the Superintendent U. S. Indian School at any one of the following places:

<b>CALIFORNIA:</b> Baja Colorado Idaho Los Angeles San Francisco Seattle Tacoma	<b>MIDWEST:</b> Chicago Cleveland Detroit Indianapolis Kansas City Minneapolis St. Louis Wichita	<b>NORTH DAKOTA:</b> Fort Totten Fort Tully Grand Forks Hector Jamestown Lakota Mandan Minot New Sully Rushville Sioux Falls Wahpeton	<b>OKLAHOMA:</b> Catoosa Cherokee Creek Delaware LeFlore Nowata Ottawa Pawnee Pottawatomie Sequoyia Tulsa Wagon Wheel Watt Woods	<b>SOUTH DAKOTA:</b> Cherokee Agency Crows Agency Grand River Harrison Jamestown Laramie Mission Pierre Sioux Falls Wahpeton	<b>WASHINGTON:</b> Fort Stevens Fort Vancouver Tacoma Twana Wahkiakum Wishram
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**WALTER L. FISHER,**  
Secretary of the Interior

**ROBERT G. VALENTINE,**  
Commissioner of Indian Affairs

*Indian Land for Sale, 1911 (litho)/American School (20th century)/  
PETER NEWARK'S PICTURES/Private Collection/Bridgeman Images.*

### ◆ Indian Land For Sale

The Dawes Allotment Act assigned tracts of land to Indian families and then made “surplus” reservation lands eligible for sale to non-Indians. This 1911 Department of the Interior poster advertises an estimated 350,000 acres of Indian land for sale. (Note the average prices.) Ironically, the person pictured in the poster is the Oglala chief Red Cloud, who fought to protect Lakota lands in the 1860s.

In 1890 Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas J. Morgan explained U.S. Indian policy in a nutshell: “It has become the settled policy of the government to break up reservations, destroy

tribal relations, settle Indians upon their own homesteads, incorporate them into national life, and deal with them not as nations or tribes or bands, but as individual citizens. The American Indian is to become the Indian American.”<sup>24</sup> But the allotment of 160 acres was often insufficient for Indians to make a living by farming or herding, especially as the lands were usually arid and marginally fertile. By the late nineteenth century, many white American farmers were finding it hard to make ends meet, even on good lands. Moreover, the original 160 acres were often broken up into smaller parcels as they were divided among the heirs of the original allottee. Over time, individual Indians were left with joint ownership in tracts of trust land that became “fractionated” among hundreds of owners. Many Indians were persuaded to lease their lands. As non-Indian settlers bought up surplus lands, many reservations assumed a “checkerboard” pattern of Indian and non-Indian property. The Navajo population and reservation increased in the late nineteenth century as the tribe rebuilt their economy around stock raising, but they were an exception to the general rule.<sup>25</sup> With their already reduced tribal domain further diminished and disrupted, most Indians living on allotted reservations endured increasing poverty, despondency, and discrimination.

# THE EDUCATIONAL ASSAULT ON INDIAN CHILDREN

While allotment tried to break up the reservations as obstacles to progress, education was seen as the key to making progress and saving “the Indian.” In the eyes of reformers like Merrill Gates (see [“From the Seventeenth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners,” pages 408–12](#)), allotment and education went hand in hand. If necessary, both would be forced upon Indians. Like the children of European immigrants, Indian children were expected to jettison their old ways and language and become English-speaking “Americans.” The Board of Indian Commissioners in 1880 outlined its view of the Indian:

As a savage we cannot tolerate him any more than as a half-civilized parasite, wanderer or vagabond. The only alternative left is to fit him by education for civilized life. The Indian, though a simple child of nature with mental faculties dwarfed and shriveled, while groping his way for generations in the darkness of barbarism, already sees the importance of education.<sup>[26](#)</sup>

Deprived of their lands and reduced to poverty, Indian people had to learn to support themselves as wage laborers.

# Removing Children from the Tribe

Reformers first aimed to educate Indian adults. Captain Richard Henry Pratt imposed his program of civilization on the Plains Indian prisoners of war in Fort Marion, attempting to immerse them in white culture. Some of Pratt's younger Indians at Fort Marion opted to stay and continue their education in the East, and Samuel Armstrong, who in 1868 had founded Hampton Normal and Industrial School in Virginia as a school for former slaves, agreed to take them. The first Indian students arrived in 1878 and more Indian students attended Hampton Institute later. But as many adults resisted assimilation, Pratt and the government turned their educational efforts to Indian children. In 1879 Pratt opened the nation's first off-reservation **Indian boarding school** in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.<sup>27</sup> Two dozen more boarding schools were opened in the next twenty-three years ([Map 7.3](#)). These schools became famous, or infamous, and served as models for other Indian educational facilities in their curriculum, discipline, regimen, and goals. By 1900 the government ran 25 off-reservation boarding schools, 81 reservation boarding schools, and 147 reservation day schools, and funded another 32 private schools that contracted to teach Indian children. Religious and other groups ran another 22 schools. Congress in 1877 appropriated \$20,000 for the express purpose of Indian education; by 1900 funding reached almost \$3 million. The numbers of students enrolling in school also increased: 3,598 in 1877; 21,568 in 1900.<sup>28</sup> Some children attended

day schools on the reservations, but reformers preferred off-reservation boarding schools where children could be isolated from the “contaminating” influences of parents, friends, and family. The boarding school “was the institutional manifestation of the government’s determination to completely restructure the Indians’ minds and personalities.” “Our purpose,” said the superintendent of Rainy Mountain Boarding School in Oklahoma, which hundreds of young Kiowas attended between 1893 and 1920, “is to change them forever.”<sup>29</sup>



Information from *Atlas of American Indian Affairs* by Francis Paul Prucha and the University of Nebraska Press.

#### ◆ Map 7.3 U.S. Government Boarding Schools, 1889

Twenty years after Richard Henry Pratt opened his school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, Indian country was dotted by two dozen off-reservation boarding schools and many more reservation boarding schools, such as Keams Canyon on the Hopi Reservation, which Helen Sekaquaptewa attended (see [page 385](#)).

Attendance was mandatory. In 1891 Congress authorized the commissioner of Indian affairs “to make and enforce by proper means” rules and regulations to ensure that Indian children of suitable age attended the schools established for them. Two years later, Congress went further and authorized the Indian Office to withhold rations and annuities from parents who refused to send their children to school. Many children were hauled off to school by soldiers or Indian police enforcing the agents’ instructions. In 1886 the agent at the Mescalero Apache agency reported:

Everything in the way of persuasion and argument having failed, it became necessary to visit the camps unexpectedly with a detachment of police, and seize such children as were proper and take them away to school, willing or unwilling. Some hurried their children off to the mountains or hid them away in camp, and the police had to chase and capture them like so many wild rabbits. This unusual proceeding created quite an outcry. The men were sullen and muttering, the women loud in their lamentations, and the children almost out of their wits with fright.<sup>[30](#)</sup>

When the government built a boarding school at Keams Canyon, Arizona, in 1887, Hopi parents at first refused to send their children there. In 1890 the government established a quota system for the attendance of Hopi children in schools and the next year sent African American troops to round up children. Don Talayesva, a Hopi, remembered hearing about it as a child: “The people said it

was a terrible sight to see Negro soldiers come and take our children away from their parents.” Using African American troops to round up Native American children may have been a deliberate policy to pit one oppressed group against another, but Hopis recognized who was responsible. Talayesva “grew up believing that Whites are wicked, deceitful people.”<sup>31</sup> Helen Sekaquaptewa, a Hopi woman, recalled in 1969 the bewilderment she and other children had felt in 1906 when they were lined up, loaded into wagons, and taken from their families under military escort:

It was after dark when we reached the Keams Canyon boarding school and were unloaded and taken into the big dormitory, lighted with electricity. I had never seen so much light at night. . . . Evenings we would gather in a corner and cry softly so the matron would not hear and scold or spank us. . . . I can still hear the plaintive little voices saying, “I want to go home. I want my mother.” We didn’t understand a word of English and didn’t know what to say or do. . . . We were a group of homesick, lonesome, little girls.<sup>32</sup>

As in Australia, child-removal policies in the United States ruptured indigenous people’s ties to place and family, isolating children in institutions, and later in homes, where they were often neglected, abused, and exploited.<sup>33</sup>

## Life in the Schools



At least 10,595 students, representing more than 500 Indian nations from Abenaki to Zuni, attended the Carlisle Indian Industrial School.<sup>34</sup> Schools such as Carlisle were designed not only to educate the Indian students who attended but also to completely transform them. They tried to provide students with the kind of skills that America deemed appropriate and even necessary for their survival and to remake them as individual citizens, not tribal members. To this end, boarding schools imposed militaristic discipline and regimented the students' activities, from morning until prayers before bedtime. When Indian children arrived at the boarding schools, they were given new Anglo-American names. The boys had their hair cut, and all students had to wear stiff uniforms in place of their native clothing. Writing in the 1930s, Luther Standing Bear, a Lakota and one of the first students to attend Carlisle, remembered the discomfort of high collars, stiff shirts, and leather boots; when the students were issued red flannel underwear for the winter "discomfort grew into actual torture."<sup>35</sup> They ate a monotonous diet, endured harsh discipline, and followed daily routines to acquire systematic habits. Educational policy at the boarding schools discouraged — and often prohibited — students from returning home during vacations or at times of sickness and death among family members, to the distress of parents and students alike.<sup>36</sup>



*National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.*

♦ Chiricahua Apache Children on Arrival at Carlisle School



*National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.*

♦ Chiricahua Apache Children after Four Months at Carlisle

Most students suffered from homesickness. Basil Johnston, a Canadian Anishinaabeg who attended a Jesuit school in Ontario, remembered the emotional toll on the youngest children. These “babies” clung to one of the Jesuit priests or huddled in the corner; they “seldom laughed or smiled and often cried and whimpered during the day and at night.” Some of the older students carved toys for them, but the children did not play with them; “they just held on to them, hugged them and took them to bed at night, for that was all they had in the world when the lights went out, and they

dared not let it go.”<sup>37</sup> Many students suffered from trachoma, a contagious viral disease of the eye. Many died of tuberculosis, coughing up blood as the disease attacked their lungs. Between 1885 and 1913, one hundred Indian students, from thirty-seven tribes, were buried in the cemetery at Haskell Institute in Kansas<sup>38</sup>; others were buried in unmarked graves in the marshland to conceal the high mortality rates at the school. Most of the students who died at the schools were teenagers, but some were only six or seven years old. Some students even committed suicide. “The change in clothing, housing, food, and confinement combined with lonesomeness was too much,” recalled Standing Bear. “In the graveyard at Carlisle most of the graves are those of little ones.”<sup>39</sup>

The ravages of disease were not confined to boarding schools far from home, of course. Don Talayesva attended school at New Oraibi on the Hopi Reservation and recalled hearing just before Christmas 1899 that smallpox was spreading west across Hopi country. “Within a few weeks news came to us that on Second Mesa the people were dying so fast that the Hopi did not have time to bury them, but just pitched their bodies over the cliff.” The government employees and some of the teachers fled Oraibi. Another Hopi, Edmund Nequatewa, was at the Keams Canyon boarding school when the epidemic struck: “the whole reservation was condemned,” he remembered. “They had to draw the line between the school and the Hopi village. There were guards going back and forth day and night. No one could come in to the school from the Hopi villages.” For several months, students at the school were cut off from news

of their relatives in the disease-ridden villages. When Nequatewa was allowed home in the spring, he found his parents alive but two aunts dead. “Some of those people that had had smallpox were very hard to recognize,” he recalled. “Their faces were all speckled and they looked awful.”<sup>40</sup>

In the classroom, teachers taught reading and writing by memorization, pushed “American” values on the children, and taught patriotism and a version of American history that distorted or ignored the Indians’ role. Teachers punished those caught speaking their native language. Many parents who had attended missionary or government boarding schools refused to teach their children their native tongue in order to save them from having the language beaten out of them in school. Eleven-year-old Elsie Allen, a Pomo girl, was beaten with a strap for speaking her language at the Covelo boarding school in California. “[E]very night I cried and then I’d lay awake and think and think and think. I’d think to myself, ‘If I ever get married and have children I’ll *never* teach my children the language or all the Indian things that I know. I’ll *never* teach them that, I don’t want my children to be treated like they treated me.’ That’s the way I raised my children.”<sup>41</sup>

Inheriting, applying, and fueling racial assumptions about the intellectual inferiority of Indians, boarding school educators taught the boys vocational and manual skills; girls were taught the domestic skills thought appropriate for a Victorian mother and homemaker, or trained for work as maids in middle-class families.<sup>42</sup>

In fact, many students found themselves in a twilight world: they were not equipped or allowed to enter American society as equals, yet they had been subjected to sufficient change as to make returning to the reservations difficult and sometimes traumatic.

[◻](#) In 1998 the Canadian government issued a formal apology to the victims of sexual and physical abuse in the residential school system and committed \$350 million to support the development of community-based healing to help deal with the legacy of that abuse. In 2006 the government agreed to pay almost \$2 billion in damages to eighty thousand former students.[38](#)

[◻](#) Founded in 1884, the United States Industrial Training School was renamed Haskell Institute three years later.

## Surviving the Schools, Using the Education

The boarding school experience and the educational philosophy of the government left a legacy of bitterness, confusion, and heartbreak that continues to affect Indian people as they struggle to revive languages that were almost destroyed and to restore pride in a heritage that was denied any worth for so long. Stripped of much of their traditional culture yet regarded by American society as capable only of the most menial employment, many students came out of the schools as bewildered as when they went in. The story of Plenty Horses graphically illustrates the plight of many Carlisle graduates. In 1890, during the Ghost Dance troubles on Pine Ridge Reservation ([pages 328–29](#)), the twenty-two-year-old Lakota shot and

killed an army officer. He was tried for murder. When asked why he killed the officer, Plenty Horses responded: "I am an Indian. Five years I attended Carlisle and was educated in the ways of the white man. . . . I was lonely. I shot the lieutenant so I might make a place for myself among my people. Now I am one of them. I shall be hung and the Indians will bury me as a warrior." The federal court, however, confronted a dilemma: if Plenty Horses was guilty of murdering the army officer, were not the officers and men of the Seventh Cavalry guilty of murdering Lakota men, women, and children at Wounded Knee? The court decided that Plenty Horses had acted as a belligerent during a state of war and acquitted him. The case made legal history, but it did not help Plenty Horses, who lived out his life in poverty and despondency.<sup>[43](#)</sup>





*Granger, NYC.*

♦ **Plenty Horses**

What conflicts and contradictions are suggested in this photograph of Plenty Horses, a Carlisle graduate, wearing braids, blanket, and moccasins and standing next to an army gun shortly after the Wounded Knee massacre?

But the boarding schools were also sites of cultural contests — however unequal — where young Indian people found ways of resisting the educational crusade intended to transform them. They engaged in acts of subversion and rebellion against petty authority, built bonds of loyalty and friendship with other students, and found humor and humanity in the midst of loneliness, hardship, and regimentation. Interviews with alumni from Chilocco Indian School in northeastern Oklahoma convinced one scholar, the daughter of a



former Chilocco student, that Indians at boarding schools “actively created an ongoing educational and social process.” They built their own world within the confines of boarding-school life, and in the process, they turned an institution founded and controlled by the federal government into an Indian school. Some students even had pride in their school, and most found ways to enjoy themselves. Indian people, she concluded, “made Chilocco their own.”<sup>44</sup> Students from Haskell — who often used sign language to get around the “English only” rule — told similar stories. Instead of being transformed, the students survived as Indians and transformed the school: in the late twentieth century, the former boarding school became Haskell Indian Nations University, an institution dedicated to the survival of Indian cultures and identities.<sup>45</sup>

In 1894 the government arrested nineteen Hopi leaders and sent them to prison in Alcatraz (from January to September 1895) for refusing to send their children to government-run schools. But those Hopis who went to school drew strength from the traditional Hopi education they had received at home on the mesas and were determined to do well as they continued their education at places like Sherman Institute in Riverside, California. Hopi students drew strength from singing traditional Hopi songs but also enjoyed playing Bach, Beethoven, and Mozart in the school orchestra.<sup>46</sup>

As in other eras and areas, Native responses to cultural assault and change in boarding schools did not divide neatly into

assimilation and resistance. Things were rarely that simple; individual students often accepted some changes in their lives and rejected others.<sup>47</sup> Many Indian students took the knowledge, experience, and literacy acquired during their school years and applied it in their work, their lives, and their understanding of the world. Like Luther Standing Bear (see [“What a School Could Have Been Established,” pages 416–20](#)), they saw Western education and traditional education as two systems of knowledge. They tried to combine the best of both systems in adapting to the demands of a rapidly changing world. Many boarding-school alumni returned to reservations as teachers themselves — in 1899, 45 percent of the U.S. Indian School Service employees were Indians.<sup>48</sup> For Wolf Chief, a Hidatsa who went to school for the first time when he was thirty years old, education was a source of power. He learned arithmetic so he could check traders’ weights and later operate his own store on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota. He also employed his literary skills to bombard the Office of Indian Affairs with complaints and concerns: “He has contracted the letter writing habit and cannot be suppressed,” said one exasperated agent in 1886. He wrote to newspapers and magazines and even wrote to the president, and his letters got responses.<sup>49</sup> Anna Moore Shaw, a Pima who attended school with Helen Sekaquaptewa and became the first Indian woman high-school graduate in Arizona, wrote that her generation was “the first to be educated in two cultures, the Pima and the white. Sometimes the values were in conflict, but we were learning to put them together to make a way of life different from anything the early Pimas ever dreamed of.”<sup>50</sup>

As Indians were forced into American systems of learning, American forms of employment, and American cultural roles, old stereotypes of the savage warrior gave way to the idea of Indians as a “**vanishing race**,” fading into the sunset and out of American consciousness and history, a concept popularized ever since by photographs of Edward Curtis. As “real” Indians disappeared, they were replaced by idealized Natives acting out prescribed roles. At a time when some people feared that influxes of foreign-born immigrants threatened to dilute the American character, images of Indian “primitivism” and Indian warriors could be safely appropriated to represent distinctly American traits. Indians were proud, courageous, and free and had fought heroically against a superior foe. Once obstacles to American nation building, they could now be symbols of American national identity.<sup>51</sup>

Indian intellectuals often used such popular images and stereotypes for their own purposes. Like Sarah Winnemucca (see [page 375](#)), some adopted and adapted to public performance as a way to be heard and to help advance Indian causes.<sup>52</sup> Two Omaha sisters, Susan and Suzette LaFlesche, used their education in the non-Indian world to champion Indian rights, lecturing and lobbying Congress, while their brother, Francis, became one of the first Indian anthropologists. Suzette studied at reservation mission schools, private schools in the East, and the University of Nebraska. She worked as a volunteer nurse among the Poncas. After Standing Bear led his people back to their Nebraska homeland in 1879, Suzette and her brother accompanied him on a tour of eastern

cities. On the lecture circuit in both America and Great Britain, using the name Bright Eyes and dressed in ceremonial Omaha clothing, she spoke out about the unjust treatment of Indians and the need for Indians to become citizens to gain full protection under the Constitution. Her sister Susan graduated from Hampton Institute in 1886 and the Women's Medical College in Philadelphia in 1889 to become the first female Indian physician. She returned west, serving as the government reservation doctor for the Omahas, and also went on the lecture circuit with her sister. She lobbied for the eradication of tuberculosis and the prohibition of alcohol on reservations. She campaigned against government corruption, incompetence, and unjust laws that kept Indian people dependent. She also supported individual ownership of land and believed that Omahas should be allowed to sell and lease their property free from government supervision. Angel De Cora, of Ho-Chunk (Winnebago) and French parentage, was born on the Winnebago Reservation in Nebraska. She attended Hampton Institute, graduated from Smith College in 1896, and later taught at the Carlisle School, where she established the first "Native Indian" art department. She became a noted artist, illustrator, and designer (she did the frontispiece and cover design for Francis La Flesche's book *The Middle Five*, for instance). Her work was sometimes criticized as Western art reflecting romantic stereotypes about Indians, but she was one of the first Native American artists to be recognized and accepted by the mainstream art world.<sup>53</sup>

# The Two Worlds of Ohiyesa and Charles Eastman

Perhaps no individual better personified the changing times in which Indians lived than did **Charles Alexander Eastman**, also known as Ohiyesa. Raised in traditional Dakota ways by his paternal grandmother, as an adult Ohiyesa lived in two worlds and earned distinction in American society as Dr. Charles Eastman, physician, writer, and reformer. He was born in Minnesota in 1858, the youngest of five children, and named Hakadah, “the pitiful last,” before earning the name Ohiyesa, “the winner,” in a lacrosse game. Ohiyesa’s father, Many Lightnings, was a Wahpeton Dakota Sioux; his mother, who died soon after his birth, was Mary Eastman, daughter of soldier-turned-artist Seth Eastman (see [his sugar camp image on page 40](#)).

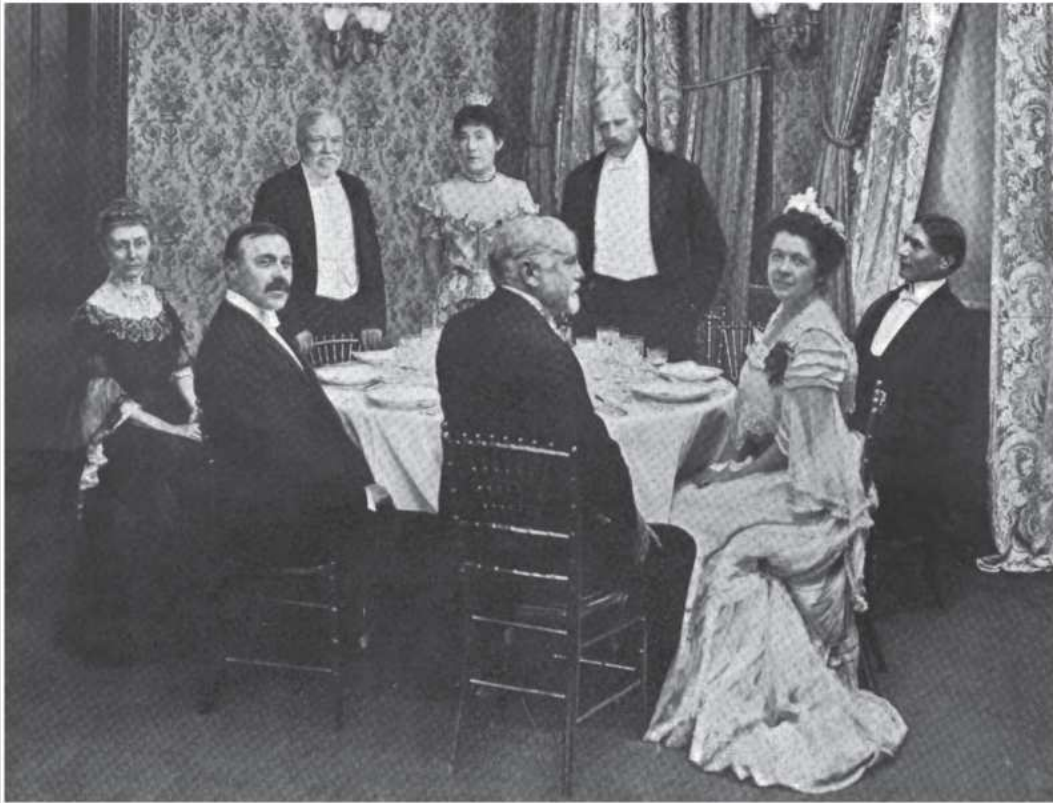
After the Minnesota Sioux uprising of 1862, Many Lightnings was imprisoned and his family fled to Ontario, Canada, where Ohiyesa lived until the age of fifteen. Ohiyesa believed his father had been hanged in the mass execution of Santee Sioux warriors at Mankato, but in 1873 Many Lightnings returned. He had escaped the gallows by President Lincoln’s pardon and instead had served three years in jail in Davenport, Iowa. He then converted to Christianity and took the surname of his deceased wife’s father, calling himself Jacob Eastman. He renamed his son Charles Eastman and urged him to

learn white Americans' ways. "We have now entered upon this life, and there is no going back," he told his son.<sup>54</sup>

Jacob Eastman sent his son to school. "It is the same as if I sent you on your first warpath," he told him. "I shall expect you to conquer."<sup>55</sup> Charles first attended Santee Normal Training School in Nebraska. "I hardly think I was ever tired in my life until those first days of boarding school," he wrote later. "All day things seemed to come and pass with a wearisome regularity, like walking railway ties — the step was too short for me. At times I felt something of the fascination of the new life, and again there would arise in me a dogged resistance, and a voice seemed to be saying, 'It is cowardly to depart from the old things.'"<sup>56</sup> In September 1876, just months after the Battle of the Little Bighorn, Eastman entered Beloit College in Wisconsin. "I was now a stranger in a strange country," he recalled, "and deep in a strange life from which I could not retreat."<sup>57</sup> After stints at Knox College in Illinois and Kimball Union Academy in New Hampshire, he graduated from Dartmouth College in 1887 and went on to earn his medical degree at Boston University.

Committed to using his education and skills for the benefit of his people, Eastman became the agency physician at the Pine Ridge Reservation in 1890, just as the tensions revolving around the Ghost Dance (see [pages 328–29](#)) were reaching a breaking point. There he met Elaine Goodale, a young New England woman who was teaching on the reservation and who spoke Sioux. Their courtship was overshadowed by the tragedy at Wounded Knee, but they

married in 1891 and had six children. Despite the horrors he witnessed treating the survivors of the massacre, Eastman remained a staunch advocate of educating his people in American ways. Many of his later writings reflected the ideas of the social Darwinism of the time that asserted that unchanging Indians were a vanishing race. “The North American Indian was the highest type of pagan and uncivilized man,” he wrote in 1902. “But the Indian no longer exists as a natural and free man. Those remnants which now dwell upon the reservations present only a sort of tableau — a fictitious copy of the past.”<sup>58</sup> He became prominent as one of a group of Native reformers known as “Red Progressives,” supported the Dawes Allotment Act, and worked for the Office of Indian Affairs. In the age of the self-made man, many whites held him up as a model for what Indians could achieve if they would only abandon their Indian ways and learn to live like other Americans.



*Paul Fearn/Alamy stockphoto.*

◆ **Charles Eastman**

Charles Eastman (seated far right) attends a birthday dinner for Mark Twain (standing at center). Standing at the left is Andrew Carnegie.

But Charles Eastman never entirely stopped being Ohiyesa. Although he worked to bring about assimilation of Indians into mainstream society, he had been raised in the traditional ways and remained strongly attached to Sioux values. He wrote extensively — often in collaboration with his wife — for a non-Indian audience that contained many influential people. To some extent, he told them what they wanted to hear, but he also supported Indian rights and was a founding member of the Society of American Indians in 1911. He criticized American injustice and hypocrisy and insisted that



Americans had much to learn from Indian society about morality and spirituality. He attacked corrupt Indian agents and challenged the administration of Indian affairs. Before his death in 1939, Ohiyesa returned to Ontario. There he lived and died in a forest cabin, thereby completing the circle by returning from “civilization” to “the deep woods.”<sup>59</sup> In the rapidly changing world of American Indians, Eastman demonstrated that one could adapt without totally assimilating. One biographer wrote that he “could wear both a war bonnet and a high starched collar with equal aplomb.”<sup>60</sup> Eastman insisted that he could be both an Indian and an American. “I am an Indian,” he wrote at the end of his autobiography, “and while I have learned much from civilization, for which I am grateful, I have never lost my Indian sense of right and justice. I am for development and progress along social and spiritual lines, rather than those of commerce, nationalism, or material efficiency. Nevertheless, so long as I live, I am an American.”<sup>61</sup>

# NATIVE AMERICANS ENTER THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In 1900 the U.S. census estimated there were fewer than 250,000 Indians in the country. Their count was low — the census takers decided who was or was not Indian and recorded many Indians as “black,” “mulatto,” or “colored,” while Indians who could pass as white often found that safer to do than proclaiming their Indian identity and possibly attracting racist attention. Nevertheless, the figures reflected four hundred years of demographic decline. In the eyes of most Americans, Indians were doomed to extinction.

At the same time, Indians found themselves with declining legal protection and subjected to increasing state and federal legislation. After the Supreme Court decision in *Ex Parte Crow Dog* in 1883 assured tribes some autonomy in settlement of criminal cases, Congress in 1885 passed the **Major Crimes Act**, which made it a federal crime for Indians to commit rape, murder, manslaughter, assault with intent to kill, arson, or larceny against another Indian on a reservation. (In later years, the list of crimes was expanded to include kidnapping, incest, assault with a dangerous weapon, assault resulting in serious bodily injury, burglary, robbery, and sexual relations with a female under sixteen years of age.) As scholar of federal Indian law N. Bruce Duthu explains, “The

jurisdictional intrusiveness of this law cannot be overstated, since it represented the first major attempt by the federal government to regulate the affairs *of* the Indians, rather than *with* the Indians.”

When an Indian accused of murdering an Indian victim challenged the law as beyond the scope of federal power, the Supreme Court in *United States v. Kagama* (1886) concluded that Congress acted within its powers because “Indian tribes *are* the wards of the nation. They are communities *dependent* on the United States, dependent largely for their daily food; dependent for their political rights.”<sup>62</sup> In 1903, with the support of the Indian Rights Association, the Kiowas sued the secretary of the interior to stop the transfer of their lands by a fraudulent agreement that blatantly contravened the Treaty of Medicine Lodge. In *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* (1903), the Supreme Court declared that Congress had complete constitutional authority over Indian affairs and could abrogate or break its own treaties. In *Worcester v. Georgia* in 1832 (see [“Foundations of Federal Indian Law and a Native Response,” pages 286–92](#)), the Court had described Indian tribes as “domestic dependent nations” with the right of self-government; the ruling in *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* depicted them as a weak and colonized people, wards of the government ruled by the plenary power of Congress.<sup>63</sup> The Supreme Court in *Winters v. United States* (1908) recognized Indians as having federally reserved water rights, but on the whole Congress had the power to dispose of Indian lands as it saw fit.<sup>64</sup>

# “I Still Live”: Indians in American Society

In spite of past population losses and legal constraints, the twentieth century was to be a time of endurance and survival, not decline and disappearance, in Indian country and in Indian communities. Indian people not only survived, but they also demonstrated their ability to adapt to new, “American” ways of life — such as playing on sports teams and in bands, driving motorcars, and going to the movies — and still be Indian.<sup>65</sup> Surviving the dark years of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries built resources for later resurgence in a different social and political climate. Indian resilience, even in the midst of far-reaching and dramatic change, forced the government and reformers to abandon policies based on the assumption that Indians were “vanishing Americans” and to consider new approaches in their relations with Indian peoples.<sup>66</sup>

With their traditional economies in ruins, many Indian peoples found that they had to find new ways of making a living. Mohawk men from Kahnawake near Montreal helped construct the bridge over the St. Lawrence River, and Iroquois men developed a reputation as steelworkers on high-rise projects. Many Mohawks traveled south to New York during the city’s building boom in the 1920s, working on the Empire State Building, the Chrysler Building,

and the George Washington Bridge. Railroads brought a flood of immigrants to the Puget Sound region of western Washington after the Civil War. Some Indians were pushed out of their homelands, but others found new opportunities for employment and barter — selling fish, logging and working in lumber mills, cultivating hops — that brought them into daily contact with their new neighbors.<sup>67</sup> In Alaska, Tlingit people continued the subsistence economies of old but also joined the labor market. Tlingit men fished for the canneries and worked in mining and lumbering operations; women sold baskets and handicrafts to tourists on the streets of Sitka or processed fish alongside Chinese immigrant workers.<sup>68</sup> Although exploitation of Indian land, labor, and resources devastated environments, disrupted communities, and generated dependence, some Indian people participated in the market economy in ways that helped fend off white domination. Menominees in Wisconsin who worked as loggers and mill laborers and Metlakatlan Tsimshians who harvested timber and salmon in British Columbia achieved a measure of prosperity but used the proceeds to strengthen their communities and preserve their cultural independence.<sup>69</sup> In northern California, Indians from the Round Valley Reservation took cash-paying jobs as seasonal migrant laborers, picking hops, shearing sheep, and working on ranches. Despite the exploitation inherent in such roles, they were able to provide for their families in hard times, maintain ties to relatives and to the landscape, and build a strong sense of community and identity as agricultural migrant workers.<sup>70</sup> As railroads brought

increased traffic to the Southwest, Navajo weavers supplied traders and dealers with blankets to sell to tourists.<sup>71</sup>

In New England, Indian women continued to make traditional baskets, but they sold them door-to-door or to tourists. Many young Indian women found employment in textile mills in Lowell, Massachusetts, or Manchester, New Hampshire. Native American men continued, as they had since the eighteenth century, to go to sea, while others found work closer to home as trappers, as guides (writer Henry David Thoreau had hired Penobscot guides for his excursions through Maine in the mid-nineteenth century), or in the logging industry. Some migrated to the cities. Mi'kmaq Indians from northern Maine and the Maritime Provinces of Canada worked as seasonal laborers, picking potatoes and blueberries. Some traveled west to work on building the Canadian Pacific Railroad. Others moved south to work in Boston. Native people in New England maintained important ties of kinship and community and began to develop regional networks and pan-Indian organizations. During the nineteenth century, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island all took measures to “detrribalize” the Indians, essentially to legislate them out of existence as Indian tribes.<sup>72</sup> But in 1923, when most white Americans assumed Indians had long since disappeared from the area, the New England Indian Council formed, adopting as its motto “I still live.”



*National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution (catalog number P13149)*

♦ **O-o-be, a Kiowa Woman, Fort Sill, Oklahoma, 1895, and James Earle Fraser's *End of the Trail***

At the end of the nineteenth century, most Americans assumed that Indians were a tragic and vanishing race and that Native cultures were dying out as depicted in Fraser's sculpture *End of the Trail*. O-o-be, a young Kiowa woman wearing a smile and a hide dress decorated with elk teeth, clearly had other ideas.



*Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY.*

During the nineteenth century, Native women on the Plains had adapted new materials obtained in trade, such as woolen cloth from England, vermilion from China, and glass beads from Venice, for use with existing materials such as hide, porcupine quills, and elk teeth in making and decorating clothing. They used glass beads to experiment with different colors, techniques, and designs, in some cases incorporating stars-and-stripes motifs in their beadwork. Women of different tribes developed distinct styles, which they passed on to the next generation.<sup>73</sup> Many women earned cash by selling beadwork and other crafts to off-reservation markets. Plains Indian men, whose economy and role had rested so heavily on



hunting buffalo, faced a particularly bleak future once the buffalo herds were destroyed. Many adjusted to the new conditions and the post-allotment world by hunting smaller game, herding, gardening, and working for wages. But the government's exhortations to settle down and take up farming on 160 acres of land had little appeal for many young men. Instead, a few found employment in a venture that took them far from the hard times on the reservations and required them to dress and act like Indians "of old."

## Cultural Expression and the American Way

Despite the government's determination to eradicate their warrior culture, some Plains Indians entered the twentieth century riding horses, wearing war bonnets, and attacking wagon trains, albeit in places far from the Plains. For a generation after the end of the wars for the Great Plains, entrepreneurs like William F. (Buffalo Bill) Cody hired Indians to travel the East and Europe as members of Wild West shows. They donned headdresses, rode bareback, and danced for audiences in the eastern United States, England, France, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Austria, Poland, Russia, and even Australia. Even Sitting Bull (see [pages 321, 328](#)) participated in Buffalo Bill's show for a few months in 1885, and many other Lakotas joined Cody's Wild West show, including two dozen men who had been imprisoned after the Ghost Dance conflict. "Show

Indians” earned money and got to see the world; they became tourists as well as entertainers. Some met presidents, queens, and kings; some attended theater and opera; some, like the Oglala Red Shirt, became celebrities on the tour circuit. Black Elk, another Oglala who later became a spiritual leader, joined the show as a young man “for adventure.” Inevitably, some of the performers died in cities far from home.

Indian commissioners, members of Congress, humanitarian reformers, and some members of the Society of American Indians opposed the shows for exploiting Indians and perpetuating an image of Indian “barbarism.” Some scholars view the Indians who participated as victims of commercial capitalism that marginalized Native people. Certainly, the Wild West shows and the people who played “hostile Indians” in them helped to create a popular stereotype of all Indians as feather-bonneted, horse-riding warriors. But the Indians who participated in the shows do not seem to have viewed themselves as victims or pawns. They got paid for displaying a part of their history and culture that the government was intent on destroying, and many seem to have enjoyed themselves doing it. As one scholar of the Wild West show concludes, it was “the only place to be an Indian — and defiantly so — and still remain relatively free from the interference of missionaries, teachers, agents, humanitarians, and politicians.”<sup>74</sup>



Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Cody, Wyoming, USA; Garlow Collection, P.69.822.

♦ **Buffalo Bill Cody and Lakotas in Venice, c. 1890**

Plains Indians who joined Wild West shows in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries traveled far from home and, like the Lakotas photographed here with Buffalo Bill Cody (seated in front) in Venice, “discovered a new world.”

In a similar vein, Indians continued to use music and dancing as ways to express their Indianness. From the nineteenth century through the 1920s, the government saw music as a way to assimilate Indians: Indian dancing and singing on the reservations was banned, while students in boarding-school bands played songs in stage-managed performances that celebrated “Americanness.” But

student bands at Carlisle and Haskell became sources of Indian pride, and some students went on to form “all-Indian bands.” Indian dancers, singers, and musicians produced performances that, often in new and creative ways, expressed their enduring identity as Indians, not their transformation into Americans. On the reservations, people held giveaway dances to redistribute food to those in need, dances to bring returning students back into the community, and dances to honor returning soldiers. They often used Fourth of July celebrations and other national holidays, which were the few occasions when agents permitted dancing on the reservations, to perform dances that the government was trying to eradicate. Dancing was a way of reasserting Indian identity and values in defiance of government policies of cultural oppression.<sup>75</sup>

For a few Indians, sports provided access to temporary fame and fortune. Louis Francis Sockalexis, a Penobscot from Maine, played baseball at College of the Holy Cross and Notre Dame. In 1897 he broke into the major leagues, playing for Cleveland. His first season was a runaway success, but alcoholism cut short his career and he died at the age of forty-two in 1913.<sup>76</sup> Another athlete, Jim Thorpe, was born on the Sauk and Fox Reservation in Oklahoma in 1887, the year the Allotment Act was passed. In 1898 his father sent him to the Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, where the eleven-year-old learned to play football. But Thorpe was a mediocre student at best, so in 1904 his father sent him to Carlisle, partly because it was too far for the youth to run away to home. At Carlisle, Jim found his niche in athletics and earned varsity letters in eleven sports:

football, track, baseball, boxing, wrestling, lacrosse, gymnastics, swimming, hockey, handball, and basketball. Relying on speed, skill, and innovative plays rather than brawn, the Carlisle Indians football team defeated Ivy League opponents, trounced an Army team that included future general and president Dwight D.

Eisenhower, and revolutionized the way the game was played. The Carlisle Indians football team created a new source of Indian pride and identity in an institution that was designed to eradicate both. In 1912 Thorpe competed for the United States in the Olympic Games in Stockholm, winning a gold medal in both the pentathlon and the decathlon, an achievement unequaled in Olympic history. (The Hopi runner Louis Tewanima won silver in the 10,000 meters.<sup>77</sup>) A year later, however, the U.S. Amateur Athletic Union stripped Thorpe of his medals and erased his name from the record books after discovering that he had once played baseball for a minor-league team in North Carolina for \$25 a week and was therefore a professional. Thorpe went on to play baseball for the New York Giants and other teams and then played professional football. In 1920 he became the first president of the American Professional Football Association (now the National Football League). Press polls judged Thorpe the greatest athlete of the first half of the twentieth century, but after he quit football in 1928 his life was marked by failed marriages, struggles with alcohol, and odd jobs, including bit roles in “cowboy and Indian” movies. A movie was made about him in 1951 — *Jim Thorpe, All American*, starring Burt Lancaster, an “all-American” actor of Irish descent, in the title role. Thirty years after Thorpe’s death in 1953, a court ruled that he had

been unjustly stripped of his medals, and duplicate medals were given to his children.<sup>78</sup>

## A New Generation of Leaders

In the first decades of the twentieth century, some Indians began to “talk back” to the United States. A new generation of Indians — schooled in American ways, united for the first time by a common language, English, and aware of the challenges confronting their people — subjected American society to searching scrutiny, criticized its inequalities and hypocrisies, and challenged the supposed superiority of “civilization” by pointing out enduring qualities in Indian life and culture.<sup>79</sup>

In 1911 some of these new Native American professionals and intellectuals founded the **Society of American Indians (SAI)** in Columbus, Ohio. The society’s members included some of the more influential Indians of the day: Charles Eastman; the Rev. Sherman Coolidge, an Arapaho Episcopalian minister who had been captured at the age of seven by American troops and raised by an army captain and who had lived in New York City for many years; Carlos Montezuma, a Yavapai Apache who earned a medical degree and became a respected physician in Chicago (see [“What Indians Must Do,” pages 412–16](#)); Henry Roe Cloud, a Winnebago who obtained bachelor’s and master’s degrees from Yale and became a

Presbyterian minister; Arthur C. Parker, a Seneca anthropologist; Oneida writer and activist Laura Cornelius Kellogg; and the Sioux writer Gertrude Bonnin, also known as Zitkala-Ša (see [“The Melancholy of Those Black Days,” on pages 420–24](#)). These people — the first generation of modern pan-Indian intellectuals — became known as the “Red Progressives.” According to Sherman Coolidge, the establishment of the SAI, an organization “managed solely for and by the Indians,” meant that “the hour has struck when the best educated and most cultured of the race should come together to voice the common demands, to interpret correctly the Indians’ heart, and to contribute in a more united way their influence and exertion with the rest of the citizens of the United States in all lines of progress and reform, for the welfare of the Indian race in particular, and all humanity in general.”<sup>80</sup>

The SAI favored assimilation but also lobbied for citizenship, improved health care on reservations, a special court of claims for Indians, and other reform issues. Disputes over the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Native American Church caused deep divisions and the society declined in the 1920s, but it represented a first step toward the kind of pan-Indian unity that would play a vital role in the protection of Indian rights and the preservation of Indian culture in later years; in addressing the ambiguous status of Indian people and nations in the United States, the SAI tackled issues that remained a century later.<sup>81</sup> Far to the north, Tlingit and other Alaskan communities formed the Alaska Native Brotherhood in

1912 and lobbied to protect Native resources and rights and to end discrimination.

Other individuals who remained on their reservations forged new roles for themselves and found unconventional ways to represent their people. Quanah Parker transformed himself from a nineteenth-century Comanche warrior to a twentieth-century Comanche politician and businessman. The son of captive Cynthia Ann Parker, he fought against the Americans in the Red River War of 1874–75 and rose to prominence as the principal chief and a savvy politician after his people were confined to the reservation. He made himself useful to the U.S. government as a leader who would comply with the new policies being implemented on the reservation. He leased grazing rights on Comanche lands to local cattlemen. He achieved wealth and position, owning a large herd of cattle and living in an impressive house. He sent his children away to receive an American education. But he also used his position to represent his people; he refused to cut his hair or to comply with the government's rules forbidding polygyny, and he became a leader in the **Native American Church**.<sup>[82](#)</sup>





*Granger, NYC.*

♦ **Quanah Parker**

Quanah Parker (c. 1852–1911) with Tonasa (or Tonar-cy), one of his five wives, outside their house in 1892. Tonasa accompanied her husband on trips to Washington, D.C., and she was with him when he died in 1911. The government worried about what it called Quanah's "much married condition" and pressured him to give wives up in accordance with its regulations, but he still had a second wife — named To-pay — at the time of his death.

The buttons of the peyote cactus, native to the southwestern United States, produce a psychedelic effect when dried and ingested. Peyote buttons had been used in Mexico and in religious rituals along the Rio Grande for centuries. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, however, a new religion based on the ritual use of peyote entered Indian Territory in the United States and then spread north across the Plains. It grew to become the Native American Church of the twentieth century. Though some of the rituals differed among regions and tribes, the religion had widespread appeal because it combined Christian elements with ancient tribal roots and provided “a bridge between traditional faiths and the realities of contemporary life.”<sup>83</sup> Whereas many older ceremonies, such as the Sun Dance, took place in the open during the day, peyote ceremonies were performed quietly at night and could more easily escape the prying eyes of Indian agents intent on suppressing tribal religions. The religion was opposed by many non-Indians — and by some Indians. But in 1918 the Native American Church was formally organized in Oklahoma. Its declared purpose was to promote Christian religious belief using “the practices of the peyote sacrament” and to teach Christian morality and self-respect. The church prohibited alcohol and advocated monogamy, family responsibility, and hard work as means of combating the social problems that plagued many Indian communities. The use of peyote in ceremonies continued to draw opposition: fourteen states outlawed the drug by 1923; the Navajo tribal council banned it from their reservation in 1940; and it was the subject of a Supreme Court case and new federal legislation in

the 1990s. Nevertheless, the Native American Church, with approximately 300,000 members, functions as an important element in the lives of many Indian people today.<sup>84</sup>

## Soldiers and Citizens

In the summer of 1914, following the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, Europe's balance of powers unraveled, plunging the world into war, with the British Empire, France, the Russian Empire, and their allies pitted against the German Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Ottoman Empire, and Bulgaria. The United States stayed out of the conflict for several years, but following German infringements on American neutrality, President Woodrow Wilson asked Congress for a declaration of war in 1917. More than twelve thousand Indians served in the armed forces during the First World War, and many more contributed to the cause on the home front. American society, and the press in particular, interpreted the Indians' participation as evidence of their assimilation: "it may seem strange to see an Apache in a sailor's blue uniform," said one paper, "but it merely shows that he has become an American and has passed the tribal stage." That Indians were now fighting for the United States and defending Western values and democracy constituted, in the words of one scholar, "the ultimate vindication of U.S. expansionism, since it proved that the vanquished were better off for having been

conquered.” But Indians pointed to their patriotism and sacrifice as evidence of their readiness for full citizenship: “Challenged, the Indian has responded and shown himself a citizen of the world,” said Seneca Arthur C. Parker, president of the Society for American Indians. Service in the U.S. armed forces offered young men a chance to win war honors, as their fathers and grandfathers had done. They also believed that it would demonstrate their capacity to take care of their own affairs and might help to bring more justice for Indian people.<sup>85</sup> Many served out of devotion to their homeland more than loyalty to the United States. “Our people’s devotion to this land is stronger than any piece of paper,” said one man who served in the U.S. navy in World War I. “That devotion is deeper than our mistrust,” agreed his granddaughter, Roberta Conner, director of the Tamástslikt Cultural Institute of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation. “It is more important than our wounds from past injustices. It is tougher than hatred.”<sup>86</sup>

Although many Indians volunteered, some resisted the draft on the basis that they were not citizens and could not vote, or because they saw it as an infringement of their tribal sovereignty and treaty rights. Carlos Montezuma criticized the drafting of Indians as “another wrong perpetrated upon the Indian without FIRST bestowing his just title — THE FIRST AMERICAN CITIZEN.”<sup>87</sup> The Iroquois Confederacy made a separate declaration of war against Germany, emphasizing that its members were independent nations and fighting the war as allies, not as subjects, of the United States.<sup>88</sup>

Whatever their reasons for joining up, Indian soldiers saw plenty of service on the front lines. Most served the infantry and field artillery, many acted as scouts, runners, and snipers, and a contingent of Choctaws using their own language helped ensure the security of battlefield communications and established a precedent for “code talking” that was to prove important in World War II. The casualty rate for Indian soldiers was more than twice the overall rate for American soldiers and sailors.<sup>88</sup> Still, Native Americans who had served and suffered for their country returned home to find little had changed for Indian people.



*Fort Worth Star-Telegram/Tribune News Service/Getty Images.*

◆ **Choctaw Code Talkers, 1918**

As many as nineteen Choctaw soldiers used their Native language as “code” to transmit military messages during World War I. In 1989 the government of France

presented the Choctaw Nation the “Chevalier de l’Ordre National de Merite” in recognition of the important role of the Code Talkers.

[The Six Nations of Canada](#) sent a delegation to London in 1921 and to the League of Nations in Geneva in 1923 to argue their case that as a sovereign nation they were exempt from Canada’s laws.

## Indian Affairs on the 1920s

The 1920s were a time of unprecedented affluence for many Americans. All Indian people became U.S. citizens, and a few shared in the prosperity that many Americans enjoyed during the “Roaring Twenties.” When the Osages were forced to accept the allotment of their lands in 1907, they wisely insisted that the tribe continue to own the subsurface materials — oil had been discovered beneath the Osage Reservation ten years before. Jackson Burnett, a Creek Indian, earned so much in royalties from the oil wells on his Oklahoma allotment that by 1917 he was known as “the World’s Richest Indian.” Claiming Burnett was not competent to manage his own affairs — he was illiterate, and, as was appropriate in Creek culture, he gave money away to friends and relatives — outsiders scrambled to manage his wealth for him. The tangle of litigation and jockeying for control of his estate became a national scandal.<sup>[89](#)</sup> The Osages benefited from an oil bonanza, but non-Indians resorted to swindling, bribery, and even a spate of murders in the 1920s. “The Osage Reign of Terror” attracted national attention and federal

investigations.<sup>20</sup> The FBI was called in to stop the murders. Most Indian people did not have to worry about the problems that came with unprecedented wealth.

In 1924 Congress passed the **Indian Citizenship Act**, extending citizenship and suffrage to all American Indians. Roughly two-thirds of Indian people, including those who had taken allotments or served in World War I, had already been accorded citizenship, but passage of the act affirmed the belief that America's first peoples had become sufficiently assimilated to take up their role as participating American citizens. But things were not that simple. Some states continued to place obstacles in the way of Indian voting, and not all Indians eagerly embraced their new status. "The law of 1924 cannot . . . apply to Indians," declared one Mohawk, "since they are independent nations. Congress may as well pass a law making Mexicans citizens."<sup>21</sup> To some, the Indian Citizenship Act was yet another attempt to control a long-sovereign people.

In 1926 the Department of the Interior commissioned a team of scholars, headed by anthropologist Lewis Meriam, to conduct a survey of Indian affairs. Henry Roe Cloud, a Winnebago graduate of Yale University and Auburn Theological Seminary and one of the founding members of the Society of American Indians, was one of the principal investigators. The commission's report, published two years later as *The Problem of Indian Administration* and popularly known as the **Meriam Report**, detailed the problems confronting American Indians and drew attention to the poverty, ill health, and

despair that beset Indian communities. Indians could not, said the report, live in “a glass case” and the clock could not be turned back; the traditional economic foundations of Indian culture could not be restored. Nevertheless, the report recommended reforms in the Bureau of Indian Affairs to increase its efficiency and promote the social and economic advancement of Indians “so that they may be absorbed into the prevailing civilization or be fitted to live in the presence of that civilization at least in accordance with a minimum standard of health and decency.”<sup>92</sup> These minimum goals had rarely been attained since the Allotment Act had weakened the communal and family basis of Indian life. The report called for an end to allotment and advocated phasing out Indian boarding schools, where “provisions for the care of the Indian children . . . are grossly inadequate.” The Indian Service, said the report, “has not appreciated the fundamental importance of a family life and community activities in the social and economic development of a people.”<sup>93</sup> The place of American Indian citizens in American society and the relations of Indian nations with the United States were far from resolved. Then, in October 1929, the U.S. stock market collapsed, sending the country into the worst depression in its history.



# CONCLUSION

After it suppressed military resistance to American expansion, the U.S. government subjected Indian peoples to a sustained and multifaceted assault on their cultures and communities. Convinced that Indians could only survive if they stopped being Indian and fully adopted white American values and ways of life, Indian agents, reformers, and teachers attempted to assimilate the first Americans into American society. Reservations were intended to be crucibles of change where traditional tribal ways would die out or be stamped out, but Native cultures proved resilient and the government shifted its strategy, targeted the reservations as obstacles to change, and implemented allotment to break up the reservations into individual plots of property and push individual Indians into mainstream society. At the same time, it shipped thousands of Indian children to off-reservation boarding schools in a campaign to educate them in Western ways and rid them of their Native language, heritage, and identity. Meanwhile, the Supreme Court delivered severe blows to Indian rights.

The majority of Americans viewed Indians as a vanishing race and saw the extension of U.S. citizenship to all Indian people as a mark of their full assimilation into American society. Indian people, however, survived as Indians. They preserved traditional ways when

they could but also employed new tools. Those who were educated in the white man's schools often used their education for Indian, not American, purposes and sometimes to actively resist American policies.

# CHAPTER 7 REVIEW

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## KEY TERMS

Detribalization

“Intimate colonialism”

Sarah Winnemucca

Dawes or General Allotment Act

Jerome Commission

Indian boarding school

“vanishing race”

Charles Alexander Eastman

Major Crimes Act

*Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock*

Society of American Indians (SAI)

Native American Church

Indian Citizenship Act

## REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How did the U.S. government control Indian life on the reservations, and how did Indian people adjust and resist? Why did the government then decide to break up reservations?
2. What were the goals of Indian boarding schools, and in what ways did Native students use the kind of education they received there?
3. Indians in this period were often described as “a vanishing race.” What forces seemed to point to their disappearance? How did Indian people survive and maintain aspects of their culture in the face of acculturation?

# DOCUMENTS

## An American Reformer Views “the Indian Problem” and an Indian Reformer Views the Indian Bureau



LOOKING AT THE DEVASTATING EFFECTS that the policies of the late nineteenth century had on Indian life and lives, it is easy to forget that many of those advocating and implementing these policies believed they were working in the Indians’ best interests. It is also easy to depict Indian peoples as only victims of the policies, never as people who debated, resisted, and sometimes shaped them. The two documents reprinted here illustrate how two reformers — one white, one Indian — viewed “the Indian problem.”

The assault on tribalism that culminated in the Allotment Act of 1887 stemmed in part from concern that the government was mishandling Indian affairs, mistreating Indian people, and missing the opportunity to transform American Indians into American citizens. Leaders in the movement to reform Indian affairs were “a group of earnest men and women who unabashedly called

themselves ‘the friends of the Indian,’” wrote historian Father Francis P. Prucha. They “set about to solve the ‘Indian problem’ in terms of religious sentiment and patriotic outlook that were peculiarly American. They had great confidence in the righteousness of their cause, and they knew that God approved.”<sup>94</sup>

Convinced of the superiority of Anglo-Saxon Protestant civilization, the white reformers saw little or nothing of value in Indian civilization. The “Indian problem” would disappear, they believed, when individual Indian people were swallowed up by American society and Indian tribes ceased to exist. The reformers had no compunction about dictating to Indians what was best for them; after all, they believed they were saving the Indians from themselves and from extinction. The reformers championed Indian rights in some important cases, but their main goals were to revolutionize Indian policy and thoroughly assimilate Indians. Private property, citizenship, and education were the keys to “Americanizing” American Indians.

The reformers were organized and vocal, and they exerted tremendous influence in Congress on the direction of Indian policy. To understand the changes in Indian policy and the intensity of the assault on Indian life, we must try to understand the people who spearheaded the movement. We need to consider how they saw things at the end of the nineteenth century. “They were an articulate lot,” said Prucha. They “employed rhetoric as a weapon in their crusade” and “hammered incessantly on the public

conscience” in speeches, pamphlets, press releases, articles, editorials, and letters to congressmen and government officials. Only by reading their words “can one begin to appreciate the strength of their convictions and the lengths to which they were willing to go in their program of Americanizing the Indians.”<sup>95</sup>

Merrill Gates was one of the most prominent Indian reformers of the time. A former president of Rutgers University and of Amherst College, he was appointed to the Board of Indian Commissioners by President Chester Arthur in 1884. Gates served as president of the board and was an active participant at the Lake Mohonk conferences. In 1885 he prepared a long paper on Indian policy that was printed in the *Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners*. The paper exemplifies the attitudes and thinking of the reformers and shows what Indian peoples faced in their struggle to preserve their cultures and communities in late nineteenth-century America — even from the “friends of the Indian.”

Carlos Montezuma (c. 1866–1923) was born in central Arizona at a time when the influx of settlers and prospectors was disrupting the world of his Yavapai people. Named Wassaja by his parents, the young boy was captured by Pima Indians in 1871 and sold to an Italian photographer, Carlos Gentile, for \$30.<sup>96</sup> Gentile gave him a new name and an education. Montezuma attended the University of Illinois and graduated from Chicago Medical College in 1889. He took an appointment in the Indian Service and worked at Fort Stevenson Indian School in North Dakota, the Western Shoshone

Agency in Nevada, and the Colville Reservation in Washington. He served as medical officer at Richard Henry Pratt's school in Carlisle from 1894 to 1896 and then opened a private practice in Chicago.

Montezuma believed in the values of hard work and individualism espoused by people like Merrill Gates, and he believed Indian people had what it took to achieve great things if given the chance. But he complained bitterly about the government's Indian policies and believed that the Bureau of Indian Affairs stood in the way of the very "progress" that the government claimed to be promoting among Indians. He came into conflict with bureau personnel, gave lectures in which he criticized the bureau and the reservation system it supported, and advocated citizenship for Indian people. He supported assimilation but also argued for taking pride in Indian ways. He was one of the founding members of the Society of American Indians; he published the article "What Indians Must Do," excerpted here, in the society's *Quarterly Journal* in 1914. But not everyone in the SAI agreed with his outspoken views, and he later left the society. In 1916 he founded the magazine *Wassaja* (his Yavapai name) as a forum for his ideas.

Over time, Montezuma rebuilt his ties with the Yavapai community at Fort McDowell in Arizona. He visited when he could and he assisted the community in their fights to preserve their land and water. After he was diagnosed with tuberculosis, he returned to the Southwest and died at Fort McDowell in January 1923 — a year before Congress granted Indians citizenship.



**MERRILL E. GATES** *From the Seventeenth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners (1885)*

. . . For what ought we to hope as the future of the Indian? What should the Indian become?

To this there is one answer — and but one. He should become an intelligent citizen of the United States. There is no other “manifest destiny” for any man or any body of men on our domain. To this we stand committed by all the logic of two thousand years of Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon history, since Arminius with his sturdy followers made a stand for liberty against the legions of Rome. Foremost champions of that peculiarly Anglo-Saxon idea, that supports a strong central government, moves as a whole, yet protects carefully the local and individual freedom of all the parts, we are, as a matter of course, to seek to fit the Indians among us as we do all other men for the responsibilities of citizenship. And by the stupendous precedent of eight millions of freedmen made citizens in a day, we have committed ourselves to the theory that the way to fit men for citizenship is to make them citizens. The dangers that would beset Indian voters solicited by the demagogue would not be greater than those which now attend him unprotected by law, the prey of sharpers, and too often the pauperized, ration-fed pensioner of our Government, which, when it has paid at all the sums it has promised to pay to Indians, has paid them in such a way as to undermine what manhood and self-respect the Indian had. For one, I would willingly see the Indians run the risk of being flattered a

little by candidates for Congress. None of their tribes are destitute of shrewd men who would watch the interests of the race.

Has our Government in its dealings with the Indians hitherto adopted a course of legislation and administration, well adapted to build up their manhood and make them intelligent, self-supporting citizens?

They are the wards of the Government. Is not a guardian's first duty so to educate and care for his wards as to make them able to care for themselves? It looks like intended fraud if a guardian persists in such management of his wards and such use of their funds intrusted to him as in the light of experience clearly unfits them and will always keep them unfit for the management of their own affairs and their own property. When a guardian has in his hands funds which belong to his wards, funds which have been expressly set apart for the education of those wards, funds which from time to time he has publicly professed himself to be about to use for that particular end, yet still retains the money from year to year while his wards suffer sadly in the utter lack of proper educational facilities, we call his conduct disgraceful — an outrage and a crying iniquity. Yet our Commissioner of Indian Affairs again and again calls attention to the fact that the Government has funds, now amounting to more than \$4,000,000, which are by treaty due to Indians for educational purposes alone. Who can doubt that a comprehensive plan looking to the industrial and the general education of all Indians should be undertaken at once? . . .

But it is not merely in neglecting to provide direct means for their education that we have been remiss in our duty to the Indians. The money and care which our Government has given to the Indians in most cases has not been wisely directed to strengthening their manhood, elevating their morals, and fitting them for intelligent citizenship. We have massed them upon reservations, fenced off from all intercourse with the better whites. We have given them no law to protect them against crimes from within the tribe — almost none to protect them against aggression from without. And above all else we have utterly neglected to teach them the value of honest labor. Nay, by rations dealt out whether needed or not, we have interfered to suspend the efficient teaching by which God leads men to love and honor labor. We have taken from them the compelling inspiration that grows out of His law, “if a man will not work, neither shall he eat!” Why, if a race inured to toil were cut off from all intercourse with the outside world, and left to roam at large over a vast territory, regularly fed by Government supplies, how many generations would pass before that race would revert to barbarism?

We have held them at arm’s length, cut them off from the teaching power of good example, and given them rations and food to hold them in habits of abject laziness. A civilization like ours would soon win upon the Indians and bring them rapidly into greater harmony with all its ideas if as a nation in our dealings with them we had shown a true spirit of humanity, civilization, and Christianity. But such a spirit cannot be discerned in the history of

our legislation for the Indians or our treaties with them. We have never recognized the obligation that rests upon us as a dominant, civilized people, the strong Government, to legislate carefully, honorably, disinterestedly, for these people. We boast of the brilliant adaptations of science to practical ends and everyday uses as the distinctive mark of American progress. Where are the triumphs of social science discernible in the treatment Americans have given to this distinctively American question? We have not shown in this matter anything approaching that patient study of social conditions which England has shown for the uncivilized natives in her domain. The great mass of our legislation regarding Indians has had to do with getting land we had promised them into our possession by the promise of a price as low as we could fix and yet keep them from making border warfare upon us in sheer despair. The time of would-be reformers has been occupied too constantly in devising precautions to keep what had been appropriated from being stolen before it reached the Indians. And when it has reached them it has too often been in the form of annuities and rations that keep them physically and morally in the attitude of lazy, healthy paupers. We have not seemed to concern ourselves with the question, How can we organize, enforce, and sustain institutions and habits among the Indians which shall civilize and Christianize them? The fine old legend, *noblesse oblige*,<sup>o</sup> we have forgotten in our broken treaties and our shamefully deficient legislation. . . .

Two peculiarities which mark the Indian life, if retained, will render his progress slow, uncertain and difficult. These are:

1. The tribal organization.
2. The Indian reservation.

I am satisfied that no man can carefully study the Indian question without the deepening conviction that these institutions must go if we would save the Indian from himself.

And first, the tribe. Politically it is an anomaly — an *imperium in imperio*.<sup>o</sup> Early in our history, when whites were few and Indians were relatively numerous and were grouped in tribes with something approaching to a rude form of government, it was natural, it was inevitable, that we should treat with them as tribes. It would have been hopeless for us to attempt to modify their tribal relations. But now the case is entirely different. There is hardly one tribe outside the five civilized tribes of the Indian Territory which can merit the name of an organized society or which discharges the simplest functions of government. Disintegration has long been the rule. Individualism, the keynote of our socio-political ideas in this century, makes itself felt by sympathetic vibrations even in the rude society of the Indian tribes. There is little of the old loyalty to a personal chief as representing a governing authority from the Great Spirit. Perhaps there never was so much of this as some have fancied among the Indians. Certainly there are few signs of it now. A passive acquiescence in the mild leadership of the promising son of

a former leader, among the peaceable tribes of the southwest, or a stormy hailing by the young braves of a new and reckless leader, blood-thirsty for a raid upon the whites — these are the chief indications of the survival of the old spirit.

Indian chiefs are never law-makers, seldom even in the rudest sense law-enforcers. The councils where the chief is chosen are too often blast-furnaces of anarchy, liquefying whatever forms of order may have established themselves under a predecessor. The Indians feel the animus of the century. As personal allegiance to a chieftain and the sense of tribal unity wanes, what is taking its place? Literally, nothing. In some cases educated but immoral and selfish leaders take advantage of the old traditions to acquire influence which they abuse. On the whole, however, a rude, savage individuality is developing itself, but not under the guidance of law, moral, civil, or religious.

Surely the intelligence of our nation should devise and enforce a remedy for this state of affairs. . . .

The highest right of man is the right to be a man, with all that this involves. The tendency of the tribal organization is constantly to interfere with and frustrate the attainment of his highest manhood. The question whether parents have a right to educate their children to regard the tribal organization as supreme, brings us at once to the consideration of the family.

And here I find the key to the Indian problem. More than any other idea, this consideration of the family and its proper sphere in the civilizing of races and in the development of the individual, serves to unlock the difficulties which surround legislation for the Indian.

The family is God's unit of society. On the integrity of the family depends that of the State. There is no civilization deserving of the name where the family is not the unit of civil government. Even the extreme advocates of individualism must admit that the highest and most perfect personality is developed through those relations which the family renders possible and fosters. . . .

The tribal organization, with its tenure of land in common, with its constant divisions of goods and rations per capita without regard to service rendered, cuts the nerve of all that manful effort which political economy teaches us proceeds from the desire for wealth. True ideas of property with all the civilizing influences that such ideas excite are formed only as the tribal relation is outgrown. . . .

But the tribal system paralyzes at once the desire for property and the family life that ennobles that desire. Where the annuities and rations that support a tribe are distributed to the industrious and the lazy alike, while almost all property is held in common, there cannot be any true stimulus to industry. And where the property which a deceased father has called his own is at the funeral feast distributed to his adult relatives, or squandered in

prolonged feasting, while no provision whatever is made for the widow or the children, how can the family be perpetuated, or the ideal of the permanence and the preciousness of this relation become clear and powerful. Yet this is the custom in by far the greater number of the Indian tribes. . . .

As the allegiance to tribe and chieftain is weakened, its place should be taken by the sanctities of family life and an allegiance to the laws which grow naturally out of the family! Lessons in law for the Indian should begin with the developing and the preservation, by law, of those relations of property and of social intercourse which spring out of and protect the family. First of all, he must have land in severalty.<sup>o</sup>

Land in severalty, on which to make a home for his family. This land the Government should, where necessary, for a few years hold in trust for him or his heirs, inalienable and unchargeable. But it shall be his. It shall be patented to him as an individual. He shall hold it by what the Indians who have been hunted from reservation to reservation pathetically call, in their requests for justice, “a paper-talk from Washington, which tells the Indian what land is his so that a white man cannot get it away from him.” “There is no way of reaching the Indian so good as to show him that he is working for a home. Experience shows that there is no incentive so strong as the confidence that by long, untiring labor, a man may secure a home for himself and his family.” The Indians are no exception to this rule. There is in this consciousness of a family-hearth, of land



and a home in prospect as permanently their own, an educating force which at once begins to lift these savages out of barbarism and sends them up the steep toward civilization, as rapidly as easy divorce laws are sending some sections of our country down the slope toward barbaric heathenism. . . .

Thus the family and a homestead prove the salvation of those whom the tribal organization and the reservation were debasing. It was a step in advance when Agent Miles began to issue rations to families instead of to the headmen of the tribe. Every measure which strengthens the family tie and makes clearer the idea of family life, in which selfish interests and inclinations are sacrificed for the advantage of the whole family, is a powerful influence toward civilization.

In this way, too, family affection and care for the education and the virtue of the young are promoted. Thus such law as is necessary to protect virtue, to punish offenses against purity, and to abolish polygamy, will be welcomed by the Indians. These laws enforced will help still further to develop true family feeling. Family feeling growing stronger and stronger as all the members of the family work on their own homestead for the welfare of the home, will itself incline all toward welcoming the reign of law, and will increase the desire of all for systematic education. The steadying, educating effect of property will take hold upon these improvident children of the West, who have for too long lived as if the injunction, "Take no thought for the morrow," in its literal sense, were their only law.

We must as rapidly as possible break up the tribal organization and give them law, with the family and land in severalty as its central idea. We must not only give them law, we must force law upon them. We must not only offer them education, we must force education upon them. Education will come to them by complying with the forms and the requirements of the law. . . .

While we profess to desire their civilization, we adopt in the Indian reservation the plan which of all possible plans seems most carefully designed to preserve the degrading customs and the low moral standards of heathen barbarism. Take a barbaric tribe, place them upon a vast tract of land from which you carefully exclude all civilized men, separate them by hundreds of miles from organized civil society and the example of reputable white settlers, and having thus insulated them in empty space, doubly insulate them from Christian civilization by surrounding them with sticky layers of the vilest, most designingly wicked men our century knows, the whiskey-selling whites and the debased half-breeds who infest the fringes of our reservations, men who have the vices of the barbarian plus the worst vices of the reckless frontiersman and the city criminal, and then endeavor to incite the electrifying, life-giving currents of civilized life to flow through this doubly insulated mass. If an Indian now and then gets glimpses of something better and seeks to leave this seething mass of in-and-in breeding degradation, to live in a civilized community, give him no protection by law and no hope of citizenship. If he has won his way as many have done through the highest institutions of learning,

with honor, tell him that he may see many of our largest cities ruled by rings of men, many of whom are foreigners by birth, ignorant, worthless, yet naturalized citizens, but that he must not hope to vote or to hold office.

If he says “I will be content to accumulate property, then,” tell him “you may do so; but any one who chooses may withhold your wages, refuse to pay you money he has borrowed, plunder you as he will, and our law gives you no redress.” Thus we drive the honest and ambitious Indian, as we do the criminals, back to the tribe and the reservation; and cutting them off from all hopes of bettering themselves while we feed their laziness on Government rations, we complain that they are not more ambitious and industrious.

Christian missionaries plunge into these reservations, struggle with the mass of evil there, and feeling that bright children can be best educated in the atmosphere of civilization, they send to Eastern institutions these Indian children plucked like fire-stained brands from the reservations. They are brought to our industrial training schools. The lesson taught by the comparison of their photographs when they come and when they go is wonderful.<sup>o</sup>

The years of contact with ideas and with civilized men and Christian women so transform them that their faces shine with a wholly new light, for they have indeed “communed with God.” They came children; they return young men and young women; yet they look younger in the face than when they came to us. The

prematurely aged look of hopeless heathenism has given way to that dew of eternal youth which marks the difference between the savage and the man who lives in the thoughts of an eternal future. .

..

Break up the reservation. Its usefulness is past. Treat it as we treat the fever-infected hospital when life has so often yielded to disease within its walls that we see clearly the place is in league with the powers of death, and the fiat goes forth, "though this was planned as a blessing it has proved to be a curse; away with it! burn it!"

Guard the rights of the Indian, but for his own good break up his reservations. Let in the light of civilization. Plant in alternate sections or townships white farmers, who will teach him by example. Reserve all the lands he needs for the Indian. Give land by trust-deed in severalty to each family.

Among the parts of the reservation to be so assigned to Indians in severalty retain alternate ranges or townships for white settlers. Let only men of such character as a suitable commission would approve be allowed to file on these lands. Let especial advantages in price of land, and in some cases let a small salary be offered, to induce worthy farmers thus to settle among the Indians as object-teachers of civilization. Let the parts of the reservations not needed be sold by the Government for the benefit of the Indians, and the money thus realized be used to secure this wise intermingling of

the right kind of civilized men with the Indians. Over all, extend the law of the States and Territories, and let Indian and white man stand alike before the law. . . .

° The idea that with privilege comes responsibility.

° A government within a government.

° Individual ownership of a tract of land.

° See examples of these photographs on [pages 386–87](#).

## **CARLOS MONTEZUMA *What Indians Must Do* (1914)**

We must free ourselves. Our peoples' heritage is freedom. Freedom reigned in their whole makeup. They harmonized with nature and lived accordingly. Preaching freedom to our people on reservations does not make them free any more than you can, by preaching, free those prisoners who are in the penitentiary. Reservations are prisons where our people are kept to live and die, where equal possibilities, equal education and equal responsibilities are unknown. . . .

We must do away with the Indian Bureau. The reservation system has debarred us as a race from acquiring that knowledge to appreciate our property. The government after teaching us how to live without work has come to the conclusion “that the Indians are not commercialists” and, therefore, “we (his guardian) will remove them as we think best and use them as long as our administration

lasts and make friends.”<sup>o</sup> The Indian Department has drifted into commercialism at the expense of our poor benighted people. So they go on and say, “Let us not allot those Indians on that sweet flowing water because there are others who will profit by damming it up and selling it out to the newcomers; that the Indians do not use or develop their lands; five acres of irrigated land is all that one Indian can manage, but in order to be generous, we will give him ten acres and close up the books and call it square; that their vast forest does them no good, before the Indian can open his eyes let us transfer it to the Forestry Reserve Department. Never mind, let the Indian scratch for his wood to cook with and to warm himself in the years to come; that the Indians have no use for rivers, therefore, we will go into damming business and build them on their lands without their consent. Pay? No! Why should we?” They give us “C” class water instead of “A” class. They have got us! Why? Because we do not know the difference.

“In this valley the Indians have too much land. We will move them from where they have lived for centuries (by Executive order in behalf of the coming settlers). Even if he had cultivated and claims more than that, we will allot that Indian only ten acres. If he rebels and makes trouble, we will put him in jail until he is ready to behave himself.” This poor Indian may try to get an Indian friend to help him out of his predicament. But right there the Indian helper is balked by the Indian Department and is told he is not wanted on the reservation. When an Indian collects money from among his tribe to defray expenses to Washington and back in order to carry

their complaints, and to be heard and considered in their rights, the superintendent with the aid of the Indian policeman takes this Indian, takes the money away from him and gives back the money to those who contributed, put[s] him in jail and brands him a grafter. . . .

The sooner the Government abolishes the Indian Bureau, the better it will be for we Indians in every way. The system that has kept alive the Indian Bureau has been instrumental in dominating over our race for fifty years. In that time the Indian's welfare has grown to the secondary and the Indian Bureau the whole thing, and therefore a necessary political appendage of the government. It sends out exaggerated and wonderful reports to the public in order to suck the blood of our race, so that it may have perpetual life to sap your life, my life and our children's future prospects. There are many good things to say about the Indian Department. It started out right with our people. It fed them, clothed them and protected them from going outside of the reservations. It was truly a place of refuge. Then they were dominated by agents; now they are called superintendents. On the reservation our people did not act without the consent of the Superintendent; they did not express themselves without the approval of the Superintendent, and *they did not dare to think*, for that would be to rival, to the Superintendent. Yesterday, today, our people are in the same benighted condition. As Indians they are considered nonentities. They are not anything to themselves and not anything to the world. . . .

We must be independent. When with my people for a vacation in Arizona I must live outdoors; I must sleep on the ground; I must cook in the fire on the ground; I must sit on the ground, I must eat nature's food and I must be satisfied with inconveniences that I do not enjoy at my Chicago home. Yet those blood relations of mine are independent, happy, because they were born and brought up in that environment, while as a greenhorn I find myself dependent and helpless in such simple life. In order for we Indians to be independent in the whirl of this other life, we must get into it and used to it and live up to its requirements and take our chances with the rest of our fellow creatures. Being caged up and not permitted to develop our facilities has made us a dependent race. We are looked upon as hopeless to save and hopeless to do anything for ourselves. The only Christian way, then, is to leave us alone and let us die in that condition. The conclusion is true that we will die that way if we do not hurry and get out of it and hustle for our salvation. Did you ever notice how other races hustle and bustle in order to achieve independence? Reservation Indians must do the same as the rest of the wide world.

As a full-blooded Apache Indian<sup>°</sup> I have nothing more to say. Figure out your responsibility and the responsibility of every Indian that hears my voice.

<sup>°</sup> Apparently these quotations are fictitious. Montezuma used them as rhetorical devices to make his point that the Indian Office cared little for its charges' welfare.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>°</sup> Yavapais are sometimes referred to as Yavapai Apaches.



SOURCE: Carlos Montezuma, "What Indians Must Do," *Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians* 2 (October–December 1914), 294–99; reprinted in Frederick E. Hoxie, ed., *Talking Back to Civilization: Indian Voices from the Progressive Era* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2001), 92–95.

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. What criticisms does Gates level against the U.S. government's Indian policies, and what recommendations does he make for changing them?
2. What does Gates identify as the defining characteristics of tribal life that "hold Indians back," and what are the characteristics of Anglo-Saxon Protestant life with which he seeks to replace them?
3. What does Gates's paper reveal about how reformers, and eventually the federal government, were able to shift from a policy based on reservations to a policy based on dismantling reservations and yet remain consistent in their ultimate goal of "civilizing" Indians?
4. What does Montezuma advocate for Indian people? Do these goals seem attainable as he outlines them?
5. What is the tone of Montezuma's article, and what is its effect? Whom is he addressing, and for what purpose?
6. Compare Montezuma's view of Indian society and Indian policy with that expressed by Gates. Where might they have found common ground?

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## Two Sioux School Experiences



INDIVIDUALS WHO UNDERWENT THE CULTURAL transformation programs at the boarding schools had mixed experiences. For many Indian students, the experience was heartbreaking and humiliating; they left these schools with bitter memories, little education, and few prospects. But some of those who endured the painful process and found fault with the system also learned from it and employed the knowledge and skills they acquired in their subsequent careers. The government viewed a boarding-school education as a powerful weapon of assimilation, and many Indian students rejected it for that same reason. But two Sioux writers, Luther Standing Bear and Gertrude Bonnin (or Zitkala-Ša), illustrate the ambivalent relationships some alumni had with the boarding-school system and their ability to use the education they received for their own purposes.

Born around the time of the Treaty of Fort Laramie in 1868, Plenty Kill was raised in traditional ways during traumatic years for his Lakota Sioux people. He participated in a buffalo hunt as a boy and was trained to become a Lakota warrior, but such male roles were soon precluded as the Lakotas became confined to reservations. In 1879 his father, Standing Bear, enrolled him in the first class at the new boarding school established in Carlisle,

Pennsylvania. There his name was changed from Plenty Kill to Luther Standing Bear; he was subjected to the school's assimilationist curriculum, and he endured a sustained assault on his Lakota heritage and identity. But Standing Bear weathered the assault and did well at school.

When he graduated in 1884, he returned to the Rosebud Reservation. At Carlisle he had been trained as a tinsmith, but he found no use for his skills on the reservation. He became an assistant at the government school on the Rosebud reservation and in 1891 was appointed superintendent of one of the day schools on the Pine Ridge Reservation. He did a stint with Buffalo Bill's Wild West show and spent almost a year in England with the troupe. After holding a variety of jobs, he moved to California in 1912 and began a career as a film actor, playing Indian characters in silent movies and low-budget westerns. He became president of the Indian Actors Association.

Standing Bear died in 1939. On the surface, his life and career might point to the success of Carlisle in separating him from his Lakota community and paving the way for assimilation into modern society. He left the reservation and "made it" in modern America. But Standing Bear's writings — *My People the Sioux* (1928), *Indian Boyhood* (1931), *Land of the Spotted Eagle* (1933), and *Stories of the Sioux* (1934) — champion the values of Indian cultures and implicitly reject the assimilationist policies and philosophies that drove Carlisle. He was a severe critic of the government's

reservation policies and of the repressive hand of Indian agents on Indian lives.

Zitkala-Ša (Red Bird), a Yankton Sioux, went to Carlisle not as a student but as a teacher. Born Gertrude Simmons (to a Yankton mother and a white father) in 1876, she left her home in South Dakota for Indiana at eight years old, lured by the promise of “red apples” at a Quaker-sponsored school, White’s Indian Manual Labor Institute. Despite poor health, she continued her education at Earlham College in Indiana, where she became a skillful orator and musician. She also studied at the New England Conservatory of Music. In 1898 Richard Henry Pratt hired her to teach at Carlisle. Increasingly, however, she found that her education and career were pulling her away from her mother and her people. About this time she published a series of autobiographical essays under her self-given Yankton name, Zitkala-Ša. The essays were later published as *American Indian Stories* (1921) and, in the words of one scholar, “serve as emblems of the experience of many Indians living in transition between two worlds — the remembered past and the alien present, tradition and change.”<sup>98</sup> The passages reprinted here recount her experiences as a student and a teacher. In 1902 she left Carlisle and returned to Yankton. She broke her engagement to Carlos Montezuma, who lived in Chicago and was unwilling to relocate, and married a Yankton man, Raymond Bonnin, who worked for the Indian Service.

Their family was assigned to the Uintah Ouray Ute Reservation in Utah, where they lived for fourteen years. Gertrude Bonnin taught, did public speaking, and became active in the Society of American Indians. When she was elected president of the society in 1916, the family moved to Washington, D.C. She edited the society's magazine, lobbied for reform of Indian policies, campaigned for Indian citizenship, and, like Pratt, strongly opposed peyote. She worked with the Indian Rights Association and the American Indian Defense Association, and in 1926 she and her husband formed the National Council of American Indians. She served as president of the council until she died in 1938.<sup>99</sup>

Standing Bear and Bonnin each experienced a personal journey from traditional life to the modern world through the boarding school. They used their literary and oratorical talents to defy, not promote, the assimilationist education policies of the time.

### **LUTHER STANDING BEAR *What a School Could Have Been Established* (1933)**

I grew up leading the traditional life of my people, learning the crafts of hunter, scout, and warrior from father, kindness to the old and feeble from mother, respect for wisdom and council from our wise men, and was trained by grandfather and older boys in the devotional rites to the Great Mystery.<sup>o</sup> This was the scheme of existence as followed by my forefathers for many centuries, and more centuries might have come and gone in much the same way

had it not been for a strange people who came from a far land to change and reshape our world. At the age of eleven years, ancestral life for me and my people was most abruptly ended without regard for our wishes, comforts, or rights in the matter. At once I was thrust into an alien world, into an environment as different from the one into which I had been born as it is possible to imagine, to remake myself, if I could, into the likeness of the invader.

By 1879, my people were no longer free, but were subjects confined on reservations under the rule of agents. One day there came to the agency a party of white people from the East. Their presence aroused considerable excitement when it became known that these people were school teachers who wanted some Indian boys and girls to take away with them to train as were white boys and girls.

Now, father was a “blanket Indian,”<sup>o</sup> but he was wise. He listened to the white strangers, their offers and promises that if they took his son they would care well for him, teach him how to read and write, and how to wear white man’s clothes. But to father all this was just “sweet talk,” and I know that it was with great misgivings that he left the decision to me and asked if I cared to go with these people. I, of course, shared with the rest of my tribe a distrust of the white people, so I know that for all my dear father’s anxiety he was proud to hear me say “Yes.” That meant that I was brave.

I could think of no reason why white people wanted Indian boys and girls except to kill them, and not having the remotest idea of what a school was, I thought we were going East to die. But so well had courage and bravery been trained into us that it became a part of our unconscious thinking and acting, and personal life was nothing when it came time to do something for the tribe. Even in our play and games we voluntarily put ourselves to various tests in the effort to grow brave and fearless, for it was most discrediting to be called *can't wanka*, or a coward. Accordingly there were few cowards, most Lakota men preferring to die in the performance of some act of bravery than to die of old age. Thus, in giving myself up to go East I was proving to my father that he was honored with a brave son. In my decision to go, I gave up many things dear to the heart of a little Indian boy, and one of the things over which my child mind grieved was the thought of saying good-bye to my pony. I rode him as far as I could on the journey, which was to the Missouri River, where we took the boat. There we parted from our parents, and it was a heart-breaking scene, women and children weeping. Some of the children changed their minds and were unable to go on the boat, but for many who did go it was a final parting.

On our way to school we saw many white people, more than we ever dreamed existed, and the manner in which they acted when they saw us quite indicated their opinion of us. It was only about three years after the Custer battle, and the general opinion was that the Plains people merely infested the earth as nuisances, and our being there simply evidenced misjudgment on the part of Wakan

Tanka. Whenever our train stopped at the railway stations, it was met by great numbers of white people who came to gaze upon the little Indian “savages.” The shy little ones sat quietly at the car windows looking at the people who swarmed on the platform. Some of the children wrapped themselves in their blankets, covering all but their eyes. At one place we were taken off the train and marched a distance down the street to a restaurant. We walked down the street between two rows of uniformed men whom we called soldiers, though I suppose they were policemen. This must have been done to protect us, for it was surely known that we boys and girls could do no harm. Back of the rows of uniformed men stood the white people craning their necks, talking, laughing, and making a great noise. They yelled and tried to mimic us by giving what they thought were war-whoops. We did not like this, and some of the children were naturally very much frightened. I remember how I tried to crowd into the protecting midst of the jostling boys and girls. But we were all trying to be brave, yet going to what we thought would end in death at the hands of the white people whom we knew had no love for us. Back on the train the older boys sang brave songs in an effort to keep up their spirits and ours too. In my mind I often recall that scene — eighty-odd blanketed boys and girls marching down the street surrounded by a jeering, unsympathetic people whose only emotions were those of hate and fear; the conquerors looking upon the conquered. And no more understanding us than if we had suddenly been dropped from the moon.



At last at Carlisle the transforming, the “civilizing” process began. It began with clothes. Never, no matter what our philosophy or spiritual quality, could we be civilized while wearing the moccasin and blanket. The task before us was not only that of accepting new ideas and adopting new manners, but actual physical changes and discomfort has to be borne uncomplainingly until the body adjusted itself to new tastes and habits. Our accustomed dress was taken and replaced with clothing that felt cumbersome and awkward. Against trousers and handkerchiefs we had a distinct feeling — they were unsanitary and the trousers kept us from breathing well. High collars, stiff-bosomed shirts, and suspenders fully three inches in width were uncomfortable, while leather boots caused actual suffering. We longed to go barefoot, but were told that the dew on the grass would give us colds. That was a new warning for us, for our mothers had never told us to beware of colds, and I remember as a child coming into the tipi with moccasins full of snow. Unconcernedly I would take them off my feet, pour out the snow, and put them on my feet again without any thought of sickness, for in that time colds, catarrh, bronchitis, and *la grippe* were unknown. But we were soon to know them. Then, red flannel undergarments were given us for winter wear, and for me, at least, discomfort grew into actual torture. I used to endure it as long as possible, then run upstairs and quickly take off the flannel garments and hide them. When inspection time came, I ran and put them on again, for I knew that if I were found disobeying the orders of the school I should be punished. My niece once asked me what it was that I disliked the most during those first

bewildering days, and I said, “red flannel.” Not knowing what I meant, she laughed, but I still remember those horrid, sticky garments which we had to wear next to the skin, and I still squirm and itch when I think of them. Of course, our hair was cut, and then there was much disapproval. But that was part of the transformation process and in some mysterious way long hair stood in the path of our development. For all the grumbling among the bigger boys, we soon had our heads shaven. How strange I felt! Involuntarily, time and time again, my hands went to my head, and that night it was a long time before I went to sleep. If we did not learn much at first, it will not be wondered at, I think. Everything was queer, and it took a few months to get adjusted to the new surroundings.

Almost immediately our names were changed to those in common use in the English language. Instead of translating our names into English and calling Zinkcaziwin, Yellow Bird, and Wanbli K’leska, Spotted Eagle, which in itself would have been educational, we were just John, Henry, or Maggie, as the case might be. I was told to take a pointer and select a name for myself from the list written on the blackboard. I did, and since one was just as good as another, and as I could not distinguish any difference in them, I placed the pointer on the name Luther. I then learned to call myself by that name and got used to hearing others call me by it, too. By that time we had been forbidden to speak our mother tongue, which is the rule in all boarding-schools. This rule is uncalled for, and today is not only robbing the Indian, but America

of a rich heritage. The language of a people is part of their history. Today we should be perpetuating history instead of destroying it, and this can only be effectively done by allowing and encouraging the young to keep it alive. A language, unused, embalmed, and reposing only in a book, is a dead language. Only the people themselves, and never the scholars, can nourish it into life.

Of all the changes we were forced to make, that of diet was doubtless the most injurious, for it was immediate and drastic. White bread we had for the first meal and thereafter, as well as coffee and sugar. Had we been allowed our own simple diet of meat, either boiled with soup or dried, and fruit, with perhaps a few vegetables, we should have thrived. But the change in clothing, housing, food, and confinement combined with lonesomeness was too much, and in three years nearly one half of the children from the Plains were dead and through with all earthly schools. In the graveyard at Carlisle most of the graves are those of little ones.

I am now going to confess that I had been at Carlisle a full year before I decided to learn all I could of the white man's ways, and then the inspiration was furnished by my father, the man who has been the greatest influence in all my life. When I had been in school a year, father made his first trip to see me. After I had received permission to speak to him, he told me that on his journey he had seen that the land was full of "Long Knives." "They greatly outnumber us and are here to stay," he said, and advised me, "Son, learn all you can of the white man's ways and try to be like him."

From that day on I tried. Those few words of my father I remember as if we talked but yesterday, and in the maturity of my mind I have thought of what he said. He did not say that he thought the white man's ways better than our own; neither did he say that I could be like a white man. He said, "Son, try to be like a white man." So, in two more years I had been "made over." I was Luther Standing Bear wearing the blue uniform of the school, shorn of my hair, and trying hard to walk naturally and easily in stiff-soled cowhide boots. I was now "civilized" enough to go to work in John Wanamaker's fine store in Philadelphia.

I returned from the East at about the age of sixteen, after five years' contact with the white people, to resume life upon the reservation. But I returned, to spend some thirty years before again leaving, just as I had gone — a Lakota.

Outwardly I lived the life of the white man, yet all the while I kept in direct contact with tribal life. While I had learned all that I could of the white man's culture, I never forgot that of my people. I kept the language, tribal manners and usages, sang the songs and danced the dances. I still listened to and respected the advice of the older people of the tribe. I did not come home so "progressive" that I could not speak the language of my father and mother. I did not learn the vices of chewing tobacco, smoking, drinking, and swearing, and for all this I am grateful. I have never, in fact, "progressed" that far.

But I soon began to see the sad sight, so common today, of returned students who could not speak their native tongue, or, worse yet, some who pretended they could no longer converse in the mother tongue. They had become ashamed and this led them into deception and trickery. The boys came home wearing stiff paper collars, tight patent-leather boots, and derby hats on heads that were meant to be clothed in the long hair of the Lakota brave. The girls came home wearing muslin dresses and long ribbon sashes in bright hues which were very pretty. But they were trying to squeeze their feet into heeled shoes of factory make and their waists into binding apparatuses that were not garments — at least they served no purpose of a garment, but bordered on some mechanical device. However, the wearing of them was part of the “civilization” received from those who were doing the same thing. So we went to school to copy, to imitate; not to exchange languages and ideas, and not to develop the best traits that had come out of uncountable experiences of hundreds and thousands of years living upon this continent. Our annals, all happenings of human import, were stored in our song and dance rituals, our history differing in that it was not stored in books, but in the living memory. So, while the white people had much to teach us, we had much to teach them, and what a school could have been established upon that idea! However, this was not the attitude of the day, though the teachers were sympathetic and kind, and some came to be my lifelong friends. But in the main, Indian qualities were undivined and Indian virtues not conceded. And I can well remember when Indians in those days were stoned upon the streets as were the dogs

that roamed them. We were “savages,” and all who had not come under the influence of the missionary were “heathen,” and Wakan Tanka, who had since the beginning watched over the Lakota and his land, was denied by these men of God. Should we not have been justified in thinking them heathen? And so the “civilizing” process went on, killing us as it went.

When I came back to the reservation to resume life there, it was too late to go on the warpath to prove, as I had always hoped to prove to my people, that I was a real brave. However, there came the battle of my life — the battle with agents to retain my individuality and my life as a Lakota. I wanted to take part in the tribal dances, sing the songs I had heard since I was born, and repeat and cherish the tales that had been the delight of my boyhood. It was in these things and through these things that my people lived and could continue to live, so it was up to me to keep them alive in my mind.

Now and then the Lakotas were holding their tribal dances in the old way, and I attended. Though my hair had been cut and I wore civilian clothes, I never forsook the blanket. For convenience, no coat I have ever worn can take the place of the blanket robe; and the same with the moccasins, which are sensible, comfortable, and beautiful. Besides, they were devised by people who danced — not for pastime, excitement, or fashion — but because it was an innate urge. Even when studying under the missionary, I went to the dances of my tribe.

◌ The Lakota term “Wakan Tanka,” meaning sacred, divine, or creator, is usually translated as Great Spirit or Great Mystery.

◌ The term “blanket Indian” was often used to describe a person who adhered to the old ways. In the parlance of white reformers, it carried pejorative connotations, and Indian students who “returned to the blanket” — i.e., went home to live as Indians on the reservation rather than making new lives for themselves in American society — were regarded with particular disdain by people like Richard Pratt.

◌ *la grippe*: influenza.

*SOURCE*: Reprinted from *Land of the Spotted Eagle* by Luther Standing Bear (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), 229–37, by permission of the University of Nebraska Press. Copyright 1933 by Luther Standing Bear and renewed © 1960 by May Jones.

## **ZITKALA-ŠA *The Melancholy of Those Black Days* (1921)**

THE SCHOOL DAYS OF AN INDIAN GIRL

### ***The Land of Red Apples***

There were eight in our party of bronzed children who were going East with the missionaries. Among us were three young braves, two tall girls, and we three little ones, Judéwin, Thowin, and I.

We had been very impatient to start on our journey to the Red Apple Country, which, we were told, lay a little beyond the great circular horizon of the Western prairie. Under a sky of rosy apples we dreamt of roaming as freely and happily as we had chased the cloud shadows on the Dakota plains. We had anticipated much

pleasure from a ride on the iron horse, but the throngs of staring palefaces disturbed and troubled us.

On the train, fair women, with tottering babies on each arm, stopped their haste and scrutinized the children of absent mothers. Large men, with heavy bundles in their hands, halted near by, and riveted their glassy blue eyes upon us. I sank deep into the corner of my seat, for I resented being watched. Directly in front of me, children who were no larger than I hung themselves upon the backs of their seats, with their bold white faces toward me. Sometimes they took their forefingers out of their mouths and pointed at my moccasined feet. Their mothers, instead of reproving such rude curiosity, looked closely at me, and attracted their children's further notice to my blanket. This embarrassed me, and kept me constantly on the verge of tears.

I sat perfectly still, with my eyes downcast, daring only now and then to shoot long glances around me. Chancing to turn to the window at my side, I was quite breathless upon seeing one familiar object. It was the telegraph pole which strode by at short paces. Very near my mother's dwelling, along the edge of a road thickly bordered with wild sunflowers, some poles like these had been planted by white men. Often I had stopped, on my way down the road, to hold my ear against the pole, and, hearing its low moaning, I used to wonder what the paleface had done to hurt it. Now I sat watching for each pole that glided by to be the last one.



In this way I had forgotten my uncomfortable surroundings, when I heard one of my comrades call out my name. I saw the missionary standing very near, tossing candies and gums into our midst. This amused us all, and we tried to see who could catch the most of the sweetmeats.

Though we rode several days inside of the iron horse, I do not recall a single thing about our luncheons.

It was night when we reached the school grounds. The lights from the windows of the large buildings fell upon some of the icicled trees that stood beneath them. We were led toward an open door, where the brightness of the lights within flooded out over the heads of the excited palefaces who blocked our way. My body trembled more from fear than from the snow I trod upon.

Entering the house, I stood close against the wall. The strong glaring light in the large whitewashed room dazzled my eyes. The noisy hurrying of hard shoes upon a bare wooden floor increased the whirring in my ears. My only safety seemed to be in keeping next to the wall. As I was wondering in which direction to escape from all this confusion, two warm hands grasped me firmly, and in the same moment I was tossed high in midair. A rosy-cheeked paleface woman caught me in her arms. I was both frightened and insulted by such trifling. I stared into her eyes, wishing her to let me stand on my own feet, but she jumped me up and down with

increasing enthusiasm. My mother had never made a plaything of her wee daughter. Remembering this I began to cry aloud.

They misunderstood the cause of my tears, and placed me at a white table loaded with food. There our party were united again. As I did not hush my crying, one of the older ones whispered to me, “Wait until you are alone in the night.”

It was very little I could swallow besides my sobs, that evening.

“Oh, I want my mother and my brother Dawée! I want to go to my aunt!” I pleaded; but the ears of the palefaces could not hear me.

From the table we were taken along an upward incline of wooden boxes, which I learned afterward to call a stairway. At the top was a quiet hall, dimly lighted. Many narrow beds were in one straight line down the entire length of the wall. In them lay sleeping brown faces, which peeped just out of the coverings. I was tucked into bed with one of the tall girls, because she talked to me in my mother tongue and seemed to soothe me.

I had arrived in the wonderful land of rosy skies, but I was not happy, as I had thought I should be. My long travel and the bewildering sights had exhausted me. I fell asleep, heaving deep, tired sobs. My tears were left to dry themselves in streaks, because neither my aunt nor my mother was near to wipe them away. . . .

***Iron Routine***

A loud-clamoring bell awakened us at half-past six in the cold winter mornings. From happy dreams of Western rolling lands and unlassoed freedom we tumbled out upon chilly bare floors back again into a paleface day. We had short time to jump into our shoes and clothes, and wet our eyes with icy water, before a small hand bell was vigorously rung for roll call.

There were too many drowsy children and too numerous orders for the day to waste a moment in any apology to nature for giving her children such a shock in the early morning. We rushed downstairs, bounding over two high steps at a time, to land in the assembly room.

A paleface woman, with a yellow-covered roll book open on her arm and a gnawed pencil in her hand, appeared at the door. Her small, tired face was coldly lighted with a pair of large gray eyes.

She stood still in a halo of authority, while over the rim of her spectacles her eyes pried nervously about the room. Having glanced at her long list of names and called out the first one, she tossed up her chin and peered through the crystals of her spectacles to make sure of the answer "Here."

Relentlessly her pencil black-marked our daily records if we were not present to respond to our names, and no chum of ours had done it successfully for us. No matter if a dull headache or the painful cough of slow consumption had delayed the absentee, there

was only time enough to mark the tardiness. It was next to impossible to leave the iron routine after the civilizing machine had once begun its day's buzzing; and as it was inbred in me to suffer in silence rather than to appeal to the ears of one whose open eyes could not see my pain, I have many times trudged in the day's harness heavy-footed, like a dumb sick brute.

Once I lost a dear classmate. I remember well how she used to mope along at my side, until one morning she could not raise her head from her pillow. At her deathbed I stood weeping, as the paleface woman sat near her moistening the dry lips. Among the folds of the bedclothes I saw the open pages of the white man's Bible. The dying Indian girl talked disconnectedly of Jesus the Christ and the paleface who was cooling her swollen hands and feet.

I grew bitter, and censured the woman for cruel neglect of our physical ills. I despised the pencils that moved automatically, and the one teaspoon which dealt out, from a large bottle, healing to a row of variously ailing Indian children. I blamed the hard-working, well-meaning, ignorant woman who was inculcating in our hearts her superstitious ideas. Though I was sullen in all my little troubles, as soon as I felt better I was ready again to smile upon the cruel woman. Within a week I was again actively testing the chains which tightly bound my individuality like a mummy for burial.

The melancholy of those black days has left so long a shadow that it darkens the path of years that have since gone by. These sad memories rise above those of smoothly grinding school days. Perhaps my Indian nature is the moaning wind which stirs them now for their present record. But, however tempestuous this is within me, it comes out as the low voice of a curiously colored seashell, which is only for those ears that are bent with compassion to hear it.

AN INDIAN TEACHER AMONG INDIANS

### ***My First Day***

Though an illness left me unable to continue my college course, my pride kept me from returning to my mother. Had she known of my worn condition, she would have said the white man's papers were not worth the freedom and health I had lost by them. Such a rebuke from my mother would have been unbearable, and as I felt then it would be far too true to be comfortable.

Since the winter when I had my first dreams about red apples I had been traveling slowly toward the morning horizon. There had been no doubt about the direction in which I wished to go to spend my energies in a work for the Indian race. Thus I had written my mother briefly, saying my plan for the year was to teach in an Eastern Indian school. Sending this message to her in the West, I started at once eastward.

Thus I found myself, tired and hot, in a black veiling of car smoke, as I stood wearily on a street corner of an old-fashioned town, waiting for a car. In a few moments more I should be on the school grounds, where a new work was ready for my inexperienced hands.

Upon entering the school campus, I was surprised at the thickly clustered buildings which made it a quaint little village, much more interesting than the town itself. The large trees among the houses gave the place a cool, refreshing shade, and the grass a deeper green. Within this large court of grass and trees stood a low green pump. The queer boxlike case had a revolving handle on its side, which clanked and creaked constantly.

I made myself known, and was shown to my room, — a small, carpeted room, with ghastly walls and ceiling. The two windows, both on the same side, were curtained with heavy muslin yellowed with age. A clean white bed was in one corner of the room, and opposite it was a square pine table covered with a black woolen blanket.

Without removing my hat from my head, I seated myself in one of the two stiff-backed chairs that were placed beside the table. For several heart throbs I sat still looking from ceiling to floor, from wall to wall, trying hard to imagine years of contentment there. Even while I was wondering if my exhausted strength would sustain me through this undertaking, I heard a heavy tread stop at my door.

Opening it, I met the imposing figure of a stately gray-haired man. With a light straw hat in one hand, and the right hand extended for greeting, he smiled kindly upon me. For some reason I was awed by his wondrous height and his strong square shoulders, which I felt were a finger's length above my head.

I was always slight, and my serious illness in the early spring had made me look rather frail and languid. His quick eye measured my height and breadth. Then he looked into my face. I imagined that a visible shadow flitted across his countenance as he let my hand fall. I knew he was no other than my employer.

“Ah ha! so you are the little Indian girl who created the excitement among the college orators!” he said, more to himself than to me. I thought I heard a subtle note of disappointment in his voice. Looking in from where he stood, with one sweeping glance, he asked if I lacked anything for my room.

After he turned to go, I listened to his step until it grew faint and was lost in the distance. I was aware that my car-smoked appearance had not concealed the lines of pain on my face.

For a short moment my spirit laughed at my ill fortune, and I entertained the idea of exerting myself to make an improvement. But as I tossed my hat off a leaden weakness came over me, and I felt as if years of weariness lay like water-soaked logs upon me. I

threw myself upon the bed, and, closing my eyes, forgot my good intention. . . .

### ***Retrospection***

. . . As months passed over me, I slowly comprehended that the large army of white teachers in Indian schools had a larger missionary creed than I had suspected.

It was one which included self-preservation quite as much as Indian education. When I saw an opium-eater holding a position as teacher of Indians, I did not understand what good was expected, until a Christian in power replied that this pumpkin-colored creature had a feeble mother to support. An inebriate paleface sat stupid in a doctor's chair, while Indian patients carried their ailments to untimely graves, because his fair wife was dependent upon him for her daily food.

I find it hard to count that white man a teacher who tortured an ambitious Indian youth by frequently reminding the brave changeling that he was nothing but a "government pauper."

Though I burned with indignation upon discovering on every side instances no less shameful than those I have mentioned, there was no present help. Even the few rare ones who have worked nobly for my race were powerless to choose workmen like themselves. To be sure, a man was sent from the Great Father to inspect Indian schools, but what he saw was usually the students'



sample work *made* for exhibition. I was nettled by this sly cunning of the workmen who hookwinked [sic] the Indian's pale Father at Washington.

My illness, which prevented the conclusion of my college course, together with my mother's stories of the encroaching frontier settlers, left me in no mood to strain my eyes in searching for latent good in my white co-workers.

At this stage of my own evolution, I was ready to curse men of small capacity for being the dwarfs their God had made them. In the process of my education I had lost all consciousness of the nature world about me. Thus, when a hidden rage took me to the small white-walled prison which I then called my room, I unknowingly turned away from my one salvation.

Alone in my room, I sat like the petrified Indian woman of whom my mother used to tell me. I wished my heart's burdens would turn me to unfeeling stone. But alive, in my tomb, I was destitute!

For the white man's papers I had given up my faith in the Great Spirit. For these same papers I had forgotten the healing in trees and brooks. On account of my mother's simple view of life, and my lack of any, I gave her up, also. I made no friends among the race of people I loathed. Like a slender tree, I had been uprooted from my mother, nature, and God. I was shorn of my branches, which had waved in sympathy and love for home and friends. The natural coat

of bark which had protected my oversensitive nature was scraped off to the very quick.

Now a cold bare pole I seemed to be, planted in a strange earth. Still, I seemed to hope a day would come when my mute aching head, reared upward to the sky, would flash a zig-zag lightning across the heavens. With this dream of vent for a long-pent consciousness, I walked again amid the crowds.

At last, one weary day in the schoolroom, a new idea presented itself to me. It was a new way of solving the problem of my inner self. I liked it. Thus I resigned my position as teacher; and now I am in an Eastern city, following the long course of study I have set for myself. Now, as I look back upon the recent past, I see it from a distance, as a whole. I remember how, from morning till evening, many specimens of civilized peoples visited the Indian school. The city folks with canes and eyeglasses, the countrymen with sunburnt cheeks and clumsy feet, forgot their relative social ranks in an ignorant curiosity. Both sorts of these Christian palefaces were alike astounded at seeing the children of savage warriors so docile and industrious.

As answers to their shallow inquiries they received the students' sample work to look upon. Examining the neatly figured pages, and gazing upon the Indian girls and boys bending over their books, the white visitors walked out of the schoolhouse well satisfied: they were educating the children of the red man! They were paying a

liberal fee to the government employees in whose able hands lay the small forest of Indian timber.

In this fashion many have passed idly through the Indian schools during the last decade, afterward to boast of their charity to the North American Indian. But few there are who have paused to question whether real life or long-lasting death lies beneath this semblance of civilization.

*SOURCE:* Reprinted from *American Indian Stories* by Zitkala-Ša (Gertrude Bonnin) (Washington, D.C.: Hayworth Publishing House, 1921; repr., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 47–51, 65–68, 81–84, 95–99. Reprinted with permission of the University of Nebraska Press.

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. In what ways do these authors “test the chains which tightly bound [their] individuality” (as Zitkala-Ša said) and manage to preserve their individual and tribal identities despite the “iron routine” of the “civilizing machine”?
2. What do their writings reveal about the tensions they experienced in walking between or combining two ways of life? In what ways do they take issue with the educational system and the assimilationist policies of the time?
3. Who is their audience, and why might they also be described as interpreters and culture brokers?

4. Luther Standing Bear envisioned a truly American school. What might it have looked like? What might it look like today?

# PICTURE ESSAY

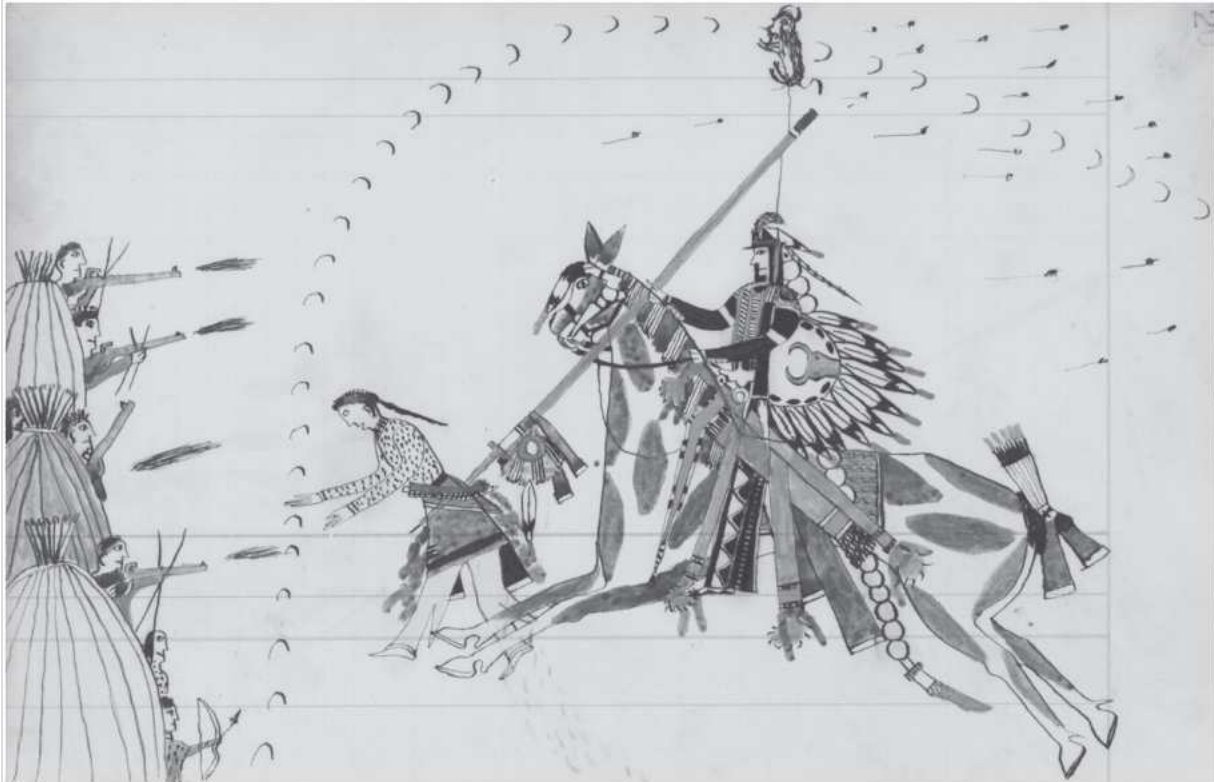
## The Fort Marion Artists



WHEN HISTORY BOOKS INCLUDE EXAMPLES OF INDIAN ART or pictographic records, they tend to place them at the beginning, as examples of unchanging Native traditions that would be replaced. But Indian art was constantly evolving. Like Indian cultures generally, it altered as a result of contact with new influences, but it did not disappear or lose touch with its traditional roots. While Plains Indian women worked in abstract, geometric forms, men drew real people and actual events, and warriors depicted their heroic deeds on tipi covers and buffalo robes; when white men arrived with trade beads, paints, pencils, and paper, Indian artists readily employed the new materials. The Mandan chief Four Bears not only posed for George Catlin and Karl Bodmer (see [Picture Essay, “Indian Life on the Upper Missouri: A Catlin/Bodmer Portfolio,” pages 294–98](#)), he also watched them at work and adopted some of their techniques in his own representational art.

In the late nineteenth century, a new type of Indian art emerged out of circumstances that seemed more likely to stifle than to stimulate artistic creativity: “under the strains and stresses of their disintegrating world, talented Indian artists transformed painting into an expressive and vital art form.”<sup>100</sup> Plains Indians acquired new materials with which to work and new subjects to portray. Since many of the sketches they produced were done on pages torn from account books, the new art form became known as ledger art. Warrior-artists produced a rich visual record of coup counting and combat on the Plains, but some of the most famous and significant Plains Indian ledger art was produced thousands of miles from the Plains.<sup>101</sup> In 1875 seventy-two Southern Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, and Comanche warriors whom the government identified as “ringleaders” and “murderers” in the Red River War of 1874 were manacled, chained, and loaded on a train bound for exile and imprisonment at Fort Marion, in St. Augustine, Florida. Their jailor, Captain Richard H. Pratt, regarded their incarceration as an opportunity to test his program for assimilating Indians into American society. As he would do later as superintendent of the boarding school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, Pratt stripped the Indians of their clothes and gave them army uniforms; he cut their long hair short; and he made them follow a regimented routine of working, schooling, eating, and sleeping that he felt would instill the values and industrious habits they needed to become “civilized.” He also encouraged them to draw and gave them the materials to do so.

With time on their hands, the Fort Marion prisoners produced hundreds of drawings. Some sold books of their work to tourists. Far from their homes and loved ones, and with no idea of what the future held for them, they were poised on the edge of old and new ways of life. Their drawings reflected that dualism in form and content. Some of the artists painted nostalgic scenes from the old ways — hunting buffalo, raiding for horses, counting coup — and employed traditional conventions. These included right-to-left flow of action; pictographic shorthand, such as hoof prints to indicate previous movements; and symbols above the head to identify an individual, such as the Cheyenne warrior named Sitting Bull (not the famous Hunkpapa chief) depicted by Howling Wolf in [Figure 7.1](#).



Pawnees, 1874–75 (pen, ink & w/c on ledger paper)/Howling Wolf (1849–1927)/ALLEN MEMORIAL ARTMUSEUM/Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, Ohio, USA/Bridgeman Images.

♦ **Figure 7.1 Howling Wolf, Cheyenne Warrior Striking an Enemy**

But the heroic feats that warrior-artists had traditionally recorded were events of the past. The artists experimented with new subjects and new forms of composition and introduced elements of personal expression and individual style. Far from their homes and their loved ones, warriors who had once been concerned only with depicting heroic deeds drew scenes of courtship ([Figure 7.2](#)). They also turned their attention and skills to aspects of the strange world into which they had been thrust, as when the Kiowa Zotom drew the newly arrived prisoners standing on the parapet at Fort Marion, getting their first look at the Atlantic Ocean ([Figure 7.3](#)), as well as scenes of the new way of life that was being imposed

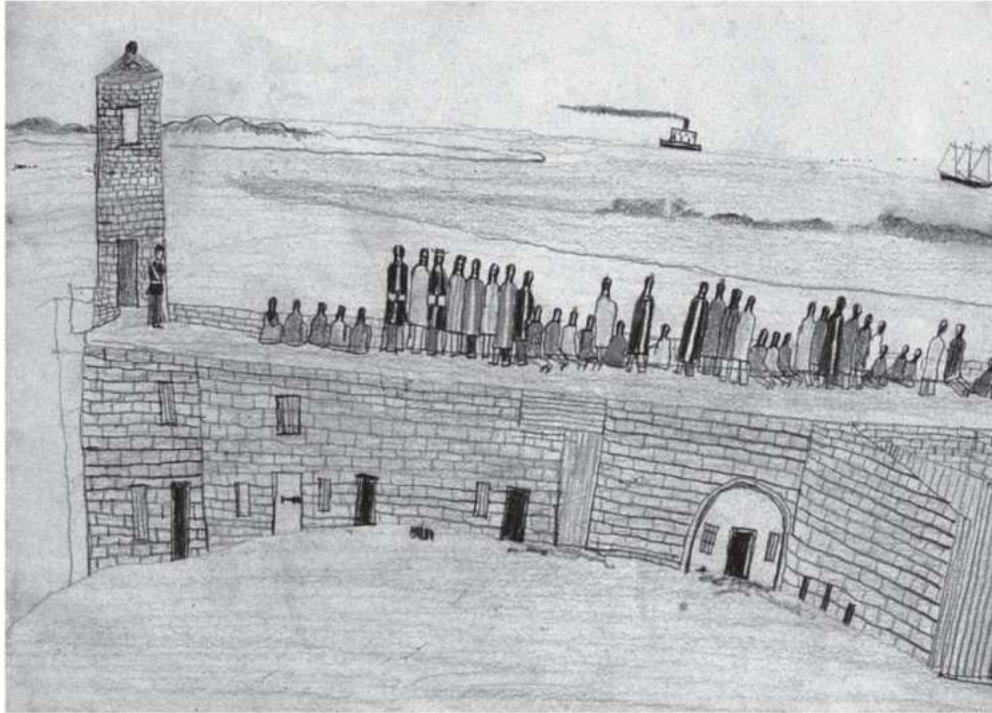


back home on the reservations, such as the distribution of annuities or treaty goods ([Figure 7.4](#)).



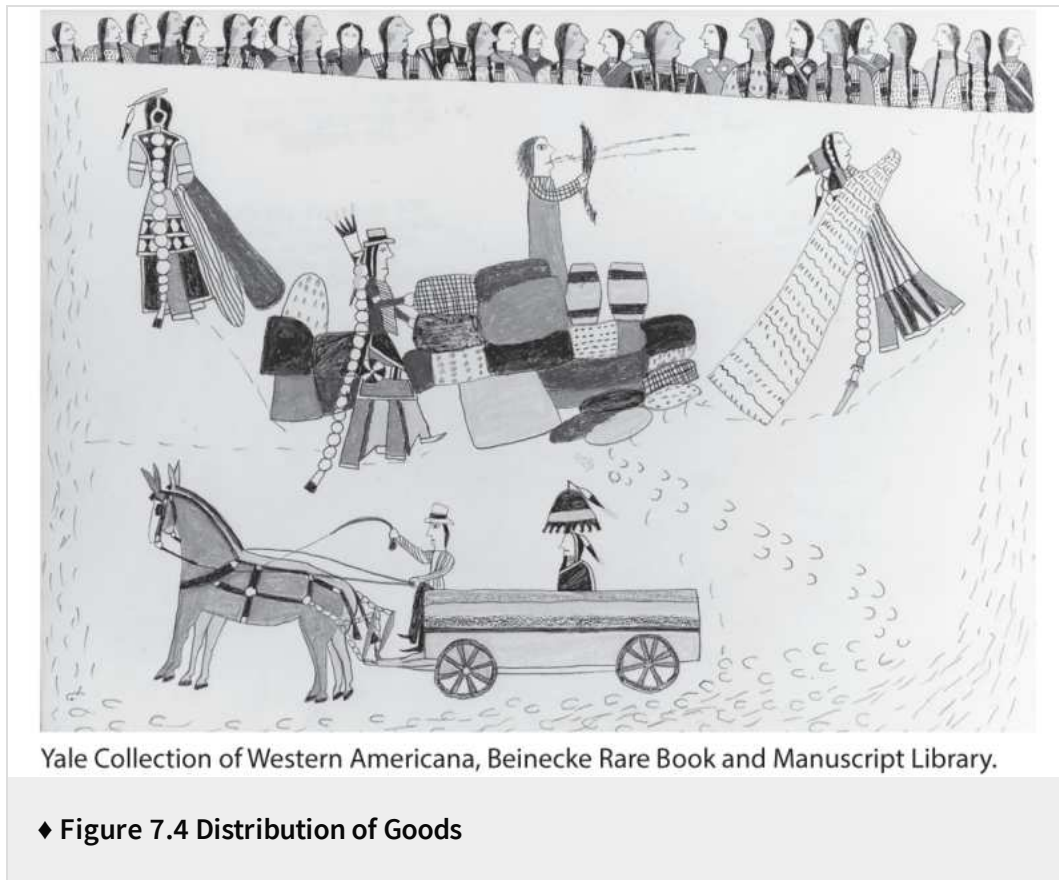
National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

♦ Figure 7.2 Courtship Scene



Granger, NYC.

◆ Figure 7.3 Paul Caryl Zotom, *On the Parapet of Ft. Marion Next Day after Arrival* (c. 1875)

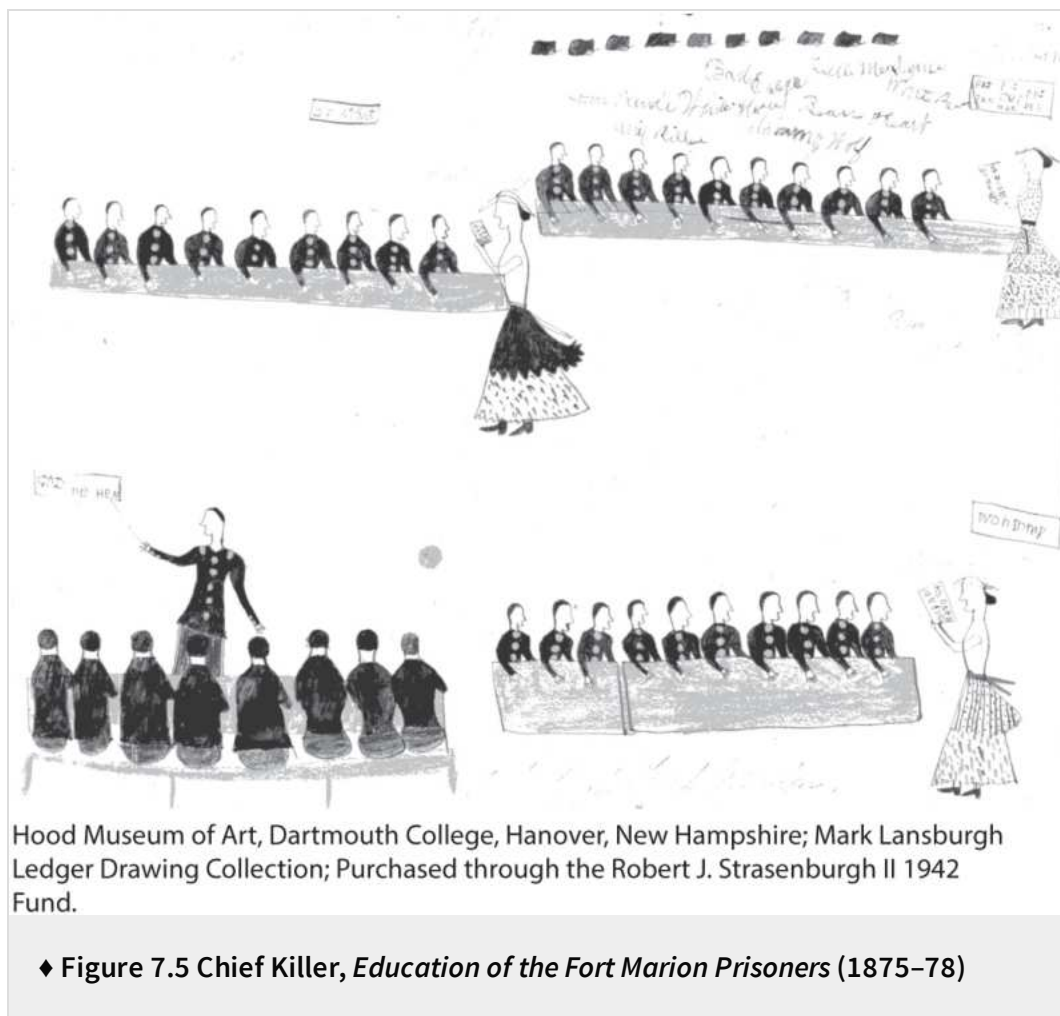


Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

◆ Figure 7.4 Distribution of Goods

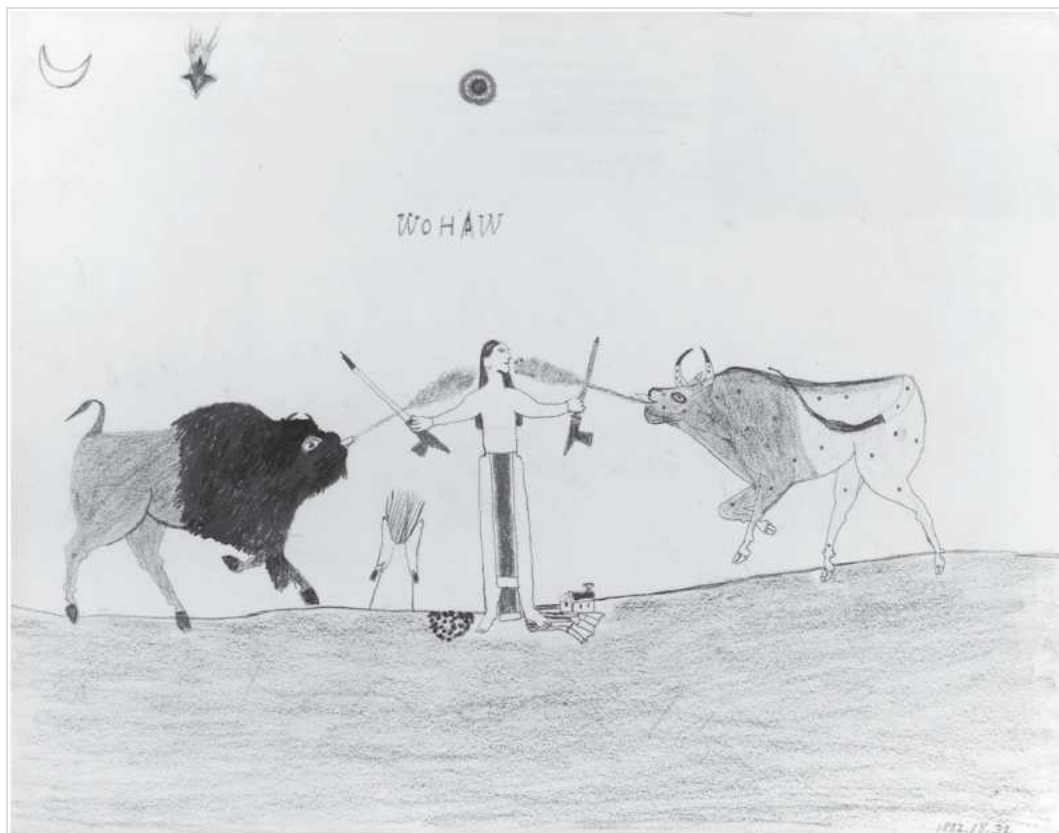
At least twenty-six of the Fort Marion prisoners created drawings.<sup>102</sup> The Cheyenne artist Chief Killer seems to have been drawing before he went to Fort Marion. In fact, it was the lead pencils found in his possession along with other items taken from settlers killed in a raid that provided the evidence that led to his imprisonment. Chief Killer recorded aspects of his new life on paper and in considerable detail. In [Figure 7.5](#), he presented his own perspective on the education meted out to the Fort Marion prisoners. The Indians in their army uniforms and short hair (their caps are hanging from pegs on the wall) sit in an orderly classroom as the teachers read from books and point to words on a chalkboard. Chief Killer also included captions written by Pratt or

others and handwritten signatures in place of traditional pictographic name glyphs — indications that the drawing was intended for sale. Chief Killer stopped drawing after he returned home to the reservation, where he worked as a butcher, policeman, and teamster. He died in 1922.<sup>103</sup>



Some of the Fort Marion artists continued to draw and paint long after they had been released and returned home in 1878. Their work constitutes a unique collection of historical documents, a record of a people experiencing revolutionary change. As the self-portrait of

the Kiowa Wo-Haw ([Figure 7.6](#)) graphically illustrates — he has a foot in each world but wears long hair and a traditional breech cloth — the Fort Marion artists knew their lives were in transition and some were unsure about their place in the future.



Missouri History Museum, St. Louis.

♦ Figure 7.6 Wo-Haw, Self-Portrait (c. 1875)

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. What do the compositions of these pictures suggest about the artists' purposes?

2. What elements of these pictures suggest that the artists had new materials and time on their hands, as well as new subjects to paint?
3. What value do pictures such as these have in depicting scenes that could be effectively portrayed by American artists and photographers of the time?

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## CHAPTER 8

# From the Great Crash to Wounded Knee

1929–1974



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### FOCUS QUESTION

Did recurrent shifts in United States represent changes in direction or adjustments in strategy? Were the shifts prompted by the government itself, by Indian people, or by broader forces of change?

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**1932**

Franklin Delano Roosevelt elected president

**1933**

John Collier appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs

**1934**

Indian Arts and Crafts Board established

**1934**

Johnson-O'Malley Act passed

**1934**

Indian Reorganization Act passed

**1939–1945**

World War II (for United States, 1941–45); Iroquois declare war on Germany, 1942

**1944**

National Congress of American Indians established

**1946**

Indian Claims Commission established

**1952**

Voluntary Relocation Program introduced

**1953**

House Concurrent Resolution 108 calls for termination of federal trusteeship over lands and affairs of certain Indian tribes

**1953**

Public Law 280 extends considerable state control over Indian reservations

**1953**

Garrison Dam completed

**1954**

Menominee Termination Act

**1954**

Klamath Termination Act

**1960s**

Fish-ins begin on Northwest Coast

**1961**

American Indian Chicago Conference

**1961**

National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) founded

**1961**

Klamath termination goes into effect

**1961**

Menominee termination goes into effect

**1965**

Kinzua Dam completed

**1968**

Indian Civil Rights Act extends many Bill of Rights protections to tribal citizens

**1968**

American Indian Movement (AIM) founded in Minneapolis

**1969**

Vine Deloria Jr. publishes *Custer Died for Your Sins*

**1969**

N. Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn* wins the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction

**1969**

Indian activists take over Alcatraz

**1970**

Native American Rights Fund (NARF) founded

**1972**

"Trail of Broken Treaties" march on Washington, D.C.

**1973**

Menominee Restoration Act

**1973**

Siege at Wounded Knee, South Dakota

**1974**

International Indian Treaty Council organized

**1974**

Women of All Red Nations (WARN) founded

# A NEW ERA IN INDIAN AFFAIRS?

THROUGHOUT THE 1920S, AMERICA had enjoyed sustained economic growth, but the surface prosperity concealed widening gaps between rich and poor and wild, unregulated speculation in the stock market. When the bubble burst in October 1929, the economy went into a massive downturn. Millions of Americans found themselves unemployed, and stark pictures of breadlines and starving children replaced images of national prosperity. Confident that the American economy would right itself, the Republican administration of Herbert Hoover was unable to meet the challenge or alleviate the suffering. In the 1932 presidential election, Democrat Franklin Delano Roosevelt was swept into the Oval Office with a mandate for reform. Roosevelt committed the federal government to unprecedented levels of economic planning and social responsibility. He promised a new deal for “the forgotten man” — and no one was more forgotten than American Indians.

The Great Depression changed the way the U.S. government conceived of its role and responsibilities toward American society and the economy. It also brought changes in U.S. policies toward American Indians. The government shifted course on Indian affairs several times during the twentieth century. Yet, while policies changed, underlying problems often remained the same, as did the

underlying goals of assimilating Indian people and gaining access to Indian resources. Indian communities responded to the policy shifts emanating from Washington, D.C., working both within and against the system to effect change. They took increasing responsibility for implementing programs in their own communities and eventually for formulating policies.

## John Collier and the Indian New Deal

Franklin Delano Roosevelt's presidency reversed some of the disastrous policies of the previous fifty years. FDR appointed as his commissioner of Indian affairs **John Collier**, who served from 1933 to 1945. Collier envisioned and implemented far-reaching changes in the relationship between the U.S. government and the Indian tribes within its borders. He attempted to restore an emphasis on community in the government's dealings with Indian peoples.

Collier had been a social worker among immigrants in New York City, where he became concerned with what he saw as the fragmentation of community life and the decline of traditional cultures among immigrants to the United States. He had learned about Indian life primarily from his visits to Pueblo peoples in New Mexico during the early 1920s. At that time many American intellectuals and idealists recoiled from the havoc and horror of the



First World War, a product of Western “civilization,” and turned to the Indian communities of the Southwest to find balance and harmony. A visit to Taos Pueblo in 1920 changed Collier’s life and convinced him that Indian cultures had something fundamental to offer American society. “He saw modernity as a disaster that was defeating man’s perfectability” Collier’s son recalled. “He saw the Indian as the last remnant of natural perfection, a model that must be preserved for human rejuvenation.”<sup>1</sup> Modern American life seemed shallow, materialistic, individualistic; Indian life, as evidenced by the Pueblos, seemed deeply spiritual and communal. Despite “repeated and immense historical shocks,” wrote Collier in his autobiography, Pueblo communities “were going right on in the production of states of mind, attitudes of mind, earth-loyalties and human loyalties, amid a context of beauty which suffused all the life of the group.” He thought that Indians might be the only people in the Western Hemisphere who still possessed “the fundamental secret of human life — the secret of building great personality through the instrumentality of social institutions.” But he feared that Indian life might not survive.<sup>2</sup> Collier based his views on his visits to Taos but, as Frederick Hoxie points out, most Indians did not live at Taos and few shared Collier’s romantic views of Indian culture.<sup>3</sup>

Like many other idealists before and since, Collier saw in Indian society the chance for the salvation of his own society. Roosevelt put in office a man with a history of Indian advocacy. Collier helped to establish the All-Pueblo Council, which lobbied successfully

against the Bursum bill of 1922 that had threatened to deprive the Pueblos of land and water rights by placing jurisdiction over those rights in the state courts and legitimizing the claims of many non-Indians on Pueblo lands. He became executive secretary of the American Indian Defense Association in 1923. As commissioner of Indian affairs, Collier introduced his own beliefs in the formulation of Indian policy. For a century and a half, the federal government had tried to break up and sell off tribal land holdings, dismantle tribal governments, stamp out Native languages, and eradicate tribal cultures. Now the government tried to reverse the assault on Indian lands, rejuvenate tribal governments, preserve Native languages, and revive tribal cultures. Anthropologist D'Arcy McNickle, an enrolled member of the Flathead tribe who worked on Collier's staff, said that the Roosevelt administration, with Collier's prompting, "accepted the radical concept that the Indian race was not headed for early extinction."<sup>4</sup> Instead, it was committed to promoting revitalization of Indian life. The "**Indian New Deal**," masterminded by Collier, charted a new direction in U.S. Indian policy that, despite later efforts to reverse it, had a lasting impact throughout Indian America. (See ["Two Views of the Indian Reorganization Act," pages 468-77.](#))

In some ways, the Indian New Deal was not new, but rather another attempt by non-Indians to do what they regarded as the right thing for Indians. It was another paternalistic promise to bring a "new era" in Indian affairs, one of many twentieth-century shifts in Indian policy that left Indian people distrustful of anything

coming out of Washington. It was another blueprint for reform, mandating one policy for all Indians and making little allowance for the tremendous diversity of Indian America.

Collier was devoted to championing Indian rights as he understood them, and he did so with a fervor that both attracted and alienated others. According to one historian and advisor on Indian policy, Collier possessed “the zeal of a crusader who knew better than the Indians what was good for them.”<sup>5</sup> Collier’s long-term goals included the eventual absorption of Indian people into mainstream American society, but he opposed his predecessors’ concept of rapid assimilation and tried to develop a program that would preserve much more of the tribal heritage. The aims of his Indian New Deal included ending allotment and consolidating tribal lands, allowing Indians to play a more active role in running their own affairs, organizing tribal governments, supporting Indian cultures, ending government suppression of tribal rituals, and allowing Indian children to attend day schools on their home reservations. He was only partially successful in achieving these goals.

To some extent, Indians benefited from Roosevelt’s more general New Deal legislation that provided jobs and relief and built schools and hospitals. Collier succeeded in channeling funds from other agencies and programs to benefit Indians. Many Indians were hired under the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), and on some reservations that meant Indians started earning a regular paycheck

for the first time. Lakota scholar and activist Vine Deloria Jr., who was born during the Depression, called the CCC “the greatest program ever to come along. The Sioux had climbed from absolute deprivation to mere poverty.” Ironically, the Great Depression “was the best time the reservation ever had.”<sup>6</sup> But Collier also managed to get specific programs passed by Congress. Long-overdue improvements were made in the field of Indian education, with more focus on community, new curricula more suited to the needs of Indian students, and more and better trained teachers. The number of students at boarding schools soared during the Depression as parents sent children away to escape the grinding poverty of reservation life.<sup>7</sup> But the government shifted the emphasis from off-reservation boarding schools — the core of the government’s educational crusade for the previous fifty years (see [Map 7.3, “U.S. Government Boarding Schools, 1889,” page 384](#)) — to day schools on reservations; between 1933 and 1941 almost one hundred day schools were built.

Under the Johnson-O’Malley Act of 1934, the secretary of the interior was authorized to negotiate contracts with any state for financial relief in areas of Indian education, medical aid, agricultural assistance, and welfare. The federal government funded school districts to provide services for the Indian children attending public schools. The idea was that state and federal government would work together to improve the quality of Indian education. Only Arizona, California, Minnesota, and Washington made contracts with the federal government in the 1930s. In some areas,

the system worked well, but Indian children in public schools still encountered racism and prejudice, and some school districts drew Johnson-O'Malley money without making any provision for the needs of their Indian students. Nevertheless, the Indian New Deal took bold steps by departing from past educational policy and promoting a bilingual and bicultural education that bore fruit in the late 1960s and 1970s.<sup>8</sup> In another federal initiative, the Indian Arts and Crafts Board was established within the Department of the Interior in 1935 to promote and preserve traditional crafts and arts by helping Indian people form craft cooperatives, authenticate items of Indian manufacture, and establish marketing networks.<sup>9</sup>

## The Indian Reorganization Act

The centerpiece of Indian New Deal legislation was the **Indian Reorganization Act (IRA)**, passed in 1934. “The repair work authorized by Congress under the terms of the act,” Collier said in his report as commissioner that year, “aims at both the economic and the spiritual rehabilitation of the Indian race.”<sup>10</sup> The IRA aimed to protect Indians in their religion and lifestyle and represented an open admission that the Dawes Act (see [page 377–80](#)) was a mistake. The original bill stated that:

1. Indians living on reservations would be allowed to establish local self-government and tribal corporations to develop reservation resources. The secretary of the interior would issue

a charter of home rule to each Indian community, granting it greater responsibility over its own affairs, and the Indians would vote to accept the charter in tribal elections.

2. The federal government would train Indians in such issues as land management, public health, and law enforcement and prepare them for employment in the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), as well as provide scholarship money for Indian students.
3. The Dawes Act would be terminated. Further allotments of Indian lands would be prohibited. The bill provided for consolidation of allotted lands into units for community use and provided \$2 million each year to purchase lands for the tribes. Any “surplus” land remaining from allotment would be restored to the reservations.
4. A special Court of Indian Affairs would be established.

Congress was not prepared to go as far as Collier in promoting Native American independence, and the bill that finally passed Congress was substantially modified,<sup>[11](#)</sup> including the deletion of the special court provision.

Tribes were required to accept or reject the IRA by referendum; the establishment of tribal self-government was to be decided the same way. When a majority of adult tribal members approved the IRA, they could then write a constitution, which had to be approved by another majority vote and by the secretary of the interior. Tribes

who accepted the IRA could elect a tribal council. The IRA applied only to those tribes that accepted it, and Oklahoma and Alaska were left out of its provisions. (Congress passed laws in 1936 to encourage the establishment of tribal and village governments in those areas.) Collier spent much time and energy promoting his program to Indian communities and held ten regional conferences in the spring of 1934 to explain the philosophy, operation, and importance of the IRA. For the first time, a commissioner of Indian affairs traveled around the country to explain legislation to Indian people.

## Opposing and Disputing the IRA

Despite his enthusiasm, Collier encountered opposition, which slowed the progress of his reform program. Many Indians and non-Indians feared that after generations of painful adjustment the reversal of policies would mean turning back the clock and losing ground in the struggle to become full members of American society. Some Indian traditionalists disliked the proposed changes in tribal government. The Indian Rights Association argued that the new legislation perpetuated segregation, and some members of Congress opposed it for protecting communal ownership.

Some tribes were divided over the New Deal. Collier underestimated the diversity of Indian life and wanted Indians to

function as unified tribes. In fact, the IRA proposed to impose rigid and alien political and economic systems on Indian communities. Majority rule went against traditional practices in those societies that reached decisions by consensus, and it seemed to ride roughshod over the views of the minority. In Indian country, not voting was often viewed as a negative vote; in Western-style democracy, however, those who do not vote have no voice. From the viewpoint of many Indians, the referenda on the IRA were rigged to produce an affirmative vote. On the Santa Ysabel Reservation in California, for instance, forty-three people voted against the IRA and only nine voted in favor. Sixty-two eligible voters did not vote, but rather than count them as abstentions or negative votes, the government counted them as “yes” votes, and the IRA was applied.<sup>12</sup>

Eventually, some 174 tribes accepted the Indian Reorganization Act, and of those, 135 communities drafted tribal constitutions. The Blackfeet of Montana voted for it, seeing it as the best vehicle for change available at the time. They used it to improve their political and economic situation and to try “to reorganize relations with the federal government on their [own] terms and to construct an American community of their own design.”<sup>13</sup> But seventy-eight tribes rejected the IRA. The Seneca activist Alice Lee Jemison was a vocal critic of both Collier and the Indian New Deal and helped found the American Indian Federation, a group that campaigned against Collier’s program. The Senecas regarded the Indian New Deal as a threat to their treaty rights and to the elective self-



government they had established in 1848. With the other Iroquois tribes of New York, they voted heavily against the IRA (although the Wisconsin Oneidas accepted it). The Crows, unlike most Plains groups, rejected it, despite the influential support of Robert Yellowtail, superintendent of the Crow Indian Reservation. The Navajos rejected it.



EOH/AP Photo.

#### ♦ The Flatheads Adopt the IRA

In 1935, the three Flathead tribes of western Montana — the Bitterroot Salish, Kootenai, and Pend d'Oreilles — were formally organized as the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Indian Reservation and became the first Indian tribe in the nation to adopt a constitution under the Indian Reorganization Act. In this photograph, Commissioner of

Indian Affairs John Collier and chiefs of the tribe look on in Washington, D.C., as Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes signs the constitution providing for Indian self-government on October 28, 1935.

After their return from confinement at Bosque Redondo in 1868, the Navajos had rebuilt their communities around sheep and herding. While Plains Indians had experienced population collapse and loss of subsistence base with the slaughter of buffalo herds, Navajo numbers and Navajo herds had grown steadily. The government even enlarged the Navajo Reservation to accommodate the increase of human and animal population. By 1933, the Navajos numbered more than 40,000 and were self-sufficient sheepherders. Issued 14,000 sheep (less than two per capita) with which to rebuild their herds in 1868, the Navajos had increased their stock to about 800,000 sheep and goats (twenty-one per capita) by the eve of the Great Depression.<sup>14</sup> But, combined with natural erosion cycles in the area and the intrusions of Anglo-American cattlemen who restricted Navajo grazing areas, the increase in livestock took a toll on the Navajo environment. A period of severe drought aggravated the problem. The government feared that overgrazing and trampling hooves broke down soils and that accumulations of silt from the reservation threatened the functioning of the huge Boulder Dam (later renamed Hoover Dam). Built on the Colorado River in northwestern Arizona and completed in 1936, the dam provided water, flood control, and electricity to the southwestern United States and Los Angeles, and its maintenance was a high

priority. To relieve the stress on the land, the government implemented a program of livestock reduction.<sup>[15](#)</sup>

Navajos were not the only ranchers affected by stock reduction programs during the New Deal era — the government imposed livestock reductions on American farmers elsewhere in an effort to limit production and raise prices — but John Collier underestimated the importance of sheep, goats, and horses in Navajo life. He persuaded the Navajo tribal council to accept a program of **Navajo stock reduction** and promised to secure additional lands for the reservation. The tribal council had been formed under government auspices in the 1920s to facilitate access to oil deposits on the reservation; it hardly spoke for the majority of Navajos scattered across a reservation the size of West Virginia. The council agreed to a 10 percent reduction in stock, but this was only the first stage in a program that continued for more than a decade and cut Navajo herds by half. The stock reduction program was economically and emotionally devastating. Navajo families watched the slaughter of their horses, sheep, and goats with outrage and heartbreak. “It haunts me now, more than a half century later,” wrote an anthropologist who worked on the Navajo Reservation at the time of the stock reductions, “and it still haunts the Navajos even more profoundly.”<sup>[16](#)</sup>

Many Navajos held Collier personally responsible for their most bitter experience since the Long Walk to Bosque Redondo. They felt betrayed when he failed to deliver on promises he had made to

expand the reservation eastwards. When Collier visited the reservation in 1934 to promote the IRA, he encountered fierce opposition from Navajos led by J. C. Morgan. When the referendum was held, 98 percent of the eligible voters cast ballots. The voting was close, but in the end the largest tribe in the country rejected the IRA and Collier's vision of a new era in Indian affairs. The Navajo Nation continued to govern by an extensive set of governmental codes, customs, and traditions.<sup>17</sup> Collier offered his own interpretation of what had happened. (See ["Two Views of the Indian Reorganization Act," page 472](#))

The Indian Reorganization Act had a mixed legacy. The broader Indian New Deal produced some dramatic changes in government policy. Indian tribes regained several million acres of lands that had been lost under the allotment program and moved forward in the areas of education, cultural preservation, and control of their own affairs. As commissioner of Indian affairs, Collier displayed sympathy for Indian heritage and recognized the importance of allowing Indian tribes a measure of self-determination. However, the IRA perpetuated indirect colonial control from Washington. According to the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development, "From the IRA onward, most reservations came to have the feel of branch offices of the federal government, with decision making dominated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs . . . and with tribal governments typically totally dependent on BIA programs and funds."<sup>18</sup> And Collier did not have the chance to finish his work. In December 1941, Japanese planes bombed Pearl Harbor,

and the United States entered the Second World War. U.S. concern for righting wrongs at home diminished as the nation focused its energies on winning the war for democracy abroad.

## Indians and World War II

The war had broken out in Europe in 1939, when Adolf Hitler ignored a British ultimatum and invaded Poland. Britain and France joined Poland in resisting German aggression, and Nazi Germany formed a coalition with Italy and Japan known as the Axis powers, with a view to world domination. Poland and France soon fell, and by the time the United States declared war, Britain stood virtually alone against Nazi occupation of Europe.

When World War II broke out, Nazi propaganda pitched American Indians as “natural allies,” claiming that Germans and Indians had a historic affinity and should make common cause against the oppressive United States.<sup>19</sup> Instead, Indian people rallied to the defense of their country in record numbers. (See Picture Essay, “Indians and World War II,” [pages 490–95](#).) About 25,000 Indians served in the armed forces during World War II. Some Indian men were drafted; other men — and women — volunteered. The Iroquois challenged the right of the federal government to compel Indian men to fight, and a group of Iroquois issued a formal declaration of war against the Axis powers in 1942,

indicating that they were participating in the war as sovereign nations, not as subordinates of the United States. Still, almost 100 percent of eligible Indians registered for the draft. Several hundred Indian women served in the WACS (Women's Army Corps), WAVES (Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Services), and Army Nurse Corps. Another 40,000 Native women and older Native men worked in war-related industries. As occurred in American society as a whole, Indian women took on many traditionally male responsibilities during the war and assumed new duties directly related to the war effort, such as volunteering for civil defense or nursing, and working in aircraft plants. Despite the extreme poverty of most Indian communities, Native Americans purchased about \$50 million in war bonds and made donations to the Red Cross and other organizations.

Even as Native Americans served in and made sacrifices for the war abroad, they suffered losses at home, as the government appropriated some tribal lands and resources for the war effort. The air force took possession of more than 340,000 acres of the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota for use as an aerial gunnery and bombing range, leaving behind unexploded ordnance and shrapnel, and some internment camps for Japanese Americans were located on Indian land. After the Japanese landed troops on two islands in the Aleutian Chain off the Alaska Peninsula, the U.S. government forced Aleutian and Alaska Natives to evacuate their homes on the islands to make way for military defense preparation. More than 850 Aleuts were forcefully evacuated. They lost their homes and

belongings and suffered hardship, disease, and misery in hastily constructed camps in southeastern Alaska and Washington State. When they returned home after the war, they found their homes had been used to billet troops and much of their property had been destroyed.<sup>[20](#)</sup>

Some Indians won lasting fame in combat. Five won Congressional Medals of Honor, including Lieutenant Ernest Childers (a Creek) and Lieutenant Jack Montgomery (a Cherokee). Major General Clarence Tinker (an Osage), the highest-ranking Indian in the armed forces at the start of the war, was killed at the pivotal 1942 Battle of Midway in the Pacific and was posthumously awarded the Distinguished Service Medal. **Navajo code talkers** in the Pacific theater baffled the Japanese with a code based on Navajo words, though their achievements were only belatedly recognized by the U.S. government.<sup>°</sup> Ira Hayes, a Pima (Akimel O'odham) from Arizona, participated in the famous flag raising by American marines on Iwo Jima (see [page 494](#)) and was then dispatched on a tour of the United States as part of the wartime fund-raising effort. More than five hundred Indians gave their lives in the war.

Charles Norman Shay, a Penobscot, was a nineteen-year old combat medic during the D-Day landings at Omaha Beach in June 1944. He survived the landing, subsequent clashes including the Battle of the Bulge, and German capture, and was awarded the Silver Star. In later life, he began returning to Normandy to honor his comrades who died there. In 2007 the French president inducted

Shay into the Legion of Honor. In June 2017, the 93-year old veteran and his fellow Native soldiers were honored with the dedication of the Charles Norman Shay Memorial on the Normandy beach, with a granite turtle facing across the Atlantic.<sup>[21](#)</sup>



*Robert F. Bukaty/AP Images.*

♦ Norman Shay, decorated Penobscot veteran of D-Day and the Battle of the Bulge

The war also brought wrenching personal experiences for a Penobscot woman named Molly Spotted Elk (1903–77). Born on the Penobscot Reservation at Indian Island in Maine, Molly became a



dancer and starred in a Hollywood movie, *The Silent Enemy*, in 1930. She made her way to Paris, where she married a French journalist. The German occupation of France in 1940 forced her to flee with her young daughter, crossing the Pyrenees Mountains into Spain on foot. She returned safely to the United States but never saw her husband again. Throughout her career, Molly had wrestled with her need to make a living and her desire for a dancing career on the one hand, and her revulsion at having to do so by donning headdresses and skimpy buckskin costumes to act out stereotypes on the other. Back home in rural Maine after travels in New York, California, and Paris, she struggled to readjust. Her childhood home, in the words of her biographer, “was like an old pair of moccasins that one dreamed of during years of high-heeled city life — only to find, upon slipping into them, that they felt less comfortable than remembered because the shape of one’s feet had changed.”<sup>22</sup> She was not the first Indian to experience the tensions of moving from reservation to city and back again. Molly Spotted Elk completed her life’s circle on Indian Island, where she died in 1977.

The war took Indians away from home (often for the first time), brought them into contact with new people and new ideas, and gave them new pride in having helped win the great fight for democracy. Many Native Americans earned a decent living for the first time in their lives, and when the war ended, some opted to stay in the cities, where there was work, rather than return home to the reservation. Many Indian veterans took advantage of the GI Bill,

which provided college education and vocational training for returning servicemen, but otherwise they found few opportunities. Those who returned to the reservations expected to see an improvement in living standards, status, and relations with their white neighbors. They believed that their services to the country had earned them a better life and greater self-determination, but they were quickly disappointed. Drained of federal funds, reservation economies and services were often in worse shape after the war than they had been before the war. On the Navajo Reservation, for example, the program of livestock reduction in the 1930s and 1940s had eroded the traditional economy and generated widespread poverty. World War II offset some of the worst effects by providing jobs in war-related industries and service in the armed forces, but Navajos who returned home after the war faced an economic crisis. With their traditional economy disrupted, they needed other sources of income. They found the promise of prosperity in what seemed at the time to be attractive offers to develop the coal, oil, gas, and uranium resources of the Navajo Reservation, but their acceptance of those offers would ultimately have a devastating impact on the health and lives of many Navajo people.



Woodrow Wilson Crumbo, *Land of Enchantment*, c. 1946. Watercolor on board. Gift of Clark Field, 1946.45.4. © 2014, Philbrook Museum of Art, Inc., Tulsa, Oklahoma.

♦ **Woodrow Wilson Crumbo, *Land of Enchantment* (c. 1946)**

*Land of Enchantment* was painted the year after World War II ended and depicts with wry humor a situation that was becoming increasingly common on the Navajo Reservation. Weaving for the tourist trade offered Navajo women new financial opportunities to help them cope with economic hardship, but as Potawatomi/Creek artist Woody Crumbo makes clear, it also brought new intrusions into Navajo life.

Americans who recognized the Indians' wartime service either stereotypically attributed it to their "warrior tradition" or interpreted it to indicate that Indians were ready for complete assimilation into American society. The spirit of national unity that arose during the war and an increasing societal emphasis on conformity in the postwar years allowed little room for cultural

difference. Indian people in general faced more hard times and a renewed assault on their tribalism.

[°](#) In 2008 Congress passed the Code Talkers Recognition Act, stating that recognition of the dedication and valor of the code talkers was long overdue and requiring that medals be struck honoring their services. On November 20, 2013, at a ceremony at the U.S. Capitol, President Obama and members of Congress formally recognized thirty-three Indian nations for the service of tribal members as code talkers in World Wars I and II. Twenty-five surviving code talkers were awarded Congressional gold medals honoring the code talkers.

# TERMINATION

In the late 1940s and the 1950s, the pendulum of public opinion and government support swung away from the reform impetus of the New Deal to conservatism and conformity. Threatened by the power of the Soviet Union and fearful of the spread of communism, Americans reaffirmed their loyalty to their country and regarded with suspicion and resentment those who did not seem to fit in with mainstream society or subscribe absolutely to American values. Native Americans living on reservations, running their own governments, and maintaining their own communal lifeways seemed an anomaly. The U.S. government decided to hasten the process of Indian assimilation by ending, or “terminating,” its relationship with Indian tribes. **Termination policy** aimed to dismantle tribal governments, dissolve tribal land holdings, and end federal services to Indian people.

After the war, the government implemented a three-part program of compensation, termination, and relocation. Acknowledging that injustices had been committed in the past, Congress aimed to “wipe the slate clean” by settling once and for all the claims that Indian tribes had against the government for loss of lands; it wanted to eliminate special tribal status and turn jurisdiction over the Indians to state and local authorities; and it imagined that Indians would

more easily enter the mainstream of American life if they moved from their reservations to cities.

## The Indian Claims Commission

From 1778 (the first U.S. treaty with the Delawares) to 1871 (when Congress ended the treaty-making process in favor of executive agreements), the United States negotiated nearly four hundred treaties with Indian tribes. However, many of the provisions of these treaties were never implemented, and many tribes never received payment stipulated in treaties for lands they had ceded. In 1946 Congress established the **Indian Claims Commission (ICC)** to review tribal grievances over treaty enforcement and management of resources and to resolve lingering disputes between Indian tribes and the U.S. government. Tribes were allowed five years in which to file grievances; they had to prove aboriginal title to the lands in question and then bring suit for settlement. The commission would then review their case and assess the amount, if any, to be paid in compensation. The whole process was expected to be completed in ten years.

The work of the Claims Commission was beset with problems. The Justice Department often discouraged or hindered tribes that wanted to file claims. Some Indian groups had conflicting claims to aboriginal occupancy of the same lands. In addition, some Indians

rejected the idea that cash payment could settle land issues. Land, not money, was the basis of their culture. For example, the Taos Indians rejected an offer of \$10 million for Blue Lake in northwestern New Mexico because it was sacred to them and not “for sale.” The Pit River Indians in northern California rejected the offer of a measly 47 cents per acre for the lands they had lost.

The ICC raised hopes and went some way toward righting old wrongs but it could only offer money in compensation, not return any land. When compensation was paid, other problems arose. People often disagreed over whether the payments should be made per capita to individual tribal members or whether they should be invested by tribal officials in the reservation economy. Tribal members who lived off the reservations often disagreed with their relatives who had stayed behind. In the case of per capita payments, tribal rolls had to be drawn up and verified, producing further disputes over who qualified as a member. Different tribes adopted different procedures. The Crows in Montana, for instance, received a \$10 million payment. They allocated 50 percent for per capita payments and invested the rest in health, housing, education, scholarships, land purchases, and social services.

In 1978 the Indian Claims Commission ended its operations and transferred its unresolved cases to the Court of Claims. In its thirty-two years, the ICC had dismissed 204 cases, made 274 awards, and paid out more than \$800 million in settlements. Some Indian people squandered their payments; others were cheated out of them by

unscrupulous local businessmen. Sometimes the awards were woefully inadequate and sometimes much of the money ended up in the pockets of the attorneys who represented the tribes. Thomas E. Leubben, an attorney with more than forty years' experience in federal Indian law, concludes that the way Indian land claims were litigated in the ICC was “a scandal of historic proportions” and that the whole process served the needs of the dominant culture “at great cost to Native Americans.”<sup>23</sup>

## Removing the Government's Trust Responsibilities

The period also saw a growing call in Congress to end federal services to Indian tribes and remove the government's trust relationship established by treaties and the Constitution. Influential western congressmen such as Senator Arthur Watkins of Utah and Representative E. Y. Berry of South Dakota were among the most vocal advocates of this termination policy. In 1950 Dillon S. Myer, the former head of the War Relocation Authority that had taken thousands of Japanese Americans from the West Coast and put them in internment camps during World War II, became commissioner of Indian affairs. The new commissioner was hostile to many of the reforms implemented by John Collier in the 1930s. In Myer's view, the Bureau of Indian Affairs should “not do anything which others can do as well or better and as cheaply. The Bureau



should do nothing for Indians which Indians can do for themselves and we should lean over backward to help them learn to do more things on their own.”<sup>24</sup> He began to implement a government policy of termination and relocation of Indian tribes. Glenn Emmons succeeded Myers as commissioner in 1953 and carried on his work.

Tribes deemed to have made the most “progress” were identified as eligible for termination. The government’s list included the Six Nations of New York, the Prairie Potawatomis of Kansas, the Menominees of Wisconsin, the Flatheads of Montana, the Klamaths of Oregon, the Hupas of northern California, and various southern California bands. In 1953, **House Concurrent Resolution 108** proposed ending federal relations with a number of these eligible tribes. The goal of termination expressed in House Concurrent Resolution 108 was “as rapidly as possible, to make the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to other citizens of the United States, to end their status as wards of the United States, and to grant them all the rights and prerogatives pertaining to American citizenship.”<sup>25</sup> The resolution passed both houses of Congress unanimously. Two weeks later, Congress passed Public Law 280, transferring jurisdiction over tribal lands to state and local governments in California, Oregon, Nebraska, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. PL 280 represented a major step toward extending state control over Indian reservations. Other states could unilaterally adopt it if they chose (until 1968, after which the consent of the reservation was required). In 1954

responsibility for Indian health was transferred from the BIA to the U.S. Public Health Service. Between 1953 and 1966 Congress passed laws terminating 109 tribes: it ended the trust relationship between the federal government and the tribes, withdrew federal services from the communities, required the tribes to distribute property among their members, eliminated the tribes' reservations, and rendered tribal members and their lands subject to state laws and taxes.

As had the proponents of allotment in the 1880s, advocates of termination justified their new policy as one that would liberate Indian people from the stifling atmosphere of reservation life and dependence on government support. In fact, termination was often disastrous to the tribes involved: they were now ineligible for health care from the Indian Health Service, they lost federal support of their schools, they were subject to state laws and taxes, and their lands were no longer protected by federal trust status. The Menominees and the Klamaths were especially hard hit. The Menominees were fairly self-sufficient in 1950, with a tribal lumbering operation and sawmill that provided employment and paid for most of their community services. Termination struck at their prosperity and society. In 1953 the Menominees were seeking distribution of an earlier monetary settlement on a per capita basis. Payment required congressional approval; it passed in the House but encountered stiff opposition before the Senate Committee on Interior Affairs. Utah senator Arthur Watkins, a termination advocate, supported an amendment calling for the termination of

federal assistance to the Menominees and then informed the Menominees that agreeing to termination was a precondition to obtain the payments in question.<sup>26</sup> With little understanding of the exact termination provisions, most of those Menominees who voted for termination were probably only voting to receive their per capita payments.

In June 1954, President Eisenhower signed the Menominee Termination Act. The law gave the tribe four years in which to establish their own municipal, educational, health, and other services previously provided by the federal government. The Menominees won a deadline extension to 1961. They reorganized the tribe as a corporation, Menominee Enterprises Incorporated, to manage the lands and lumber mill formerly owned and operated by the tribe, and the reservation became a county. Nevertheless, the impact of termination was devastating. The once-thriving tribal lumber industry was deprived of vital federal contracts at a time of a nationwide slump in house building. Menominees had to sell land to pay their taxes. Hospitals closed and health problems increased. A plan designed to save the federal government money cost more than ever in the form of welfare payments to struggling Menominees.<sup>27</sup>

The law terminating the Klamaths was passed in 1954 and went into effect in 1961. Like the Menominees, the Klamaths impressed government officials as a model tribe for termination because of their rich timber resources and relative prosperity, with a gross

annual income of \$2 million from sale of tribal timber.<sup>28</sup> But the Klamaths relied heavily on federal services and contracts, and, as in the case of the Menominees, termination brought economic disaster. Cutting off health and education services previously provided by the federal government caused additional suffering. Some communities had little choice but to sell lands that the government had previously held in trust. Many Indians regarded termination as another land grab, with lumber interests influencing policy and lumber companies emerging as the actual beneficiaries of a policy that was supposed to “liberate” Indians.<sup>29</sup>

Many tribes opposed termination and PL 280.<sup>30</sup> The **National Congress of American Indians (NCAI)**, founded in 1944 to protect Indian rights, led the fight under its chairman Joseph Garry, a Coeur d’Alene veteran of World War II and an Idaho state legislator. “Reservations do not imprison us,” declared the NCAI. “They are our ancestral homelands, retained by us for our perpetual use and enjoyment. We feel we must assert our right to maintain ownership in our own way, and terminate it only by our consent.”<sup>31</sup> Both the Menominees and the Klamaths fought for restoration of tribal status. A young Menominee social worker named Ada Deer led the movement to reverse Menominee termination, lobbying in Washington until Congress passed the Menominee Restoration Act, which President Nixon signed in 1973.<sup>32</sup> The Klamaths secured restoration of tribal status in 1986. But the experience of both tribes stood as a warning to others: economic success could bring termination. Most of the tribes terminated in the 1950s and 1960s

were eventually restored to tribal status, but others — the mixed-blood Utes, for example — were not so fortunate.<sup>33</sup>



*National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution [NAA Photo Lot 75-33].*

#### ♦ National Congress of American Indians

In November 1944 almost eighty delegates from fifty tribes met in Denver, Colorado and founded the National Congress of American Indians. The NCAI's mission, according to its constitution, was "to secure the rights and benefits to which we are entitled under the laws of the United States, the several states thereof, and the territory of Alaska; to enlighten the public toward a better understanding of the Indian race; to preserve cultural values; to seek an equitable adjustment to tribal affairs; to secure and to preserve rights under Indian treaties with the United States; and to otherwise promote the common welfare of the American Indians."



*Milwaukee Journal, January 31, 1974. Copyrighted photograph, Journal Sentinel, Inc. Reproduced with permission.*

◆ **Ada Deer**

Social worker Ada Deer (b. 1935) lobbied in Washington against the Menominee Termination Act. In 1973 President Nixon signed the Menominee Restoration Act, redesignating the Menominees as a federally recognized tribe. Deer served as chairperson of the Menominee Restoration Committee from 1973 to 1976 and became the first Native American woman to head the BIA.

Indian people in the South during this era faced other threats to their identity. In addition to dealing with the Indian policies of the

federal government, they confronted “Jim Crow” policies that mandated segregation in public facilities in the states in which they lived. The Lumbees of Robeson County in North Carolina, the largest tribe east of the Mississippi, had a long history of intermarrying with people of European or African origin, and in the biracial South of the nineteenth century they were classified as “nonwhite.” Like African Americans, they were treated as second-class citizens — separate, but certainly not equal. Nevertheless, in an era defined by racial segregation, the Lumbees crafted and asserted a distinct Indian identity and steadfastly maintained their community. They attempted to gain federal recognition as an Indian tribe by organizing under the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act but were not successful; however, they achieved state recognition in 1953. And in 1958 they drove the Ku Klux Klan out of Robeson County.<sup>34</sup>

In 1960 John F. Kennedy was elected president. He spoke of a “new frontier” with challenges to meet and opportunities to seize at home, abroad, and in space, but his words brought little comfort to Indian people “who had bad memories of the old frontier.”<sup>35</sup> Kennedy had little real interest in Indians, and termination remained the official policy throughout his administration.

## Relocation and Urban Indians

Since colonial times, some Indians had moved to cities in the wake of dispossession and the disruption of their traditional economies. After the Allotment Act placed them on small plots of land, more Indians began to leave the reservations and look for work elsewhere. During World War II, large numbers of Indians moved to the cities to work in war-related industries. The Indian population of Minneapolis, for example, rose from less than 1,000 in the 1920s to more than 6,000 by the end of World War II in 1945.<sup>36</sup> After the war, endemic unemployment on the reservations and new social and economic opportunities in the cities prolonged the trend all across the country. Kahnawake Mohawks continued to leave their reserve outside Montreal and travel to New York City for jobs in steel construction. Chicago's Indian population jumped twentyfold in the decades after the war, from about 500 in 1945 to 10,000 in 1975.<sup>37</sup> Postwar Los Angeles was "an industrial boom town," offering blue-collar jobs in the petroleum, construction, aircraft, and other manufacturing industries.<sup>38</sup>

The government seized on this trend and initiated its **relocation program** as the means of ending reservation poverty and accelerating the pace of assimilation. In the nineteenth century the government had tried to absorb Indians into American society by making them farmers; in the mid-twentieth century it tried to do so by making them city dwellers. Many Indians had already relocated from rural reservations to urban areas on their own initiative and successfully adjusted to urban life, and the BIA encouraged other young families to make the move. In 1948 the BIA experimented



with a relocation program to move Navajos to Denver, Salt Lake City, and Los Angeles. In 1952 the government launched the Voluntary Relocation Program, and during the next eight years the BIA provided incentives and assistance to move more than 30,000 Indians from their reservations to the cities; by 1973, more than 100,000 Indians had gone on relocation.

Thousands of Indians were given one-way bus tickets to cities where they were expected to live and work like other Americans. Usually, the BIA moved relocatees long distances — Anishinaabe and Sioux people from Minnesota and South Dakota to California, and Alaska Natives and Navajos to Chicago, for instance — to discourage them from returning to their reservation homes. The BIA established relocation centers in key cities, gave help with moving and finding accommodations, offered job training, provided free medical care for one year, and paid a month's subsistence until the relocatees became settled. Relocation officials made arrangements for the move, greeted the relocatees on their arrival in the city, and attempted to prepare them for adjustment to city life. Relocation became a nationwide policy, and Indian people continued to move to the cities, with and without government assistance.

# COME TO DENVER

THE CHANCE OF YOUR LIFETIME !

**Good Jobs**

- Retail Trade
- Manufacturing
- Government-Federal, State, Local
- Wholesale Trade
- Construction of Buildings, Etc.





**Happy Homes**

- Beautiful Houses
- Many Churches
- Exciting Community Life
- Over Half of Homes Owned by Residents
- Convenient Stores-Shopping Centers

**Training**

- Vocational Training
- Auto Mech, Beauty Shop, Drafting,
- Nursing, Office Work, Watchmaking
- Adult Education
- Evening High School, Arts and Crafts
- Job Improvement, Home-making





**Beautiful Colorado**

- "Tallest" State, 48 Mt. Peaks Over 14,000 Ft.
- 350 Days Sunshine, Mild Winters
- Zoos, Museums, Mountain Parks, Drives
- Picnic Areas, Lakes, Amusement Parks
- Big Game Hunting, Trout Fishing, Camping

National Archives, photo no. 75-N-REL-1G.

## ♦ “Come to Denver”

BIA leaflets such as this one promoted the advantages of city life among reservation communities.

Some Indians experienced real economic gain and built successful new lives in an urban environment. But, like other immigrants from rural areas, many of the newcomers faced new problems. Accustomed to close-knit extended families and small communities, Indian migrants had to adjust to the anonymity of life

in a city of millions. Accustomed to a philosophy of communal responsibility and sharing, they had to survive in a world of individual capitalist competition. Accustomed to a slower pace of life on rural reservations where family demands and ceremonial calendars took precedence, many struggled to keep up with the hectic routine and daily timekeeping required by urban employers. Unaccustomed to demanding their rights and not motivated by the financial and property ideals of middle-class America, urban Indians often saw themselves left behind in a race dominated by white Americans. For many Indians, urban life meant poverty, poor housing, and unemployment. “They never told us it would be like this,” they said.<sup>39</sup> As many as a third of the relocatees returned to the reservations. Other Indian workers used cities as a source of seasonal labor only, taking paying jobs when they were available and returning home during down times.

Native Americans who stayed in the cities developed new communities and sometimes forged new identities as urban Indians. Newcomers sought out Indian people who had already established themselves in the cities, and Indians tended to concentrate in certain areas, such as the Uptown neighborhood of Chicago and Bell Gardens and Cudahy in Los Angeles County. They built support networks with people who lived in the same neighborhoods, worked at the same jobs, attended the same churches, and frequented the same bars. In many cities they established American Indian centers that provided social services and functioned as a cultural focus. Urban Indians also developed

new ways of sustaining ties with their reservation communities. For example, before World War II almost all Comanches lived in southwestern Oklahoma; after the war, about half of the enrolled tribal members left home and took jobs elsewhere. Many Comanches and other Indian groups found that returning home regularly to take part in powwows and social and ceremonial gatherings allowed them to celebrate their culture, express shared tribal values, and reinforce their identity.<sup>40</sup>

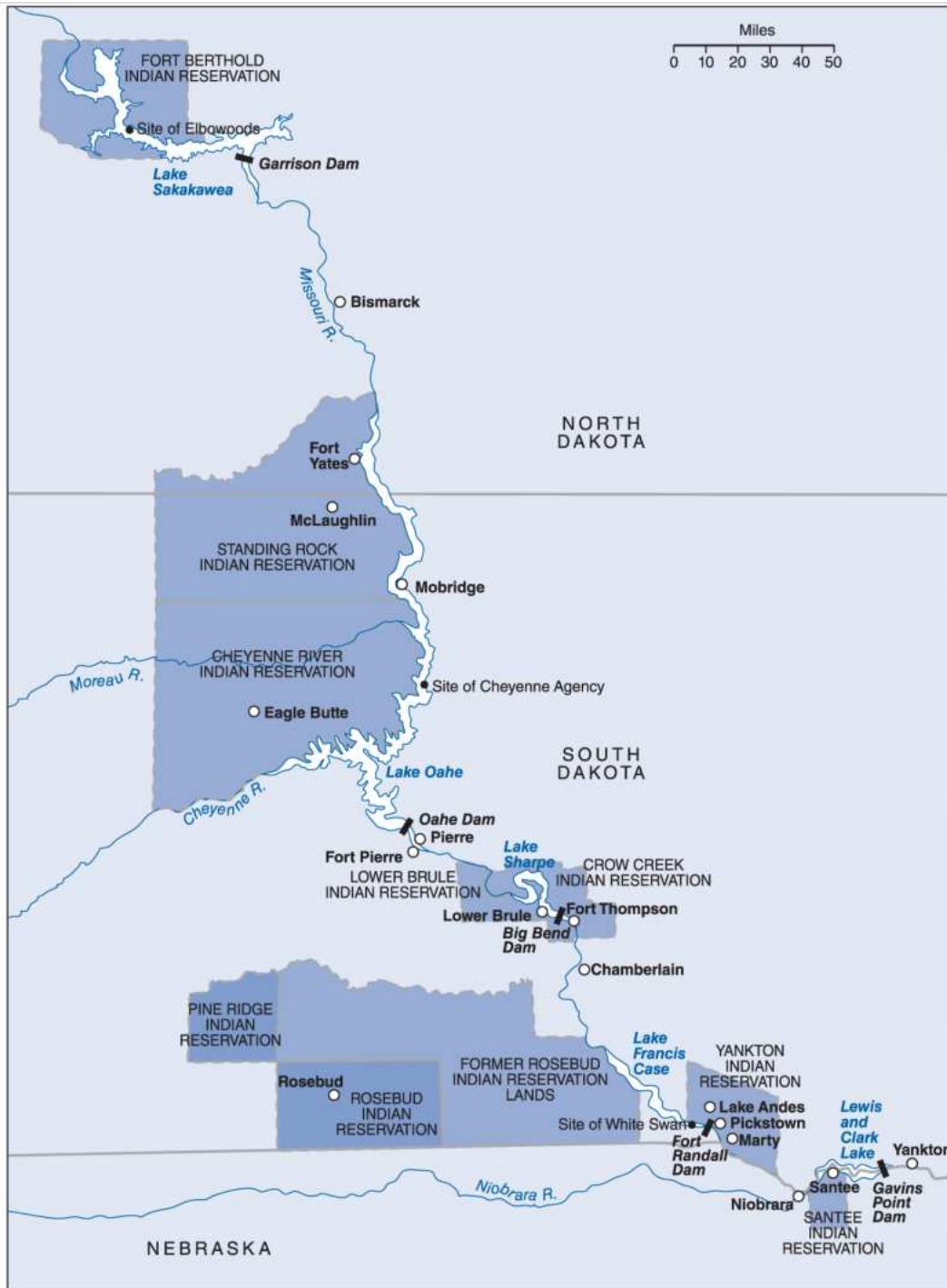
After considerable debate and controversy, relocation programs were reduced in the 1970s. But jobs and social opportunities attracted young Indians to urban areas long after the government's program of relocation faded. Los Angeles, Seattle, Albuquerque, Phoenix, Denver, Minneapolis, and Chicago contained large composite Indian communities. There were no more than 5,000 Indians in Los Angeles County before World War II; by 1980, 50,000 lived there.<sup>41</sup> By 1970 Los Angeles had more Native American inhabitants than any place outside the Navajo reservation. The Indian people who moved there were not just victims of federal relocation policy; they also took the initiative to relocate themselves; took advantage of the social, economic, and educational opportunities offered by city life; and created new lives and communities. Like Indian students who had turned their boarding schools into Indian institutions, they remade their city spaces into Indian spaces.<sup>42</sup> In 1950 only 13.4 percent of Indians counted by the U.S. census lived in cities; by 1970, the proportion had risen to 44 percent; by 1980 it was 50 percent.<sup>43</sup> By the end of

the twentieth century, more than two-thirds of American Indians lived in urban areas; many of them were third-generation city dwellers. Urbanization was not the death knell of Indian society; it was another phase in an ongoing history of Indian change and adaptation to contact with non-Indian society. Much of Indian America became urban, and parts of urban America became Indian.<sup>44</sup>

## Drowning Homelands

Back on the reservations, some Indian peoples faced new assaults on their homelands as well as on their tribal status. As industrial societies launched huge development projects in the postwar era, Indian communities in the United States — in common with indigenous peoples in other parts of the world — found their homes targeted for flooding as hydroelectric dams were constructed.<sup>45</sup> In the Northwest, the Bonneville (1938), Grand Coulee (1942), and Dalles (1957) dams destroyed ancient fishing sites and reduced the Columbia River to a shadow of its former power. Between 1944 and 1980, the Pick-Sloan Plan flood control and water development program in the Missouri River basin affected Indian peoples along the length of the river ([Map 8.1](#)). After a series of floods in the lower basin states in the spring of 1943, the Army Corps of Engineers built Garrison Dam on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota as part of a massive six-dam project designed to harness the power of

the Missouri River and generate energy as well as to provide flood control and irrigation. When the Garrison Dam was completed in 1953, the floodwaters it created covered one-quarter of the total reservation land base, split the reservation in half, and drowned 90 percent of the best agricultural land. The Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara people who lived on the reservation had opposed the dam, and now most were forced to relocate. Many became scattered, and many went from supporting their families as farmers to becoming wage laborers or welfare recipients. In 1992 Congress awarded the Three Affiliated Tribes \$149.5 million in compensation for their losses and the flooding of their reservation. The Mni Sose Intertribal Water Rights Coalition, an alliance of twenty-eight tribes along the Missouri River basin that assists tribes in the protection of their rights to use Missouri River water near and under their reservations, lobbied for an allocation of hydropower to reduce electric utility rates, which remained among the highest in the nation despite the promise of low-cost hydroelectric power from the dams that flooded their homelands.



Information from Michael Lawson, *Dammed Indians Revisited: The Continuing History of the Pick Sloan and the Missouri River Sioux* (Pierre: South Dakota State Historical Society Press, 2009).

#### ♦ Map 8.1 Indian Lands and the Pick-Sloan Dams

In addition to the flooding of Fort Berthold, the dams at Oahe, Big Bend, and Fort Randall, put in place by the Pick-Sloan Missouri River Basin Program, flooded more than 200,000 acres

of Sioux land on the Standing Rock, Cheyenne River, Lower Brulé, Crow Creek, and Yankton reservations.

In Iroquois country, Mohawk communities at Kahnawake and at Akwesasne on the U.S.–Canadian border lost land when the St. Lawrence Seaway was built in the 1950s. The industrialization that followed devastated Akwesasne's dairy industry and left the community with heavily polluted fishing waters. The Senecas fought for years to prevent the Army Corps of Engineers from building the Kinzua Dam on the Allegheny River in northwestern Pennsylvania. But, in contravention of the 1794 Treaty of Canandaigua, which assured the Senecas that the United States would never claim or disturb their reservation lands, the dam was completed in 1965, drowning 10,000 acres. An attempt to halt the dam went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, but to no avail. Seneca families were relocated, and the remains of chief Cornplanter, who had been a tribal leader during and after the American Revolution (see [page 203](#)), were removed before the floodwaters covered his grave. The Senecas' Tuscarora relatives and neighbors likewise fought in vain in the Supreme Court to prevent the Federal Power Commission from taking tribal lands by eminent domain for a hydroelectric power project. In the dissenting opinion, Associate Justice Hugo Black criticized the court's decision as another broken promise in a sorry record of treaty violations. "Great nations, like great men, should keep their word," he wrote.<sup>46</sup>



# A YOUNGER GENERATION RESPONDS

The renewed policies of assimilation targeted the tribes, but tribal values proved resilient. Dakota author Ella Deloria wrote in 1944:

“The ultimate aim of Dakota life, stripped of accessories, was quite simple: One must obey kinship rules; one must be a good relative. No Dakota who has participated in that life will dispute that. In the last analysis every other consideration was secondary — property, personal ambition, glory, good ties, life itself. Without that aim and the constant struggle to attain it, the people would no longer be Dakota in truth. They would no longer be human. To be a good Dakota, then, was to be humanized, civilized. And to be civilized was to keep the rules imposed by kinship for achieving civility, good manners, and a sense of responsibility toward every individual dealt with.”<sup>47</sup>

Amid the growing clamor of post-war America, many Indian people quietly adhered to the ways of living, thinking, and behaving that were central to their humanity and civilization.

Other people were becoming increasingly impatient, however, and many younger Indians turned to more dramatic and

confrontational tactics to publicize injustice and reassert Indian rights. In 1969 Indian students captured headlines when they took over Alcatraz Island in San Francisco harbor in protest against current government policies and past breaches of treaty rights. In the years that followed, militant young Indian protesters dominated the news coming out of Indian country. Indian activism had a long history, and assertions of tribal sovereignty had taken many forms, from clear political statements to the quiet preservation of cultural practices outlawed by the federal government. Twentieth-century pan-Indian political action started with the work of Charles Eastman, Carlos Montezuma, and the Society of American Indians, but the momentum for change grew steadily after World War II. The National Congress of American Indians fought against termination. In the 1950s and 1960s, Seneca people protested against the Kinzua Dam, and Wallace Mad Bear Anderson, a Tuscarora, helped the Mohawks of St. Regis resist New York State's attempt to impose state income taxes on the reservation and led nonviolent resistance to prevent seizures of Tuscarora land by the New York Power Authority.<sup>48</sup> As the United States wrestled with issues of race, poverty, and foreign policy at home and with anticolonial movements in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, Indian intellectuals increased the volume on demands for tribal sovereignty and self-determination and moved the debate about the place of American Indians in American society to the center of national politics.<sup>49</sup> Increasing numbers of Indian people insisted on the right to run their own affairs free from the stifling control of the BIA, while holding the government to promises it had made in past treaties,

and a growing **Red Power** movement turned to direct action to achieve its goals.



*The Granger Collection.*

American Indian activists calling themselves Indians Of All Tribes occupied the former federal penitentiary at Alcatraz Island for nineteen months between November 1969 and June 1971.

## Upheaval in America

Although their situation and demands were in many ways unique, Native American activists joined a growing chorus for change at home and abroad. As the United States squared off against the Soviet Union in Cold War conflict that usually produced more rhetoric than direct confrontation, each superpower tried to win

the hearts, minds, and allegiance of developing nations in the global contest between communism and the free market economy, and each became involved in supporting or suppressing wars of liberation around the world. As they had in two world wars, Native Americans again served their country, fighting in the Korean War between 1950 and 1953 and then the Vietnam War from the 1960s to 1973. Many Native Americans began to relate struggles for independence from colonial rule elsewhere in the world to their own situation in America. Native intellectuals reacted to the threat of termination with an increasingly international perspective and employed the rhetoric of the Cold War in their struggle: how could the United States claim to be defending freedom, justice, and self-determination for peoples abroad when it so clearly denied those same rights to Native Americans at home?<sup>50</sup>

The government's termination and relocation policies largely backfired, generating increased resistance and organization among many American Indian groups. As happened when Indian children were sent to boarding schools, a new generation emerged with a new, unifying experience. Mass migrations of Indian people fostered a growing pan-Indian identity and a determination to preserve Indian community and heritage (exactly the opposite of what the government relocation program was intended to achieve). Some lobbied effectively in Congress for change; others took to the streets or seized property to confront American society with its shameful record and continuing injustices.

They were not alone. By the late 1960s, American society was in turmoil. The country was divided over the war in Vietnam. People of different generations, genders, ethnicities, and classes clashed over issues of morality, power, and privilege, and they argued about the kind of society America was, or could be. College campuses erupted in protest and violence as students protested against an escalating and agonizing war, denounced the military-industrial complex, and took on bastions of the old order. African Americans demanded their long-deferred civil rights or, increasingly, asserted Black Power, and race riots devastated many American cities. Families split as young people openly rejected the values of their parents' generation and expressed their sexual and cultural revolution in art, literature, and rock music. Like African Americans, college students, and antiwar protesters, young Indians, many of them college educated, declared that it was up to them to bring about change, to save America from itself. Red Power activists added to the cacophony of voices demanding change, and Native American writers and speakers attracted greater attention than ever before. In 1969, Lakota author and activist Vine Deloria Jr. published *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* and, for the first time, a Native American writer, Kiowa N. Scott Momaday, won the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction for his novel *House Made of Dawn*.

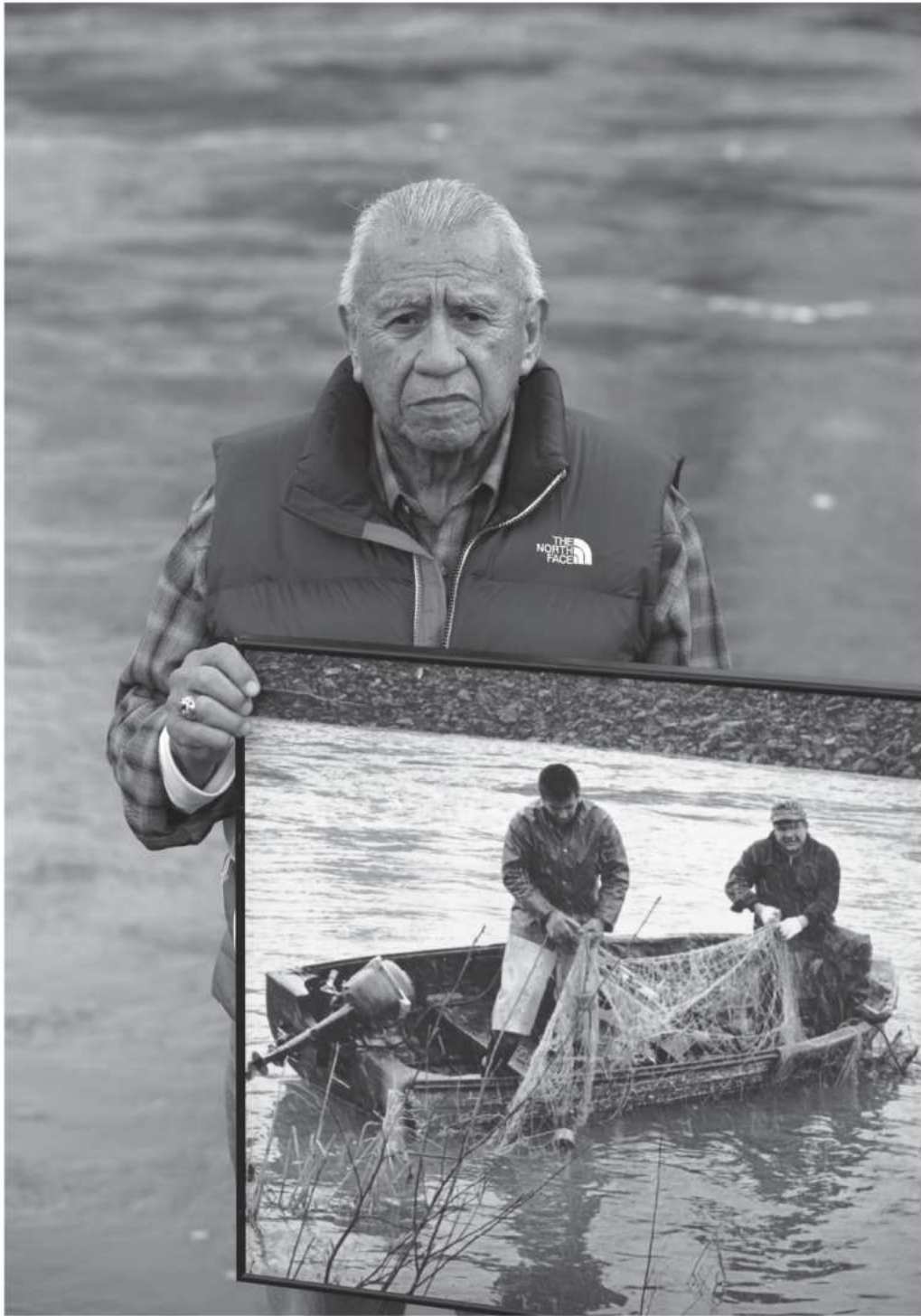
## The Rise of Indian Militancy

The turmoil in American society in the 1960s helped to create a mood for reform in Congress and the courts, and many Native Americans continued the struggle for sovereignty and change by working within the system and at the community level rather than taking to the streets in public protest. But things were not moving quickly enough for many young Indians, who were angry and frustrated by years of dealing with the federal bureaucracy. More vocal and militant than their parents, they insisted on a better deal for Indian people. They demanded that the government cease its assault on Indian tribes and fulfill its treaty obligations; that Indian people be more involved in formulating policy and in running their own affairs; and that the United States respect Indian rights and culture. Like African American civil rights activists and militants who were winning long-denied rights (Congress passed the Civil Rights Act in 1964 and the Voting Rights Act the following year), these young Indians came to believe it was futile to wait patiently for conditions to improve: American society would respond only to political confrontation and the threat of militancy.

In 1961 over four hundred delegates from sixty-five tribes attended the American Indian Chicago Conference and composed a Declaration of Indian Purpose, which they sent to President John F. Kennedy. Later in the year, younger participants from the Chicago conference voiced their discontent and impatience in trying to work with the U.S. government and formed the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) in Gallup, New Mexico. The NIYC demanded Native American participation in determining the policies that affected

Native American lives. Instead of relying on the government to run their affairs, they sought freedom to make their own decisions, their own futures, their own mistakes.<sup>51</sup> (See [“Documents of Indian Militancy,” pages 481–89.](#))

The government was not totally out of step. After President Kennedy’s assassination in 1963, President Lyndon Johnson’s War on Poverty and his attempts to create a Great Society increased federal assistance programs and prompted greater Indian participation in those programs. In 1964 Congress created the Office of Economic Opportunity, with a special “Indian desk” to administer programs for Native American communities. A year later Congress established the Department of Housing and Urban Development, which assisted many reservation communities in building new housing. Vine Deloria Jr., director of the National Congress of American Indians at the time, said the government’s poverty program meant that “for the first time tribes can plan and run their own programs for their people without someone in the BIA dictating to them.”<sup>53</sup>



*Ted S. Warren/AP Photo.*

◆ **Billy Frank (1931–2014)**

In the 1960s, Indian people in the Northwest openly asserted their rights to fish despite harassment from state authorities and non-Indian neighbors. Billy Frank



Jr., pictured here with a photograph of himself fishing in the 1960s, was arrested more than fifty times fighting for treaty fishing rights on the Nisqually River in Washington State. He died a few months after this photograph was taken.<sup>[52](#)</sup>

Some of the first causes the NIYC supported occurred on the Northwest Pacific Coast and the Columbia River. Indian peoples there depended on rich and regular harvests of salmon. Salmon were as important in the life and culture of the coastal tribes as buffalo were to the peoples of the Plains or as corn was to the Iroquois. In the 1850s, Governor Isaac Stevens of Washington Territory had secured a series of treaties that deprived the Walla Walla, Umatilla, Nisqually, Suquamish, and other tribes of most of their lands but that recognized the Indians' right to continue fishing in their "usual and accustomed places." Americans then were interested in farming and lumbering, not in fishing, and they gave little thought to the issue of guaranteeing the **Indian fishing rights**. In the next century, however, the population of the Northwest increased dramatically. Pollution, dams, and increasing sport and commercial fishing took a heavy toll on salmon runs. Indian people struggled to harvest enough fish to live on and found themselves arrested for fishing out of season and without licenses. Denied justice in state courts, they began in the 1960s to stage "fish-ins" to draw public attention to their grievances and publicize their treaty rights. Many Indians went to jail, but their efforts eventually produced some important victories in court (see [Chapter 9, page 517](#)).

Many of the young Indian leaders who first articulated and advocated Red Power came from reservations and rural areas, but the movement spread rapidly among young Indians in the cities.<sup>54</sup> About 10,000 Indians, drawn mainly from the Anishinaabe and Sioux populations of Minnesota and the Dakotas, lived in Minneapolis and St. Paul. The Native community complained frequently of harassment by the police, and Minneapolis Anishinaabeg formed an “Indian patrol” to monitor the activities of police in Indian neighborhoods (much like the Black Panthers did in the ghettos of Oakland, California). Three patrol leaders, Clyde Bellecourt, Dennis Banks, and George Mitchell, went further and in the summer of 1968 organized the **American Indian Movement (AIM)**, which had a more aggressive agenda. Growing urban Indian activism in turn generated a revival of Indian nationalism on many reservations and promoted the Indian identity and culture that the termination and relocation programs were designed to eradicate. Young urban Indians often returned to their reservations in search of support and spiritual guidance from the traditional people at home and to relearn traditional ways. There they forged new alliances in the struggle for indigenous rights.

Confrontations began to flare up from one side of the country to the other. In 1968 Mohawk Indians blockaded the International Bridge between Canada and New York, forcefully protesting the infringement of rights of free passage guaranteed them by the Jay Treaty of 1794. In 1969 a group of young Indians seized Alcatraz Island, a disused federal penitentiary in San Francisco Bay. Under

the name “Indians of All Tribes,” they issued a “Proclamation to the Great White Father,” ironically employing the rhetoric of old treaties to demonstrate their grievances and demand reparations for confiscated land and the hundreds of treaties with Indian nations that the United States had broken. The occupiers received support from hippies and other members of the 1960s “counterculture” who saw Indians as more spiritual, more ecologically attuned, and more communal in their relations than capitalist America and identified with their struggle against American conformity. The government cut off water and electricity supplies in the spring of 1970 and eventually the seizure of Alcatraz fizzled out. Media attention was diverted elsewhere. In June 1971, nineteen months after the takeover began, federal marshals quietly removed the fifteen remaining protesters. But Alcatraz made a lasting impact that carried over into the escalating activism of the 1970s. The protests there brought Indians and their grievances to the attention of the world. Alcatraz served as a warning for the United States that Indian rights could no longer be ignored and became a symbol of hope for Indian people who realized that they need no longer suffer in silence.

## THE AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT

Time and again in the coming years, young Indians took direct action and mobilized national attention in order to make their

voices heard and to confront America with its past and present record of injustice toward Native people. The American Indian Movement took the lead and seized the limelight. Since its founding in 1968, AIM grew in size and expanded its agenda. On Thanksgiving Day 1970, declared a national day of mourning by AIM leader Russell Means, protesters staged demonstrations at Plymouth Rock and the *Mayflower II* (a replica of the ship that brought the first English settlers to New England in 1620). AIM members protested again in 1971 on Mount Rushmore (where the sculpted heads of “enemy” presidents look out over Lakota land). AIM leaders were active in efforts to secure and protect fishing rights in the Great Lakes region in 1972–73. AIM demonstrators denounced the beating, unlawful imprisonment, and killing of Indians such as Raymond Yellow Thunder, an Oglala from Pine Ridge who was beaten to death in February 1972 in Gordon, Nebraska, a reservation border town, and Leroy Shenandoah, an Onondaga Green Beret veteran and a member of the honor guard at President Kennedy’s funeral who was beaten and shot to death in March 1972 by Philadelphia police, who called the killing “justifiable homicide.” The new sense of political aggressiveness gained national attention with the “**Trail of Broken Treaties**,” in which a caravan of Indians traveled across the United States from the West Coast, via Minneapolis, to Washington, D.C., arriving there in November 1972 with more than five hundred protesters. The organizers brought a twenty-point document proposing that the federal government reestablish a treaty-making relationship with Indians. The Twenty Points document also demanded that the government review treaty

violations, abolish the BIA and establish an Office of Federal Indian Relations and Community Reconstruction; provide protection for Indian religious freedom and cultural integrity; and provide funding and support for health, housing, education, employment, and economic development.



© Bettmann/Getty Images.

#### ♦ The “Native American Embassy”

Members of the American Indian Movement stand ready to defend their occupation of the BIA building

— here renamed the Native American Embassy — in November 1972.

The protest almost resulted in violence when Indian militants occupied the BIA building for six days, but with a national election looming, the government did not want open conflict with the first Americans in the streets of the nation's capital. They agreed to review the protesters' twenty demands and fund their transportation home. The Twenty Points did not make their way into the policies of the Nixon administration.

## Siege at Wounded Knee

The new strategies of direct confrontation on the part of the militant pan-Indian leaders also produced strains and divisions within Indian society. Young AIM radicals questioned the legitimacy of tribal governments set up under the Indian Reorganization Act and criticized many tribal leaders as self-serving BIA pawns. On the other hand, many tribal chairmen had worked hard within the system to obtain services for their communities. They, and other older, more conservative Indians, sometimes disliked AIM; they regarded the new tactics and political aggression as inappropriate and not in their people's best interests, fearing the militants would create a backlash. When young militants returned to the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming and called on the Arapahos to embrace the

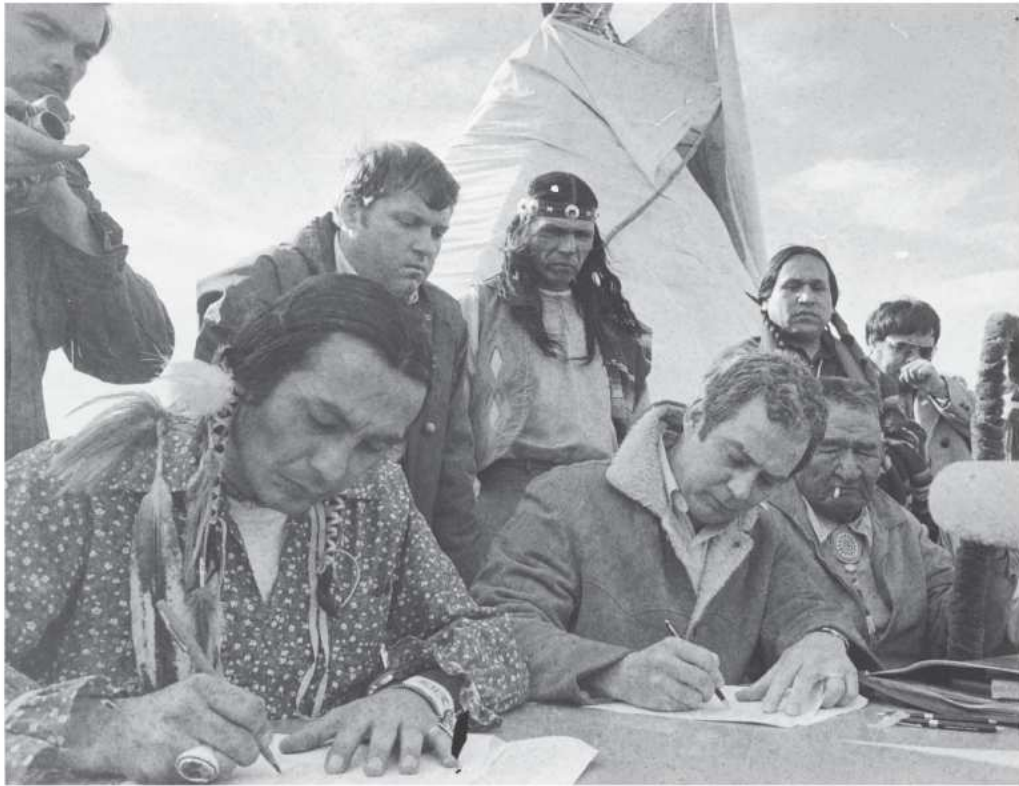
new activism, their ignorance of tribal protocol and their own language alienated Arapaho elders.<sup>55</sup>

The differences between militants and tribal chairmen came to a head on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota in 1973. In January, a young Lakota named Wesley Bad Heart Bull was stabbed to death; his accused white killer was charged with only second-degree manslaughter and allowed to go free after one day in jail. Angry Lakotas demanded the charge be changed to one of murder, and AIM protesters clashed with police in Custer, South Dakota. Wesley Bad Heart Bull's mother was arrested, charged with assaulting a police officer, and sentenced to three to five years in jail. The tribal chair, Richard Wilson, condemned AIM and banned it from Pine Ridge. As tensions and violence mounted, the BIA requested federal marshals at Pine Ridge. Confronted with this display of federal force, AIM leaders Dennis Banks, Russell Means, and about two hundred activists, with the support of Oglala traditional leaders, took over the village of Wounded Knee in February 1973. Wounded Knee had been the site of the massacre of Big Foot's band in 1890 (see [page 328](#)) and was well known to the American public from the title of Dee Brown's book. Banks and Means chose the place as a symbolic location to dramatize their opposition to the BIA and their demands for self-determination and a return of tribal sovereignty. From Wounded Knee, the AIM leaders announced the creation of the Oglala Sioux Nation, declared independence from the United States, and defined their national boundaries as those established by the Treaty of Fort Laramie in

1868. (See [“The Sioux, the Treaty of Fort Laramie, and the Black Hills,” pages 336–47.](#)) Federal marshals, FBI agents, troops, and armored vehicles surrounded the village, and the world’s media flocked to Wounded Knee.

The **Wounded Knee siege** lasted seventy-one days against a background of violence, murder, and suspicion. Two Indians were killed and several others wounded as the military fired more than half a million rounds of ammunition into the AIM compound. At one point, the government considered launching an open assault on the village, but after protracted negotiations between AIM and the FBI, the Indians finally agreed to end their occupation on the condition that the government hold a full investigation into their grievances and demands. “Once again, we Indians had accepted the white man’s promises — just as our ancestors had,” reflected Russell Means. “Once again, the government of the United States had lied.”<sup>57</sup>





AP Photo.

◆ **Wounded Knee Settlement**

Russell Means (foreground) and Assistant U.S. Attorney General Kent Frizzell sign an agreement. Frizzell smoked a sacred pipe with AIM leaders, but the peace settlement failed. Means said “the government broke it before the ink was dry.”<sup>56</sup>

Means subsequently ran for tribal chairman, but the election was accompanied by arson, violence, intimidation, and murder attributed to tribal chair Richard Wilson’s men. Wilson won by a narrow margin, but conditions on Pine Ridge remained tense. In 1975, two FBI agents were murdered, a crime for which AIM activist Leonard Peltier was arrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced to double life imprisonment on what many regarded as the shakiest of evidence. The election of Al Trimble as tribal chairman in 1976 restored a measure of calm to the reservation. But Peltier,

imprisoned in 1977, remained in jail; he was denied parole in 2009 and is not eligible for another hearing until 2024, by which time he will be 79. His case remains a source of heated controversy; many people see him as a political prisoner and a symbol of America's continuing oppression of its Native peoples.<sup>58</sup>

## Legacies of Wounded Knee

The standoff at Wounded Knee garnered considerable international attention. With the United States bogged down in a war in Vietnam, its violent confrontation with Native people at home stood as a test of the country's proclaimed ideals.<sup>59</sup> American media coverage of the events at Wounded Knee tended to take a "war correspondent" approach, focusing on exchanges of gunfire and resurrecting images from movie Westerns of "hostile Indians" rather than examining the root issues of the conflict.<sup>60</sup> Those roots stretched back to the Treaty of Fort Laramie in 1868 (see ["The Sioux, the Treaty of Fort Laramie, and the Black Hills," pages 336–47](#)), the annexation of the Black Hills in 1877, and the establishment of a new style of tribal government under the IRA in 1934, which had imposed minority government on Pine Ridge. In June 1973, after the siege ended, Senator James Abourezk of South Dakota, the chairman of the United States Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, held hearings at Pine Ridge to investigate the causes of the confrontation. Ramon Roubidoux, Russell Means's Sioux attorney,

pinned much of the blame on the IRA, which was supposed to restore self-government. “But as you know,” Roubidoux told the committee, “self-government by permission is not self-government at all. . . . I think this committee should realize that we have got a very serious situation throughout the country.”<sup>61</sup>

The confrontation at Wounded Knee, then, was more than a media event or even an attempt to overthrow a corrupt tribal government. Its goal was to free Pine Ridge from the shackles imposed by the federal government and to inspire other tribes to follow suit. By restoring responsible governments of their own, Indian peoples would regain their sovereignty, take care of their own affairs, and be able to determine their own futures. But in the opinion of Lakota writer and activist Vine Deloria Jr., Wounded Knee gave AIM only temporary visibility in the media and failed to resolve deeper problems between Indians and the United States. AIM became “stalled in its own rhetoric” and the movement lost momentum. “Wounded Knee,” concluded Native authors Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Allen Warrior, “proved to be the final performance of AIM’s daring brand of political theater.”<sup>62</sup>

Other less dramatic demonstrations and developments followed. In 1974 the International Indian Treaty Council was organized, with the goal of bringing the struggles of indigenous peoples around the globe to the attention of the world community. In 1978, recalling the Cherokees’ Trail of Tears and the Navajos’ Long Walk, Clyde Bellecourt led the “Longest Walk” of Indian protesters from Alcatraz

to Washington, D.C. Gradually, though, legal assault and FBI persecution drove many AIM leaders into hiding.<sup>63</sup>

Some observers, Native and non-Native, criticized the AIM leaders as publicity hounds — “the media’s chiefs” — and asserted that the real work of reforming Indian policy went on outside the spotlight. Northern Cheyenne elder and tribal leader Ted Rising Sun said AIM “excited people for the moment” but produced no lasting positive results: “AIM was a big disturbance, but no real substance.” Anishinaabe writer Gerald Vizenor disparaged the AIM leaders as “mouth warriors.”<sup>64</sup> Some Indian women believed that AIM did not adequately represent their concerns, and in the mid-1970s they established the activist group WARN (Women of All Red Nations). WARN tackled issues such as domestic violence and the involuntary sterilization of Native women by the Indian Health Service (see [page 504](#)) and tried to reassert Native rights and protect Native cultures.

Others, Native and non-Native, saw AIM and the broader Red Power movement as a galvanizing and transformative force that generated an Indian demographic and cultural renaissance. AIM helped to increase the number of Indian organizations, newspapers, tribal colleges, and American Indian studies programs; it dramatically raised the level of awareness and political action; and it served as a catalyst for an American Indian ethnic renewal whose impact was reflected in growing Indian population figures recorded in U.S. censuses in the last decades of the twentieth

century (see [Chart 10.1, “American Indian Population Growth Rate, 1900–2010,” page 568](#)).<sup>65</sup> Russell Means said AIM lit a fire that brought renewed hope and pride across Indian country and struck a powerful blow for Native sovereignty.<sup>66</sup> The AIM activists had effectively focused public concern on the plight and protests of Native Americans. AIM gave many young Indian people a reason to mobilize and get involved in their own political and personal battles, and it fought for self-determination and social justice through local activism as well as national political protest. In Minneapolis/St. Paul, for example, AIM worked with local Native parents to start two community survival schools that taught Native languages and traditional values and helped repair some of the cultural damage done by American educational policies.<sup>67</sup> AIM today continues to work for Indian rights and Indian communities, but with less militant confrontation and much less media visibility. Russell Means died in 2012; Dennis Banks in 2017.

Whatever else it achieved, AIM demonstrated dramatically that the “Indian wars” did not end in 1890, that Indian people had not disappeared, and that Indian — U.S. relations would continue to be marked by conflict as long as American society encroached on Indian resources and denied Indian rights.

# CONCLUSION

U.S. Indian policies and Native American experiences between 1929 and 1974 reflected far-reaching changes in American society. The Great Depression caused a fundamental rethinking of the role of the federal government in the social and economic life of the country, and of its relationship to tribal governments. However, the Cold War environment following the Second World War prompted a renewed insistence that Indians conform with the values and practices of mainstream society. It saw a return to assimilation policies that involved ending federal services to the tribes, diminishing tribal sovereignty, and encouraging the movement of Indian families away from the reservations and into urban melting pots. The upheavals of the 1960s then created a new social, cultural, and political climate in which younger Native Americans, many of whom had grown up in the cities, adopted a more militant stance in their efforts to right longstanding injustices in the nation's treatment of Indian peoples. As we will see in [Chapter 9](#), their mounting activism and growing public awareness of the continuing injustices in the government's dealings with the first Americans prompted a new round of policy changes.

# CHAPTER 8 REVIEW

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## KEY TERMS

John Collier

Indian New Deal

Indian Reorganization Act (IRA)

Navajo stock reduction

Navajo code talkers

Termination policy

Indian Claims Commission (ICC)

House Concurrent Resolution 108

National Congress of American Indians (NCAI)

relocation program

Red Power

Indian fishing rights

American Indian Movement (AIM)

[Trail of Broken Treaties](#)

[Wounded Knee siege](#)

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## REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What was new about the Indian New Deal?
2. Why did Indian people move to the cities in growing numbers after 1945?
3. Why and how did the U.S. government try to “terminate” Indian tribes in the 1950s?
4. What were the aims and achievements of the American Indian Movement?
5. What broader forces of change affected Indian relations in the U.S. in the 1960s and '70s?



# DOCUMENTS

## Two Views from the BIA of the Indian Reorganization Act



DRAFTED BY JOHN COLLIER AND A TEAM OF LAWYERS, the bill that became the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) contained forty-eight pages. It was introduced in Congress in February 1934 by Senators Burton K. Wheeler of Montana and Edgar Howard of Nebraska and endured a stormy passage that stripped it of some key provisions — notably, Collier’s plans to consolidate Indian landholdings and establish a separate federal court of Indian affairs. President Roosevelt signed the amended bill into law in June. The act ended the policy of allotment and alienation of Indian land; it promoted economic development in Indian communities by establishing a revolving credit fund; and it encouraged tribes to take back responsibility for running their own affairs.

But it was a limited measure of self-government and it often produced unrepresentative minority tribal administrations. The forms of government that the tribes were invited and encouraged to

establish and vote on were not their own traditional governments guided by clan or spiritual leaders; they were American-style representative governments and bureaucracies, created and operated under the supervision of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and the secretary of the interior. In that sense, the IRA represented a shift in strategy rather than a fundamental change in policy, with assimilation still the ultimate goal. “The IRA and the Indian New Deal set out to grant to Indians a limited but enlarged degree of control over their affairs and destinies,” writes one sociologist, “but did so in the service of ends preselected by the dominant society and through methods given by that society, after its own models.” Instead of trying to break up tribal communities and assimilate individuals, the IRA sought to make communities the vehicles of assimilation. Indian tribes as political constructs would survive, but as they “voluntarily formed constitutional governments, undertook the development of their own resources, and joined with the federal government in the assault on poverty and ignorance, assimilation would necessarily follow. American economic and political institutions would be reproduced within Indian societies, as a result of Indian efforts.”<sup>68</sup>

The IRA revealed and fueled divisions in some Indian communities. Among the Lakotas, some people who became known as “new dealers” enthusiastically embraced Collier’s vision of Indian self-government. But others “had their own ideas about what Indian self-government should look like” and wanted nothing to do with a system imposed from Washington.<sup>69</sup> On the Pine Ridge

Reservation in South Dakota, only 13 percent of the eligible Oglala voters accepted the IRA in the tribal referendum; 12 percent voted against it. The other 75 percent failed to vote, which from their perspective probably meant voting in the negative by having nothing to do with the process. “But,” explained historian Alvin Josephy, “a majority of those who voted had said ‘Yes,’ and a minority of 13 percent was thus used to foist upon the other 87 percent a form of self-government that White men had chosen for them.”<sup>70</sup> The elected BIA-style tribal governments often represented a minority who supported assimilation and acted as rubber stamps for federal policies; many more traditional people continued to look to spiritual leaders and did not participate in, or identify with, the new government. This situation led to open conflict in the early 1970s when traditional Oglalas and American Indian Movement (AIM) militants joined forces to try to oust the corrupt political machine of tribal chair Richard Wilson.

Combative and controversial in his own day, Collier and his legacy as architect of the Indian New Deal remain controversial today. Some people revere Collier for having pulled tribal governments from the brink of extinction; others see him as just another Washington politician who imposed his own ideas on Indian communities with little regard for their needs. Clarence Wesley, a San Carlos Apache leader, said Collier’s policy “was the best thing that ever happened to Indian tribes.” Rupert Costo, a Cahuilla Indian and president of the American Indian Historical Society, denounced Collier as “vindictive and overbearing,” “a rank

opportunist” who “betrayed us.” For Costo, Collier’s Indian New Deal was the “Indian Raw Deal.”<sup>71</sup>

Collier had no ambivalence about the IRA. In his view, it was the key to the survival of Indian tribes in modern America, and he worked tirelessly for its acceptance and implementation. The original draft of the Wheeler-Howard bill declared “that those functions of government now exercised by the Federal Government through the Department of the Interior and the Office of Indian Affairs shall be gradually relinquished and transferred to the Indians.” According to Collier as he left office in 1945, “We tried to extend to the tribes a self-governing self-determination without any limits beyond the need to advance by stages to the goal.” As Collier envisioned the IRA, and as he explained it to the tribes, the tribal governments established under the IRA would be allowed to govern in fact, not just in legislation.<sup>72</sup>

As the Navajo vote demonstrated, Collier and his program encountered plenty of opposition. Alice Jemison, a Seneca from New York, wrote a series of negative commentaries, condemning the IRA as communistic and anti-Christian. Robert Burnette, a Brulé Sioux born in Rosebud, South Dakota, in 1926, had a very different view of the IRA. Burnette served in the Marines during World War II and returned home to face continued racism and the threat of termination. He blamed much of the poverty and the loss of land he saw in Lakota country on collusion between corrupt tribal officials and the BIA. In 1952 he was elected to the Rosebud

Tribal Council; two years later he was elected tribal president. From the 1950s until his death in 1984, he was known as a combative champion of Indian civil rights, tribal self-determination, and sovereignty. He became executive director of the National Congress of American Indians in 1961 and served as a mediator and advocate of nonviolent resistance during AIM's takeover of the BIA building in Washington in 1972 and at the siege at Wounded Knee in 1973 (see [pages 462–64](#)). His book *The Tortured Americans* was published in 1971, and in 1974 he coauthored *The Road to Wounded Knee*, which traced the root causes of the siege back to the kind of tribal governments established under the Indian New Deal. One of his earliest memories was of campaigning in school against his tribe's acceptance of the IRA. He was eight years old at the time. "I remember John Collier coming to the Rosebud Indian Boarding School and exactly what he said there," Burnette recalled half a century later. "I felt like we were being fooled." In Burnette's view and experience, IRA-style tribal government was a charade. Tribal councils were established and supervised by the BIA and they operated in their own interests and the interests of the American government, not of Indian people. The Indian Reorganization Act was "a blueprint for elected tyranny."<sup>73</sup>

D'Arcy McNickle offered a more measured assessment of the IRA than either his boss, John Collier, or Robert Burnette. Best known today for the Center of American History named in his honor at the Newberry Library in Chicago, McNickle (1904–77) was born and raised on the Flathead Reservation in Montana. Métis and Salish-

Kootenai, he was an enrolled member of the Confederated Salish-Kootenai Tribe, the first to adopt a constitution under the IRA (see picture on [page 442](#)). In 1935 Collier hired McNickle to work for the Office of Indian Affairs, and McNickle went on to a lengthy career as an official in the BIA, a writer, and an anthropologist. He retired to Chicago where he assisted in founding the center that bears his name.<sup>74</sup> He published an assessment, reproduced below, of the IRA in *Indians at Work*, a publication of the BIA, which meant its chief editor was the Indian Commissioner, John Collier. Not surprisingly, holding a junior position as an administrative assistant in the Office of Indian Affairs, McNickle echoed Collier's positive assessment of the IRA, but it is more restrained and more tentative in its optimism.

**JOHN COLLIER *An “Indian Renaissance,” from the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1935)***

REORGANIZING INDIAN LIFE

The Indian Reorganization (modified Wheeler-Howard) Act was approved June 18, 1934. Its passage made mandatory a complete change in the traditional Federal Indian policy of individual allotment of land — which resulted in the break-up of Indian reservations — and of destroying Indian organization, institutions, and racial heritage to the end that the Indian as an Indian might disappear from the American scene with the utmost speed.

The net result of this policy has been the loss of two-thirds of the 139,000,000 acres owned by Indian tribes in 1887, the year when the General Allotment Act was adopted; and the individualization policy has broken up the land remaining on allotted reservations, has disrupted tribal bonds, has destroyed old incentives to action, and has created a race of petty landlords who in the generous Indian manner have shared their constantly shrinking income with the ever-increasing number of their landless relatives and friends.

The Indian Reorganization Act prohibits future allotments, and the sale of Indian lands except to the tribes; it restores to the tribes the unentered remnants of the so-called surplus lands of the allotted reservations thrown open to white settlement; it authorizes annual appropriations for the purchase of land for landless Indians, provides for the consolidation of Indian lands, and sets up a process which enables Indians voluntarily to return their individual landholdings to the protection of tribal status, thus reversing the disintegration policy.

The act also authorizes a ten-million-dollar revolving loan fund, the use of which is restricted to those tribes which organize and incorporate so as to create community responsibility. It is expected that the organization of Indians in well-knit, functional groups and communities will help materially in the creation of new incentives for individual and collective action. The Indian is not a “rugged individualist”; he functions best as an integrated member of a group, clan, or tribe. Identification of his individuality with clan or

tribe is with him a spiritual necessity. If the satisfaction of this compelling sentiment is denied him — as it was for half a century or more — the Indian does not, it has been clearly shown, merge into white group life. Through a modernized form of Indian organization, adapted to the needs of the various tribes (a form of organization now authorized by law), it is possible to make use of this powerful latent civic force.

The Indian Reorganization Act was passed a few days before the end of the Seventy-third Congress. None of the authorized appropriations, however, became available until May 1935. For land purchases the authorized appropriation was reduced to one-half, or \$1,000,000; the revolving credit fund was limited to a quarter of the authorization, or \$2,500,000; for organizing expenses the amount was reduced from \$250,000 to \$175,000.

#### THE INDIANS HOLD THEIR FIRST ELECTIONS

Congress had ordained in section 18 that each tribe must be given the unusual privilege of deciding at a special election whether it wanted to accept these benefits or reject them. Beginning with August 1934 and ending June 17, 1935, a series of 263 elections resulted in the decision by 73 tribes, with a population of 63,467 persons, to exclude themselves from the benefits and protection of the act, and by 172 tribes, with the population of 132,426 persons, to accept the act.



The participation of the Indians in these referendum elections was astonishingly heavy. In national elections, when a President is chosen and the interest of the voters is aroused through a long, intensive campaign, the average number of ballots cast does not exceed 52 percent of the total number of eligible voters; in referendum elections deciding on such matters as constitutional ratifications, bond issues, etc., when no personalities are injected into the campaign, less than 35 percent of the eligible voters participate. The referendum election on the Indian Reorganization Act did not concern itself with candidates and personalities, yet 62 percent of all adult Indians came to the polls and cast their ballots. . . .

The rejection of the Reorganization Act on 73 reservations, most of them very small (but including the largest reservation, that of the Navajos), was due in the main to energetic campaigns of misrepresentation carried on by special interests which feared that they would lose positions of advantage through the applications of the act. Joining hands in this campaign of misrepresentation were stockmen who feared that the Indians would run their own stock on land hitherto leased to white interests; traders who were afraid of losing their business through the competition of Indian consumers' cooperatives; merchants and politicians in white communities on the edge of reservations; a few missionaries who resented the extension of the constitutional guarantee of religious liberty and freedom of conscience to Indians (not an element in the Reorganization Act, but enforced as a policy by the present

administration); lumber interests which did not want to see Indian tribes exploit their own forest resources. These interests, working frequently by the historic method of defrauding Indian tribes with the connivance of certain of their own leaders, spread extreme and bizarre falsehoods concerning the effects of the act.

Among the myths spread by adverse interests on various reservations were such as these: Acceptance of the act would cause Indian owners of allotments to lose their land, which would then be distributed among those Indians who had disposed of their allotments; all farm crops would be impounded in warehouses and thereafter would be equally distributed among the population; the Indians would be segregated behind wire fences charged with electricity; all the livestock would be taken from certain tribes; unallotted reservations would be thrown open to white entry; Indian dances and other religious ceremonies would be suppressed; Indians would not be allowed to go to Christian churches; certain Southwestern reservations would be turned over to Mexico, etc.

#### THE NAVAJO VOTE

On the Navajo Reservation, certain interests disseminated the most fantastic fictions in their effort to induce the 43,500 Navajos to reject the help the Federal Government was offering them. With the aid of these fictions, and by falsely connecting the referendum on the Reorganization Act with the unpopular but necessary stock reduction program, the propagandists succeeded in bringing about

the exclusion of the Navajo Reservation by a very narrow margin of votes: 7,608 for acceptance; 7,992 against acceptance. Immediately after the result became known, Navajo leaders started a movement to reverse it through a renewed referendum which will be possible only through a new enabling act of Congress.

#### THE INDIAN RENAISSANCE

Considering the long history of broken treaties, pledges, and promises, the fact that 172 tribes with an Indian population of 132,000 accepted the word of the Government that the fundamental reorganization of their lives would not harm them is evidence of a new, more satisfactory relationship between the Indians and the Indian Service. The referendum elections served a most valuable purpose. They were palpable proof to the Indians that the Government really was ready to give them a voice in the management of their own affairs, and that the period of arbitrary autocratic rule over the tribes by the Indian Service had come to an end.

This evidence of good faith was reinforced by the request that the tribes begin immediately to formulate the constitutions and charters authorized by the act. Reservation committees and groups set to work at the unaccustomed task of drafting constitutions and of making plans and programs for the economic rehabilitation of the tribes. Charters and constitutions under the Reorganization Act, when once adopted, cannot be revoked or changed by

administrative action. Personal government of the tribes by the Secretary of the Interior and the Indian Commissioner is brought to an end.

#### INDIAN EMERGENCY WORK

In the revivifying of the Indian spirit, the wide-opened benefits of Indian emergency conservation and of other relief work played an important part. It must be remembered that on many reservations the kind of depression which struck the Nation in 1929 had been a chronic condition for a long time, becoming acute when land sales dropped off and the revenue from farm and grazing lands leased to whites dropped almost to the vanishing point. Opportunities for wage work had been all but nonexistent on most reservations, and the psychology of the chronically unemployed had prevailed for so long that it was feared that most of the Indians had become unemployable.

This fear proved to be groundless. Indians young and old not merely accepted emergency relief work, but almost fought for the chance to labor. And they labored effectively. Through their effort the physical plant, the land, the water, the forests, have had many millions of dollars added to their use value in the last 2 years. Incalculable benefits have been derived from the improvement of 20 million acres of range, through the development of springs and wells and the construction of thousands of stock-water dams, through roads and truck trails, through the construction of

thousands of miles of fences and telephone lines. There is not one reservation which, as a result of the emergency and relief work, is not a better place to live on, an easier place in which to gain a living from the soil. . . .

*SOURCE: An "Indian Renaissance," from the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1935 (Greenwood Press, 1973), 2:921-26.*

### **D'ARCY MCNICKLE *Four Years Of Indian Reorganization***

In years past, the seasons came and went, and left the Indians untouched. They watched the spring come, watched the hot growing weather, and watched while the harvest was reaped. Through the long winter they waited and watched and kept themselves warm as best they could. If they were no richer at the end of the year, possibly they were a little wiser in Becky Sharp's ways of living on nothing a year.

Another growing season is upon us, and this year, for some Indians, there is a difference. There are grain fields growing. Hay is ripening. Calves and lambs are finding their legs.

It is four years since the Indian Reorganization Act was passed by Congress and signed by the President, four years on June 18th. In four years tribes have become organized and incorporated, money has gone into tribal treasuries, land has been purchased, students have secured loans to attend colleges and professional schools. For these, life will be different this year.

Many of the things being done today through the agency of the Reorganization Act have been done in the past. Tribes have set up governing bodies before. Tribes have borrowed money from the government. But in just these two instances, alone, there are differences. In the past, tribal organization has been nominal. The constitutions under which tribes operated were usually no more than a set of by-laws governing the conduct of business meetings. In the matter of borrowing money, there was likewise small participation by the Indian in the transaction. The superintendent of the reservation, seeking to help the Indian and to make profitable use of available resources, would recommend and secure approval of a reimbursable loan, which the Indians, usually as individuals but sometimes as tribes, were persuaded to assume. It was not unheard of to have such a loan made for activities which the Indians did not approve and in which their participation was half-hearted at best. The ratio of bad loans under this system was inordinately high, and the feeling grew up in the Service and out of it that Indians were irresponsible — poor credit risks. It was easy to prove the case on the basis of the record.

The Indian Reorganization Act, apart from certain legal developments, is primarily a training school in self-government and economic self-management. The Act made possible the granting of specific powers to tribal governments. These powers are written into the constitutions or charters which the tribes are adopting. Thus the tribal governments are not the functionless debating societies of the past. They are municipal councils with specific

powers to perform. A tribal government which successfully performs the duties assumed by it will find itself taking over more and more of the authority which in the past was exercised by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and his agents.

In the matter of defining its membership, of governing the conduct of its members, of enforcing law and order, of leasing tribal land and managing tribal resources, of governing its elections, of providing aid for its aged and indigent, the tribes can go about as far as they choose and can devise the means for.

So, in the matter of borrowing money, there is an important difference. A source of credit is not in itself the vital thing. But when money borrowing is made a function of economic planning and of studying resources for their profitable exploitation, then there is hope. It is just in this way that the Reorganization Act breaks with the past. A number of loans have been made, the statistics of which will be given in a moment, and in each case the actual transfer of money from the revolving credit fund to the Indian tribe was preceded by weeks of study and discussion. For many Indians this was the first time they had even thought of their reservation objectively, as a place in which to invest money. There was also a study of individual character more exacting than most bankers' practice. When finally the money was in hand, its apportioned use was already provided for, and it went with activities for which there was a definite need and in which return was fairly

assured. Payments on these loans have in every case to date been ahead of schedule. And that is the proof.

The Indian Reorganization Act is four years old on the statute books, but actually it has been in operation only three years, since the first appropriations were not available until the year after its passage. Let us review the statistics of these three functioning years.

The Indian tribes were given the question of what they intended to do with the law after it was put on the statute books. They could vote yes or no on its acceptance. A total of 266 tribes, bands, or groups were asked to ballot on the question. Of that total 189 tribes, with a population of 130,173 Indians, accepted the law. A group of 77 tribes, representing 86,365 Indians, rejected it. When first written, the Reorganization Act excluded the Indians of Oklahoma and Alaska from all but a few minor provisions. In 1936 the 28 tribes in Oklahoma, excluding only the Osage, and the natives of Alaska were permitted to take full advantage of the Act. This added approximately 120,000 Indians to the total. Thus today, 250,000 Indians are carrying on under a new order, while 86,000 Indians are on the outside, many of them requesting a chance to reverse their decision.

In this month of June, constitutions and by-laws have been adopted by 82 tribes, having a combined population of 93,520. Of these, 57 tribes, with 64,074 members, have become chartered



corporations. Incorporation is necessary before money can be borrowed from the revolving credit fund.

Summarizing credit operations, commitments of \$3,503,811 have been made and a total of \$1,131,805 has actually been advanced to tribal corporations. An additional sum of \$65,000 has still to be approved. In Oklahoma, loans are made on a slightly different basis and so separate figures are kept. The total amount advanced in loans direct to individuals or to Indian credit associations is \$682,000, and only a negligible amount is awaiting approval.

Land purchase, one of Reorganization's main objectives, will progress slowly. Congress has not made available in any one year the \$2,000,000 authorized in the law. The total amount of land purchase money after three years of appropriations has been but \$2,950,000. With these funds purchase has been completed of 168,654 acres, while 235,577 acres are under option with purchase still to be completed. The Act also authorized the return of surplus land to reservation holdings, when in the opinion of the Secretary of the Interior it was deemed advisable. Under this authority, a total of 350,000 acres has been returned to Indian ownership. A vast area of 5,000,000 acres of such so-called surplus lands, lands which were set apart for homestead entry, is subject to this authority.

In years past, Indians were especially handicapped by lack of higher education. The state universities were open to them if they could get together the registration fees and support themselves

while attending classes. Comparatively few Indians had the encouragement or the means to continue after they finished an Indian Service boarding school or a public high school. Here, too, the Reorganization Act is changing the picture. Funds are available under the Act for advancing educational loans to interested students. At the present time, 445 students are attending college and professional schools with the help of such loans.

Out of this background of statistics emerges an array of human facts which gives reality to this story of Reorganization. It isn't enough to have a law on the statute books. The law must operate in the lives of men and women before it begins to have meaning. The meaning is coming into being.

At Hydaburg, a village of 318 natives on Prince of Wales Island in Alaska, community organization and incorporation will make possible the rejuvenation of a local canning and fishing industry which for years has struggled along on insufficient financing. The community is well worth investing in, as its records show. It owns its own town hall, its shipping dock, it is clear of all debts and its individual families own their own homes, the average value of which is \$1,500. Twenty-five of the natives own their own seine boats and seven own salmon trollers, each boat being valued at approximately \$2,500. There is also a cooperative community store which was organized in 1911 and at present owns a capital stock of \$33,000. Almost every individual in the community is a stockholder. The store is managed entirely by natives. With money to keep the

local cannery operating at capacity, the village population will be assured of its future income.

At Hopi, where nine separate villages (speaking two languages and several dialects) have come down through the centuries, each jealous of its own identity and its own sovereignty, what seemed impossible was attempted — and achieved. Anthropologists and old Service men, some of them, were alike in their feeling that Hopi would have none of tribal organization — of any kind of organization which meant a working together of all the villages. There was no tradition for it, and Hopi followed tradition. But they were wrong. Hopi did want organization, or, as it is put in the preamble of the constitution, it wanted “a way of working together for peace and agreement between the villages and of preserving the good things of Hopi life, and to provide a way of organizing to deal with modern problems with the United States Government and with the world generally.” Only once, in a history going back to the days before the Spanish invasion, had such united action been taken. That was in 1680, when the Hopi villages, along with the other Pueblos, joined in wrath to drive the Spaniards out of New Mexico.

At Tongue River Reservation in Montana an ambitious tribal steer enterprise has been set up, and after a year of operation, is running ahead of expectations. The Northern Cheyenne Indians living on this reservation have been in the cattle business before, and have come to grief. The long, hard winter experienced in their part of the country is especially destructive to calf crops, a factor

which has brought ruin to any plan of starting with a foundation herd and building up a marketable surplus. The present scheme of operations is one requiring heavy financing, but in the end it should prove a profitable one. To begin with, the tribe is borrowing each year \$85,000, and with this loan is purchasing yearling steers for summer and winter feeding. The steers will be sold at the end of the second summer on the range, and the proceeds will pay back the first loan of \$85,000 and part of the second year's advance of the same amount.

Gradually, the amount of indebtedness will be decreased and the amount of earnings invested in the enterprise increased, until eventually it will operate without further borrowing. The plan is a flexible one, since in a poor year purchases may be curtailed or suspended entirely; the number of steers carried through the winter will always be less by half than are carried in the summer, thus lessening the chances of winter losses and the cost of winter feeding.

At Blackfeet, there has been a thorough overhauling of tribal economy. For years this reservation, the largest in Montana, has been under an economic cloud, the result, largely, of lack of planning. Irrigated land for providing winter feed, credit for financing individual and tribal needs in livestock and farming equipment, rehabilitation funds for reestablishing families on the land — these are the pressing needs. The tribal council has taken the initiative in seeking a solution to its problems. With its own

funds, and with funds which the government will advance from money appropriated under the Indian Reorganization Act, an extensive program of economic rehabilitation has been started.

At Jicarilla there has also been an interesting transformation. With good reason, those familiar with the tribe doubted that reorganization would interest its members. For years it had been considered among the most “backward” of the tribes. It had no tradition of leadership, and it did not seem possible at this late date to introduce a concept foreign to the tribal experience. In spite of these misgivings something has happened at Jicarilla. The tribe has become incorporated and has taken over the extensive trading establishment owned and operated by a white man for a number of years. Evidently the Jicarillas can advance without strong individual leadership. They do it by unanimous action. In their elections to date, almost no negative votes have been cast. The Jicarillas move as one body.

At Rosebud, out in the Sioux country, a submerged social structure has been brought out of hiding. For years tribal decisions have been made, not in general council meetings, but in the local communities, the Tioshpa, the existence of which was not even known to most government men directing the reservation.

Now, recognized and given a chance to function, these community organizations are proving invaluable in reaching the people of the tribe and getting united action.

At Flathead, the first tribe to set its house in order, organization found a unique opportunity. A great power company, which in 1932 had been licensed to develop the Flathead power site, one of the most important sites in the whole Northwest, had defaulted on its contract and was playing the part of the dog in the manger, while the Interior and Justice Departments searched for a way out. Having become incorporated, and having therefore the legal right to sue in its own name, the Flathead Tribe took steps to bring suit for damages amounting to \$7,000,000. This was just the impetus needed. Almost overnight the power company thought better of its tactics and sought a new contract, in which vital concessions were made to the tribe. Very shortly now a great dam will be completed at Flathead and the tribal treasury will begin to receive a large annual rental from the sale of power. But Flathead has done more than win a legal battle. Aware of the serious land problem which it, like tribes everywhere face, it is asking Congress for the right to use its own funds for land purchase. It is not willing to wait for Congress to appropriate money at some indefinite time in the future. It wants to go ahead now, and it is willing to take the initiative.

There are but a few highlights in the general scene. They indicate some of the currents that have been set up. They are not intended to indicate how far the trend has gone or how soon any one question will be answered. Something has started, and here is the general direction in which it moves.

What has been done, in truth, is only a fragment of the task remaining. Tribal governments have serious need of education in public administration, in Indian laws, treaties and regulations, and in the use of the powers embedded in their own constitutions. Failure to get this education may fairly well destroy the whole purpose of the reorganization program.

There is a tendency in Congress to reduce the funds allotted for Indian Reorganization purposes, in its theory that, now that, so many of the tribes are organized, the need for future work is diminishing. This is an unfortunate view to take, since it jeopardizes every advance made up to this time. It is not a simple matter of organizing tribes and lending money to them. They will need, for several years yet, as much encouragement and assistance as can be given them, not in the doing of things for them, but in showing them how they can do for themselves.

No government can function without revenue. So long as tribal funds remain tied up in the United States Treasury, the tribes will have to look elsewhere for the funds necessary to operate on. Those fortunate tribes possessing land which can be leased have such a source of income ready at hand. But there are many tribes who have no such resources, and for these the whole machinery of self-government may remain stalled indefinitely.

The problem of allotted and heirship lands is a staggering one to deal with; yet, on many reservations the whole future of economic

development is tied up with the question of how best to deal with the situation.

On most reservations the problem of law and order is acute. Federal jurisdiction extends only to the ten “major” crimes. Beyond those is a vast shadow-land of domestic relations, misdemeanors and general community problems which neither the state nor the federal government has dealt with successfully. Good communities will not be built up where law and order remains chaotic. The Indian Reorganization Act clothes the tribes with sufficient authority to handle such questions, but they have ahead of them the task of learning the proper use of their powers.

The problems are many and certainly there is no intention of belittling them. It is possible, nevertheless, to realize that where in the past there have been only misgiving and despair for the future of the Indians, today there is reason to be hopeful. For some Indians, at least, there is already a difference. Something has begun to happen. When this year’s harvest comes around, some few Indians will have something to garner. That is a beginning.

*SOURCE: Indians at Work* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1933–45), vol. 5, issue 11 (July 1938), 4–11.

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION



1. What does Collier's discussion of the Indian Reorganization Act in his 1935 annual report illustrate about his vision of the IRA and his hopes for its impact on Indian America? What does the extract reveal about his attitudes toward Indian people and toward those who did not share his vision?
2. What is the tone of Collier's message, who is he addressing, and for what purpose?
3. How do McNickle's statements about the workings of the IRA differ from Collier's claims that the act marked a decisive shift in the direction of Indian policy and initiated a new era in relations between Indians and the U.S. government? How does the author's employment in the Office of Indian Affairs affect the essay's value as a historical source?
4. Despite its shortcomings, did the Indian New Deal break with past government policies?

## Indians in the Cities



WHEN GLENN EMMONS, a banker from New Mexico, became commissioner of Indian affairs under President Eisenhower in 1953, he devoted considerable energy toward improving the relocation program established by his predecessor, Dillon S. Myer. Emmons moved the Bureau of Relocation headquarters from Washington,

D.C., to Denver to bring it closer to Indian populations and opened new field offices, secured additional funding, and stepped up publicity for the program. He placed great faith in relocation's ability to weaken tribalism and promote assimilation. In his annual report for 1954, he described the program in optimistic terms. Interest in relocating from the reservations was growing, stimulated by letters home from friends and relatives who had already moved to the cities; the numbers of relocatees were up, and relocation agencies were proving successful in finding jobs for Indians when they arrived in the cities. In addition, the Chicago Field Relocation Office assisted in the establishment of an All-Tribes American Indian Center in Chicago. This center, reported Emmons, "raised its own funds, and under the directorship of a board composed almost entirely of Indians, began providing opportunities for Indian relocatees to meet, engage in social and recreational programs, exchange experiences, and assist each other. Its operations were completely independent of the Bureau."<sup>75</sup>

Indian individuals and families looked for jobs and new lives in urban America long before the BIA program provided additional incentives; they continued to do so long after the program was phased out. Those who made the move often saw things quite differently from Emmons. Like other federal programs, urban relocation had mixed results. Indian people interviewed in Chicago around 1970 gave varied reasons for moving and their views of city life often depended on their age, gender, personality, and personal lives, as well as their experiences living and working in an urban

environment. One middle-aged man who had moved to Chicago because he heard there were jobs there said: “I like it here. I raised my kids here. Sometimes they got in with the wrong crowd and there was some trouble, but they’re all grown now, and everything worked out OK. My children are real city kids. . . . Chicago is their home.” Others never came to terms with city life. “I wish I had never left home,” said one woman. “This will never be home to me. It’s dirty and noisy, and people all around, crowded.” A thirty-year-old man recalled thinking the city was “wonderful” when he was a teenager, but he moved back and forth between the city and the reservation and felt he didn’t fit in anywhere.<sup>76</sup> Whether they liked the city or not, Indian people who moved there were not just responding “to the prodding of federal bureaucrats who favored termination.” In the words of one historian, they took “a stride toward freedom from Indian Bureau paternalism, economic insecurity, racial injustice, segregation, and second-class citizenship.”<sup>77</sup> They did not always escape these old challenges in the city, but they usually encountered new opportunities, as Ignatia Broker, an Ojibway or Anishinaabe elder and storyteller, found when she moved from the White Earth Reservation to Minneapolis during World War II.

### **IGNATIA BROKER *Brought to a Brotherhood* (1983)**

I got off the city bus and walked the short one-and-a-half blocks home as I have been doing for years around five o’clock each evening. Because this evening was warm, I walked slower than

usual, enjoying the look and feel of the early spring. The earth that had been white was now brown, left uncovered by the melting snow. This brown was turning to green and the air was fragrant with the opening of spring.

Daylight still lingered and as I walked I looked at my neighborhood and thought about it. When I first moved here in the mid-1950s this was a mixed neighborhood of Spanish-speaking people and Catholic whites, and there were many children. Now the Spanish-speaking people are all gone. They left when the parochial school closed its doors, although the church is still here. Now the neighborhood is only four blocks long and two blocks wide, whittled down by urban renewal and the freeways which reach their tentacles all around us.

I reached my doorstep and sat enjoying the good day and remembering the past. It was funny, really, when I think about it. That day thirty years ago when we moved here, me and my children, we were the aliens looking for a place to fit in, looking for a chance of a new life, moving in among these people, some of whose “forefathers” had displaced my ancestors for the same reason: looking for a new life. Their fathers were the aliens then, and now they, the children, are in possession of this land.

For a long time I was that Indian person with the two children. But it is good that children have a natural gift of accepting people, and so my children became a part of the neighborhood.

Thirty years in this neighborhood. My children went to school from here, they went to church from here, they were married from here and even though they are in faraway places they seem to have their roots here, for they had lived no other place while growing up.

I talked to my children, even when they were very small, about the ways of the Ojibway people. They were good children and they listened, but I had a feeling that they listened the same as when I read a story about the Bobbsey twins or Marco Polo. I was speaking of another people, removed from them by rock and roll, juvenile singers, and the bobbing movement of the new American dance.

My two, born and raised in Minneapolis, are of that generation of Ojibway who do not know what the reservation means, or the Bureau of Indian Affairs, or the tangled treaties and federal — so called — Indian laws which have spun their webs for a full century around the Native People, the First People of this land.

Now my children are urging me to recall all the stories and bits of information that I ever heard my grandparents or any of the older Ojibway tell. It is important, they say, because now their children are asking them. Others are saying the same thing. It is well that they are asking, for the Ojibway young must learn their cycle.

I have been abroad in this society, the dominating society, for two-thirds of my life, and yet I am a link in a chain to the past.

Because of this, I shall do as they ask. I can close my eyes and I am back in the past.

I came to the Twin Cities from the reservation in 1941, the year Pearl Harbor was attacked. I went to work in a defense plant and took night classes in order to catch up on the schooling I had missed. I was twenty-two years old and aching for a permanent, settling-down kind of life, but the war years were unstable years for everyone, and more so for the Indian people.

Although employment was good because of the labor demand of the huge defense plants, Indian people faced discrimination in restaurants, night clubs, retail and department stores, in service organizations, public offices, and worst of all, in housing. I can remember hearing, "This room has been rented already, but I got a basement that has a room. I'll show you." I looked at the room. It had the usual rectangular window, and pipes ran overhead. The walls and floors were brown cement, but the man with a gift-giving tone in his voice said, "I'll put linoleum on the floor for you and you'll have a toilet all to yourself. You could wash at the laundry tubs."

There was of course, nothing listed with the War Price and Rationing Board, but the man said it would cost seven dollars a week. I know that he would have made the illegal offer only to an Indian because he knew of the desperate housing conditions we, the first Americans, faced.

I remember living in a room with six others. It was a housekeeping room, nine by twelve feet in size, and meant for one person. It was listed with the price agency at five dollars a week, but the good landlady collected five dollars from each of us each week. However, she did put in a bunk bed and a rollaway which I suppose was all right because we were on different shifts and slept different times anyway. It was cramped and crowded but we had a mutual respect. We sometimes shared our one room with others who had no place, so that there might be nine or ten of us. We could not let friends be out on the street without bed or board. As long as our landlady did not mind, we helped and gave a place of rest to other Ojibway people.

Our paydays were on different days and so whoever had money lent carfare and bought meat and vegetables. Stew was our daily fare because we had only a hot plate and one large kettle.

I mention this practice because I know other Indian people did the same thing, and sometimes whole families evolved from it. This was how we got a toehold in the urban areas — by helping each other. Perhaps this is the way nonmaterialistic people do. We were a sharing people and our tribal traits are still within us.

I think now that maybe it was a good thing, the migration of our people to the urban areas during the war years, because there, amongst the millions of people, we were brought to a brotherhood. We Indian people who worked in the war plants started a social

group not only for the Ojibway but for the Dakota, the Arikara, the Menominee, the Gros Ventres, the Cree, the Oneida, and all those from other tribes and other states who had made the trek to something new. And because we, all, were isolated in this dominant society, we became an island from which a revival of spirit began.

It was not easy for any of us during the war years and it became more difficult after the war had ceased. Many Native People returned to the reservations after our soldiers came home from the foreign lands, but others like me stayed and took the buffeting and the difficulties shown us by an alien society.

The war plants closed and people were without jobs. The labor market tightened up and we, the Native People — even skilled workers — faced bias, prejudice, and active discrimination in employment. I know because when I was released from my defense job I answered many advertisements and always I was met with the words, “I’m sorry but we don’t hire Indians because they only last the two weeks till payday. Then they quit.”

It was around this time that I met and married a veteran who was passing through to the reservation. He got a job with the railroad. To be close to that job and because of the bias in housing, we moved to the capitol side of the river, to an area of St. Paul called the river flats. It was a poor area. Many of the houses had outdoor toilets; many were but tar-paper shacks. Surprising, but it was so in this very large city. It was here our two children were born and I,



like a lot of other Indian women, went out and did day work — cleaning and scrubbing the homes of the middle-income people.

Many Indian families lived on the river flats, which became vibrant with their sharing. People gave to each other because times were bad. No Indian family dared approach the relief and welfare agencies of the Twin Cities. They knew that they would only be given a bus ticket and be told to go back to the reservation where the government would take care of them as usual. This was the policy of the public service agencies, and we put up with it by not asking for the help to which we had a legal right. We also suffered in other ways of their making. My husband was recalled to service and died in Korea. After this I moved from the river flats. I took the clerical training and got my first job at a health clinic.

Because my husband died fighting for a nation designed for freedom for all, I felt that I must help extend that freedom to our people. I joined a group of Indians who had banded together to form an Indian help agency. We built a welfare case to challenge the policy of sending our people back to the reservation, and we were successful. After that, the tide of Indians moving to Minnesota's urban areas increased, and today there are ten thousand of us. As the number grew, new-fangled types of Indian people came into being: those demanding what is in our treaties, those demanding service to our people, those working to provide these services — and all reaching back for identity.

When I see my people every day and know how they are doing, I do not feel so lost in the modern times. The children of our people who come to our agency have a questioning look, a dubious but seeking-to-learn look, and I truly believe that they are reaching back to learn those things of which they can be proud. Many of these children were born and raised in the urban areas and they do not make any distinctions as to their tribes. They do not say, “I am Ojibway,” or “I am Dakota,” or “I am Arapaho,” but they say, “I am an Indian.” Now they, too, are looking to their tribal identity.

*SOURCE:* Ignatia Broker, *Night Flying Woman: An Ojibway Narrative* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1983), 1–7. Copyright © 1983 by the Minnesota Historical Society. Reprinted with the permission of the publishers.

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. What reasons does Ignatia Broker give for making the move to the city? Does her account provide evidence to support the view that relocation was a “stride toward freedom”?
2. What difficulties did she encounter? What does she tell us about how people managed to adjust to their new urban environment, rebuild communities, and maintain their identities?
3. The government’s policy of urban relocation operated on the assumption that Indian people would be swallowed up in city life and cease being Indians. In what ways did Ignatia Broker’s account confound these bureaucratic expectations?

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## Documents of Indian Militancy



THE DRAMATIC TAKEOVER IN 1969 of Alcatraz Island by Indian students often serves as a starting point for discussing the Red Power movement, and confrontations around the country involving the American Indian Movement (AIM) increasingly attracted the media spotlight in the 1970s. But the dramatic events and charismatic personalities that capture public attention usually emerge from, and often obscure, deeper movements, longer lasting developments, and the contributions of other individuals. The militant spirit that flared into open confrontation after 1969 had been gathering momentum throughout the decade. The arguments for Indian self-determination, the fundamental goal of AIM, had been articulated by young Indians even before AIM was founded in 1968. One was Clyde Warrior, a young Ponca activist from eastern Oklahoma, whose story “qualifies as the top story the press missed in the years leading up to Alcatraz.”<sup>78</sup>

Clyde Warrior was the most charismatic and important leader of this emerging youth movement.<sup>79</sup> Born near Ponca City, Oklahoma, in 1939, he was raised by his grandparents and as a teenager traveled Indian country as a powwow dancer. He became increasingly vocal about the need for Indians to reject white images of them, to take pride in their Indian heritage, and to hold on to

traditional values in modern times. He became a founding member and president of the NIYC and advocated taking direct action to effect change. Indians, said Warrior, were “getting fed up” and it was only a question of time before they did something about it.<sup>80</sup> Like Malcolm X in the Black Power movement, Warrior was eloquent and militant in his prophecies and prescription for revolution, and like Malcolm X he alarmed white America and discomfited many of his own people. But he became “almost a legendary hero to young Indians throughout the country.”<sup>81</sup>

In speeches and in writings, Warrior repeatedly articulated the demands and desires of Indian people for freedom. President Lyndon Johnson’s administration was pledged to the War on Poverty, with programs like Head Start and other initiatives administered through the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). But Warrior insisted that Indians would never escape poverty so long as white men continued to run their affairs and make decisions for them. He delivered the speech reprinted here at a hearing of the President’s National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1967.

Even as he worked to free Indian people from dependency on white America and its government, Warrior succumbed to dependency of another sort. Known as a hard drinker, he battled alcoholism. In the summer of 1968, as events began to spin out of control in Southeast Asia and the United States, his liver failed, and he was dead within a few days. He was twenty-eight. In the next five

years, Indian activists seized Alcatraz, marched on the nation's capital, and battled U.S. armed forces on the plains of South Dakota. The world's media was there to record it all, but "the prophet of Red Power wasn't around to see what would become of his prophecies."<sup>82</sup>

While the media shone a strong light on the charismatic men spearheading the American Indian Movement's confrontations at Wounded Knee and elsewhere, women and other participants of the larger struggle sometimes remained in the shadows. Born Mary Brave Bird on the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota, Mary Crow Dog grew up with no father and did not get along with her mother. Home was a one-room cabin without electricity or running water. Mary described herself as "a natural-born rebel," and so she had a hard time at the St. Francis Boarding School, where the Catholic nuns beat the children for disobedience. "At age ten," she said, "I could drink and hold a pint of whiskey." At age twelve the nuns beat her for holding hands with a boy. At age fifteen she was raped. The reservation communities "were places without hope where bodies and souls were being destroyed bit by bit." Schools left many of the students illiterate; there were few jobs. Poverty and hopelessness seemed to be everywhere. Looking back, it seemed that her early life "was just one endless, vicious circle of drinking and fighting, drinking and fighting."<sup>83</sup> Then she met Leonard Crow Dog and went to Wounded Knee.

“The American Indian Movement hit our reservation like a tornado,” Mary said, “like a new wind blowing out of nowhere, a drumbeat from far off getting louder and louder.”<sup>84</sup> As militant young Indians from the cities joined forces with older traditional leaders on the reservations, the movement grew in scope and gathered momentum. The tribal chairman at Pine Ridge, Richard Wilson (see [page 463](#)), and his heavily armed henchmen or GOONs (Guardians of the Oglala Nation) braced for a confrontation. Federal marshals and FBI agents arrived on the scene. Without really knowing why, Mary joined a caravan of cars headed for Pine Ridge. The events that followed changed her life. Her account, written years later, gives a sense of what the movement meant to young people like her. It also provides a unique perspective from within the compound during the siege at Wounded Knee from a woman who took a stand there and gave birth there.

**CLYDE WARRIOR “We Are Not Free”: *From Testimony before the President’s National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty* (1967)**

Most members of the National Indian Youth Council can remember when we were children and spent many hours at the feet of our grandfathers listening to stories of the time when the Indians were a great people, when we were free, when we were rich, when we lived the good life. At the same time we heard stories of droughts, famines and pestilence. It was only recently that we realized that there was surely great material deprivation in those days, but that

our old people felt rich because they were free. They were rich in things of the spirit, but if there is one thing that characterizes Indian life today it is poverty of the spirit. We still have human passions and depth of feeling (which may be something rare in these days), but we are poor in spirit because we are not free — free in the most basic sense of the word. We are not allowed to make those basic human choices and decisions about our personal life and about the destiny of our communities which is the mark of free mature people. We sit on our front porches or in our yards, and the world and our lives in it pass us by without our desires or aspirations having any effect.

We are not free. We do not make choices. Our choices are made for us; we are the poor. For those of us who live on reservations these choices and decisions are made by federal administrators, bureaucrats, and their “yes men,” euphemistically called tribal governments. Those of us who live in non-reservation areas have our lives controlled by local white power elites. We have many rulers. They are called social workers, “cops,” school teachers, churches, etc., and now OEO employees. They call us into meetings to tell us what is good for us and how they’ve programmed us, or they come into our homes to instruct us and their manners are not always what one would call polite by Indian standards or perhaps by any standards. We are rarely accorded respect as fellow human beings. Our children come home from school to us with shame in their hearts and a sneer on their lips for their home and parents. We are the “poverty problem” and that is true; and perhaps it is also

true that our lack of reasonable choices, our lack of freedoms, our poverty of spirit is not unconnected with our material poverty.

The National Indian Youth Council realizes there is a great struggle going on in America now between those who want more “local” control of programs and those who would keep the power and the purse strings in the hands of the federal government. We are unconcerned with that struggle because we know that no one is arguing that the dispossessed, the poor, be given any control over their own destiny. The local white power elites who protest the loudest against federal control are the very ones who would keep us poor in spirit and worldly goods in order to enhance their own personal and economic station in the world.

Nor have those of us on reservations fared any better under the paternalistic control of federal administrations. In fact, we shudder at the specter of what seems to be the forming alliances in Indian areas between federal administrators and local elites. Some of us fear that this is the shape of things to come in the War on Poverty effort. Certainly, it is in those areas where such an alliance is taking place that the poverty program seems to be “working well.” That is to say, it is in those areas of the country where the federal government is getting the least “static” and where federal money is being used to bolster the local power structure and local institutions. By “everybody being satisfied,” I mean the people who count and the Indian or poor does not count. . . .



Fifty years ago the federal government came into our communities and by force carried most of our children away to distant boarding schools. My father and many of my generation lived their childhoods in an almost prison-like atmosphere. Many returned unable even to speak their own language. Some returned to become drunks. Most of them had become white haters or that most pathetic of all modern Indians — Indian haters. Very few ever became more than very confused, ambivalent and immobilized individuals — never able to reconcile the tensions and contradictions built inside themselves by outside institutions. As you can imagine, we have little faith in such kinds of federal programs devised for our betterment nor do we see education as a panacea for all ills. In recent days, however, some of us have been thinking that perhaps the damage done to our communities by forced assimilation and directed acculturative programs was minor compared to the situation in which our children now find themselves. There is a whole generation of Indian children who are growing up in the American school system. They still look to their relatives, my generation, and my father's to see if they are worthy people. But their judgment and definition of what is worthy is now the judgment most Americans make. They judge worthiness as competence and competence as worthiness. And I am afraid me and my fathers do not fare well in the light of this situation and judgment. Our children are learning that their people are not worthy and thus that they individually are not worthy. Even if by some stroke of good fortune, prosperity was handed to us “on a platter” that still would not soften the negative judgment our

youngsters have of their people and themselves. As you know, people who feel themselves to be unworthy and feel they cannot escape this unworthiness turn to drink and crime and self-destructive acts. Unless there is some way that we as Indian individuals and communities can prove ourselves competent and worthy in the eyes of our youngsters there will be a generation of Indians [who] grow to adulthood whose reaction to their situation will make previous social ills seem like a Sunday School picnic.

For the sake of our children, for the sake of the spiritual and material well-being of our total community we must be able to demonstrate competence to ourselves. For the sake of our psychic stability as well as our physical well-being we must be free men and exercise free choices. We must make decisions about our own destinies. We must be able to learn and profit by our own mistakes. Only then can we become competent and prosperous communities. We must be free in the most literal sense of the word — not sold or coerced into accepting programs for our own good, not of our own making or choice. Too much of what passes for “grassroots democracy” on the American scene is really a slick job of salesmanship. It is not hard for sophisticated administrators to sell tinsel and glitter programs to simple people — programs which are not theirs, which they do not understand and which cannot but ultimately fail and contribute to already strong feelings of inadequacy. Community development must be just what the word implies, Community Development. It cannot be packaged programs wheeled into Indian communities by outsiders which Indians can

“buy” or once again brand themselves as unprogressive if they do not “co-operate.” Even the best of outside programs suffer from one very large defect — if the program falters helpful outsiders too often step in to smooth over the rough spots. At that point any program ceases to belong to the people involved and ceases to be a learning experience for them. Programs must be Indian creations, Indian choices, Indian experiences. Even the failures must be Indian experiences because only then will Indians understand why a program failed and not blame themselves for some personal inadequacy. A better program built upon the failure of an old program is the path of progress. But to achieve this experience, competence, worthiness, sense of achievement and the resultant material prosperity Indians must have the responsibility in the ultimate sense of the word. Indians must be free in the sense that other more prosperous Americans are free. Freedom and prosperity are different sides of the same coin and there can be no freedom without complete responsibility. And I do not mean the fictional responsibility and democracy of passive consumers of programs; programs which emanate from and whose responsibility for success rests in the hands of outsiders — be they federal administrators or local white elitist groups.

Many of our young people are captivated by the lure of the American city with its excitement and promise of unlimited opportunity. But even if educated they come from powerless and inexperienced communities and many times carry with them a strong sense of unworthiness. For many of them the promise of

opportunity ends in the gutter on the skid rows of Los Angeles and Chicago. They should and must be given a better chance to take advantage of the opportunities they have. They must grow up in a decent community with a strong sense of personal adequacy and competence.

America cannot afford to have whole areas and communities of people in such dire social and economic circumstances. Not only for her economic well-being but for her moral well-being as well. America has given a great social and moral message to the world and demonstrated (perhaps not forcefully enough) that freedom and responsibility as an ethic is inseparable from and, in fact, the “cause” of the fabulous American standard of living. America has not however been diligent enough in promulgating this philosophy within her own borders. American Indians need to be given this freedom and responsibility which most Americans assume as their birth right. Only then will poverty and powerlessness cease to hang like the sword of Damocles over our heads stifling us. Only then can we enjoy the fruits of the American system and become participating citizens — Indian Americans rather than American Indians.

Perhaps, the National Indian Youth Council’s real criticism is against a structure created by bureaucratic administrators who are caught in this American myth that all people assimilate into American society, that economics dictates assimilation and integration. From the experience of the National Indian Youth

Council, and in reality, we cannot emphasize and recommend strongly enough the fact that no one integrates and disappears into American society. What ethnic groups do is not integrate into American society and economy individually, but enter into the mainstream of American society as a people, and in particular as communities of people. The solution to Indian poverty is not “government programs” but in the competence of the person and his people. The real solution to poverty is encouraging the competence of the community as a whole.

[The] National Indian Youth Council recommends for “openers” that to really give these people “the poor, the dispossessed, the Indians,” complete freedom and responsibility is to let it become a reality not a much-heard-about dream and let the poor decide for once, what is best for themselves. . . .

*SOURCE:* Testimony of Clyde Warrior before the President’s National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, February 2, 1967, in *Red Power: The American Indians’ Fight for Freedom*, ed. Alvin M. Josephy Jr. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971), 72–77.

### **MARY CROW DOG *A Woman’s View from Wounded Knee* (1991)**

. . . It began to dawn upon me that what was about to happen, and what I personally would be involved in, would be unlike anything I had witnessed before. I think everybody who was there felt the same way — an excitement that was choking our throats. But there was still no definite plan for what to do. We had all assumed that we would go to Pine Ridge town, the administrative center of the

reservation, the seat of Wilson's and the government's power. We had always thought that the fate of the Oglalas would be settled there. But as the talks progressed it became clear that nobody wanted us to storm Pine Ridge, garrisoned as it was by the goons, the marshals, and the FBI. We did not want to be slaughtered. There had been too many massacred Indians already in our history. But if not Pine Ridge, then what? As I remember, it was the older women like Ellen Moves Camp and Gladys Bissonette who first pronounced the magic words "Wounded Knee," who said, "Go ahead and make your stand at Wounded Knee. If you men won't do it, you can stay here and talk for all eternity and we women will do it."

When I heard the words "Wounded Knee" I became very, very serious. Wounded Knee — Cankpe Opi in our language — has a special meaning for our people. There is the long ditch into which the frozen bodies of almost three hundred of our people, mostly women and children, were thrown like so much cordwood. And the bodies are still there in their mass grave, unmarked except for a cement border. Next to the ditch, on a hill, stands the white-painted Catholic church, gleaming in the sunlight, the monument of an alien faith imposed upon the landscape. And below it flows Cankpe Opi Wakpala, the creek along which the women and children were hunted down like animals by Custer's old Seventh, out to avenge themselves for their defeat by butchering the helpless ones. That happened long ago, but no Sioux ever forgot it.

Wounded Knee is part of our family's history. Leonard's great-grandfather, the first Crow Dog, had been one of the leaders of the Ghost Dancers. He and his group had held out in the icy ravines of the Badlands all winter, but when the soldiers came in force to kill all the Ghost Dancers he had surrendered his band to avoid having his people killed. Old accounts describe how Crow Dog simply sat down between the rows of soldiers on one side, and the Indians on the other, all ready and eager to start shooting. He had covered himself with a blanket and was just sitting there. Nobody knew what to make of it. The leaders on both sides were so puzzled that they just did not get around to opening fire. They went to Crow Dog, lifted the blanket, and asked him what he meant to do. He told them that sitting there with the blanket over him was the only thing he could think of to make all the hotheads, white and red, curious enough to forget fighting. Then he persuaded his people to lay down their arms. Thus he saved his people just a few miles away from where Big Foot and his band were massacred. And old Uncle Dick Fool Bull, a relative of both the Crow Dogs and my own family, often described to me how he himself heard the rifle and cannon shots that mowed our people down when he was a little boy camping only two miles away. He had seen the bodies, too, and described to me how he had found the body of a dead baby girl with an American flag beaded on her tiny bonnet.<sup>o</sup>-

Before we set out for Wounded Knee, Leonard and Wallace Black Elk prayed for all of us with their pipe. I counted some fifty cars full of people. We went right through Pine Ridge. The half-bloods and

goons, the marshals and the government snipers on their rooftop, were watching us, expecting us to stop and start a confrontation, but our caravan drove right by them, leaving them wondering. From Pine Ridge it was only eighteen miles more to our destination. Leonard was in the first car and I was way in the back.

Finally, on February 27, 1973, we stood on the hill where the fate of the old Sioux Nation, Sitting Bull's and Crazy Horse's nation, had been decided, and where we, ourselves, came face to face with our fate. We stood silently, some of us wrapped in our blankets, separated by our personal thoughts and feelings, and yet united, shivering a little with excitement and the chill of a fading winter. You could almost hear our heartbeats.

It was not cold on this next-to-last day of February — not for a South Dakota February anyway. Most of us had not even bothered to wear gloves. I could feel a light wind stirring my hair, blowing it gently about my face. There were a few snowflakes in the air. We all felt the presence of the spirits of those lying close by in the long ditch, wondering whether we were about to join them, wondering when the marshals would arrive. We knew that we would not have to wait long for them to make their appearance.

The young men tied eagle feathers to their braids, no longer unemployed kids, juvenile delinquents, or winos, but warriors. I thought of our old warrior societies — the Kit Foxes, the Strong Hearts, the Badgers, the Dog Soldiers. The Kit Foxes — the Tokalas



— used to wear long sashes. In the midst of battle, a Tokala would sometimes dismount and pin the end of his sash to the earth. By this he signified his determination to stay and fight on his chosen spot until he was dead, or until a friend rode up and unpinned him, or until victory. Young or old, men or women, we had all become Kit Foxes, and Wounded Knee had become the spot upon which we had pinned ourselves. Soon we would be encircled and there could be no retreat. I could not think of anybody or anything that would “unpin” us. Somewhere out on the prairie surrounding us, the forces of the government were gathering, the forces of the greatest power on earth. Then and there I decided that I would have my baby at Wounded Knee, no matter what. . . .

Wounded Knee lasted seventy-one long days. These days were not all passed performing heroic deeds or putting up media shows for the reporters. Most of the time was spent in boredom, just trying to keep warm and finding something to eat. Wounded Knee was a place one got scared in occasionally, a place in which people made love, got married Indian style, gave birth, and died. The oldest occupants were over eighty, the youngest under eight. It was a heyoka place, a place of sacred clowns who laughed while they wept. A young warrior standing up in the middle of a firefight to pose for the press; Russell Means telling the photographers, “Be sure to get my good side.”

We organized ourselves. The biggest room in the store became the community hall. A white man’s home, the only house with heat

and tap water, became the hospital, and women were running it. The museum became the security office. We all took turns doing the cooking, sewing shirts, and making sleeping bags for the men in bunkers. We embroidered the words “Wounded Knee” on rainbow-colored strips of cloth. Everybody got one of those as a badge of honor, “to show your grandchildren sometime,” as Dennis [Banks] said. We shared. We did things for each other. At one time a white volunteer nurse berated us for doing the slave work while the men got all the glory. We were betraying the cause of womankind, was the way she put it. We told her that her kind of women’s lib was a white, middle-class thing, and that at this critical stage we had other priorities. Once our men had gotten their rights and their balls back, we might start arguing with them about who should do the dishes. But not before.

Actually, our women played a major part at Wounded Knee. We had two or three pistol-packing mamas swaggering around with six-shooters dangling at their hips, taking their turns on the firing line, swapping lead with the feds. The Indian nurses bringing in the wounded under a hail of fire were braver than many warriors. The men also did their share of the dirty work. . . .

For a while I stayed at the trading post. But it was too much for me. Too many people and too little privacy. I figured that I would have my baby within two weeks. I moved into a trailer house at the edge of Wounded Knee. By then daily exchanges of fire had become commonplace. The bullets were flying as I got bigger and bigger.

One day the government declared a cease-fire so that the women and children could leave. One of the AIM leaders came up to me: “You’re leaving. You’re pregnant, so you’ve got to go.” I told him, “No, I won’t. If I’m going to die, I’m going to die here. All that means anything to me is right here. I have nothing to live for out there.” . . .

Again I come back to the old Cheyenne saying: “A nation is not lost as long as the hearts of its women are not on the ground.” As the siege went on our women became stronger. One bunker was held by a married couple. When the husband was hit by several bullets, the wife insisted on holding the position alone. Women “manning” a bunker got into a two-way radio argument with some marshals. The girls finally took up a megaphone, shouting across no-man’s-land so that everybody could hear: “If you SOBs don’t shut up, we’ll call in the men!” One girl got hit in the white church. A bullet ricocheted and grazed her hand. It was just a flesh wound. She went on as if nothing had happened. During a firefight there was one young woman in particular who held off seven marshals while some of the men got behind shelter. All she had was an old pistol. She used that to scare them off. That was Gray Fox’s wife. She was really good with a gun. I guess some of the men did not like her because of that. Especially, I think, those who scrambled to safety while she covered them.

One of the good things that happened to me at Wounded Knee was getting to know Annie Mae Aquash, a Mi·kmaq Indian from Nova Scotia who became my close friend.<sup>85</sup> She was a remarkable

woman, strong-hearted and strong-minded, who had a great influence upon my thinking and outlook on life. I first noticed her when an argument arose among some of the women. One group, as I remember, called themselves the "Pie Patrol." Why, I do not know. There were no pies and they did not do much patrolling as far as I could see. They were loud-mouth city women, very media conscious, hugging the limelight. They were bossy, too, trying to order us around. They were always posing for photographers and TV crews, getting all the credit and glory while we did the shit work, scrubbing dishes or making sleeping bags out of old jackets.

Annie Mae gave these women a piece of her mind and I took her side. So we hit it off right away and became instant buddies. Annie Mae taught me a lot. She could make something out of nothing. She made nice meals with seemingly no provisions except dried beans and yellow peas. After I gave birth she made a tiny Wounded Knee patch for little Pedro. She was older than I and already a mother, divorced from a husband whose heart was not big enough for her. Annie Mae found among us Sioux an Indian culture her own tribe had lost. She was always saying, "If I'm going to die, I'm going to die. I have to die sometime. It might as well be here where I'd die for a reason." She had a premonition that her militancy would bring her a violent death, and in this she was right. She had heard the call of the owl. . . .

. . . It is not always wise for an Indian woman to come on too strong. Annie Mae was found dead in the snow at the bottom of a

ravine on the Pine Ridge Reservation. The police said that she had died of exposure, but there was a .38-caliber slug in her head. The FBI cut off her hands and sent them to Washington for fingerprint identification, hands that had helped my baby come into the world. . . .<sup>o</sup>

<sup>o</sup> In 2003 two former members of AIM were indicted for Anna Mae Aquash's murder. Fritz Arlo Looking Cloud was sentenced to life in prison; John Graham, living in Vancouver, was extradited to the United States, stood trial in 2010, and was sentenced to life in prison. In 2008 a federal grand jury indicted Vine Richard Marshall, Russell Means's bodyguard at the time, with aiding and abetting the murder. Marshall was found not guilty.

<sup>o</sup> See the flag bonnet pictured on [page 494](#).

*SOURCE:* Mary Crow Dog and Richard Erdoes, *Lakota Woman* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1991), 123–26, 130–32, 137–38. Copyright © 1990 by Mary Crow Dog and Richard Erdoes. Used by permission of Grove/Atlantic, Inc. Any third-party use of this material outside of this publication is prohibited.

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. Non-Indians, bewildered by the new wave of militancy, would sometimes ask, “What do Indians want?” What answers do the documents provide?
2. How do these documents seem to define tribal sovereignty, and why is sovereignty so important for Indian peoples?
3. What does Mary Crow Dog's account reveal about relations between men and women in Sioux society and in the

community at Wounded Knee?

4. Do the goals these documents describe seem achievable in modern America?

# PICTURE ESSAY

## Indians and World War II



IN EVERY WAR THE UNITED STATES HAS FOUGHT, Native Americans have contributed a disproportionately high number of soldiers relative to their population and have suffered a disproportionately high rate of casualties relative to total losses. Their reputation as “natural warriors” frequently earned them dangerous assignments, and their courage in battle often enhanced that reputation. Indian communities value military service and honor their veterans, and, as in World War I, many young Indian men took the opportunity to be part of a warrior tradition during the Second World War. Nevertheless, like other men who enlisted, Indians had multiple reasons for serving in World War II: a sense of duty, patriotism, belief in the cause, hatred of Nazism as a threat to their freedom, peer pressure, a break from the dull routine of life to take part in historic events, escape from the hardships of the Depression, and more. Indian people served all across the globe during World War II and encountered new experiences both in and out of combat.

Many Indians considered themselves full citizens of the United States, at one with the nation in its war against Germany, Japan, and Italy. Their actions reflected that allegiance. Navajos and other southwestern tribes who had formerly used the swastika motif in blanket weaving, basketry, and sand painting signed a multiracial resolution in 1940 outlawing the symbol's use because Nazi Germany had adopted it ([Figure 8.1](#)). “A symbol of friendship among our forefathers for many centuries has been desecrated,” the resolution stated.



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**Figure 8.1 Banning the Swastika**



In other instances, tribes insisted on retaining and emphasizing their autonomy, even as they supported the same goals as the United States. In July 1942, delegates from the Six Nations of the Iroquois met in conference and drafted a formal declaration of war against the Axis powers. The next day, a spokesman for the confederacy read the declaration in a thirty-minute national radio broadcast and then, in a ceremony on the steps of the U.S. Capitol, the Iroquois presented the declaration to Vice President Henry A. Wallace ([Figure 8.2](#)). As “the oldest, though smallest, democracy in the world today,” the Iroquois cited the need to stop the atrocities of the Axis nations and declared that a state of war existed between the Six Nations and Germany, Japan, and Italy. In this carefully orchestrated ceremony, the Iroquois Confederacy made clear to the United States and the world that it entered the war as an independent sovereign state pursuing its own foreign policy.<sup>[86](#)</sup>



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◆ Figure 8.2 Iroquois Declare War on the Axis Powers on the Steps of the U.S. Capitol, June 1942

During the war, Indian men and women served in every branch of the armed forces. The women in [Figure 8.3](#) — from left to right, Minnie Spotted Wolf (Blackfeet), Celia Mix (Potawatomi), and Viola Eastman (Chippewa/Sioux) — were in the Marine Corps reserve.

They were photographed together at Camp Lejeune in North Carolina.



Historical/Getty Images.

**Figure 8.3 Indian Women in the Marine Corps Reserve**

The Navajo code talkers contributed to American victory in the Pacific by conveying coded messages in Navajo that the Japanese were never able to crack. In [Figure 8.4](#), Navajo code talkers Corporal Henry Bake Jr. and Private George Kirk convey radio messages in the jungle of Bougainville Island, Papua New Guinea, in December 1943.



*Historical/Getty Images.*

**Figure 8.4 Navajo Code Talkers, December 1943**

In a photograph that defined the war for many Americans ([Figure 8.5](#)), marine private Ira Hayes (arms stretched at far left) was recorded participating in the historic flag raising on Mount



Suribachi during the Battle of Iwo Jima. The presence of a Native American in this iconic moment had great symbolic appeal, and the government and the media focused on Hayes as a representative of national unity to promote fund-raising efforts for the war.



Joe Rosenthal/AP Images.

**Figure 8.5 Flag Raising at Iwo Jima**

As Indian soldiers' actions contributed to the events of the war, the war had immediate and lasting effects on them and their families and communities. Once reunited with their families

([Figure 8.6](#)), returning veterans faced old problems and new, postwar challenges.



National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution (catalog number P13149).

Figure 8.6 Quincy Tahoma, *First Furlough* (1943)

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. What do these images tell us about how and why Native Americans made the war their own?
2. The Iroquois maintained that, having declared war against Germany in World War I and never having officially made peace,

they did not need to declare war again. Why then did they make another formal declaration of war?

3. What do these images suggest about wartime experiences that would have been similar for Indians and non-Indians and about experiences that would have been unique to Native Americans?

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CHAPTER 9

# Self-Determination and Sovereignty

1970–2017



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## FOCUS QUESTION

In what ways has the federal government attempted to forge new relationships with Indian peoples in the past fifty years, and how have Native Americans responded?

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### 1970

President Nixon's Special Message to Congress, calling for a new relationship between the federal government and Indian tribes

### 1971

Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act

**1974**

“Boldt decision” (*United States v. Washington*) finds in favor of Indian fishing rights in Pacific Northwest

**1975**

Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act

**1975**

Council of Energy Resource Tribes (CERT) formed

**1976**

General Accounting Office investigates sterilization of Indian women

**1977**

American Indian Policy Review Commission Report

**1977**

Leonard Peltier convicted of shooting two FBI agents on Pine Ridge

**1978**

“Longest Walk” from Alcatraz to Washington, D.C.

**1978**

Indian Child Welfare Act

**1978**

American Indian Religious Freedom Act

**1978**

U.S. Supreme Court in *Oliphant v. Suquamish*, deprives tribes of criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians on the reservation

**1979**

Akwesasne Mohawk Freedom School established

**1979**

Florida Seminoles open tribal bingo hall

**1980**

Maine Indian Claims Settlement Act

**1980**

U.S. Supreme Court finds in favor of the Sioux in Black Hills case

**1982**

Indian Mineral Development Act

**1985**

Wilma Mankiller becomes principal chief of the Cherokee Nation

**1985**

National Indian Gaming Association is established

**1987**

Supreme Court in *California v. Cabazon* decrees that states with legal gambling cannot prohibit Indians from operating gambling facilities

**1988**

Indian Gaming Regulatory Act

**1990**

Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act

**1992**

Mashantucket Pequots open Foxwoods casino in Connecticut

**1993**

Ada Deer first woman to be appointed as assistant secretary for Indian affairs

**1994**

Indian Self-Determination Act Amendments passed by Congress

**1994**

Native American Free Exercise of Religion Act

**1996**

Class action suit is filed against the secretary of the interior, alleging misuse of Indian Trust Fund

**1998**

*Alaska v. Native Village of Venetie Tribal Government*; Supreme Court rules that lands held by Alaska Native corporations are not "Indian country"

**2000**

Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs Kevin Gover apologizes to Indian people for past mistreatments and injustices by the BIA

**2001**

Federal court of appeals rules that the government mismanaged millions of dollars of tribal trust funds

**2003**

Little Bighorn Battlefield memorial dedicated to the Indians who fought there

**2004**

*United States v. Lara* reaffirms power of Indian tribes to prosecute nonmember Indians for crimes on reservations

**2004**

National Museum of the American Indian opens in Washington, D.C.

**2005**

Vine Deloria Jr. dies

**2005**

Indian Tribal Energy Development and Self-Determination Act

**2009**

National Congress of American Indians opens Embassy of Tribal Nations in Washington, D.C.

**2009**

President Obama hosts Tribal Nations Conference at the White House, the largest gathering of tribal leaders in U.S. history

**2009**

Department of the Interior reaches \$3.4 billion settlement in the *Cobell* case

**2010**

President Obama signs *Cobell* settlement into law as part of the Claims Resolution Act

**2010**

Wilma Mankiller dies

**2014**

President Obama establishes the White House Council on Native American Affairs

**2016**

Donald Trump elected president

# FROM PATERNALISM TO PARTNERSHIP

IN 1968 PRESIDENT JOHNSON HAD CALLED FOR a new Indian policy “expressed in programs of self-help, self-development, self-determination.” In 1970 President Richard Nixon delivered a “Special Message on Indian Affairs” to Congress. The president began by acknowledging that on virtually every scale of measurement — health, employment, income, education — Indians ranked at the bottom. This condition was the heritage of centuries of injustice and of government policies that had oscillated between two extremes: federal paternalism that worked to produce excessive dependence on the government, and the more recent termination that sought to end the trustee relationship between the federal government and Indian people. What was needed, declared Nixon, was a new policy that would “strengthen the Indian’s sense of autonomy without threatening his sense of community” — one that would enable Indians to become independent of federal control without being cut off from federal concern and support. “We must assure the Indian that he can assume control of his own life without being separated involuntarily from the tribal group.” Rejecting past policies, Nixon called for a new relationship in which the federal government and Indian communities played complementary roles.

Nixon selected a Mohawk, Louis R. Bruce, to head the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Bruce saw that a new generation of Indians was pushing for **self-determination**--> as they, not Washington, understood it. "Not in this century has there been such a volume of creative turbulence in Indian country," he said. "The will for self-determination has become a vital component of the thinking of Indian leadership. . . . It is an irreversible trend, a tide in the destiny of American Indians that will eventually compel all of America once and for all to recognize the dignity and human rights of Indian people."<sup>1</sup> The government was formally committed to a policy of self-determination, but what that actually meant was often, and sometimes bitterly, contested.

Tribal leaders sought to address the need for self-determination from within their communities as well. Elected Navajo tribal chairman in 1970, Peter MacDonald outlined the goals of his administration in his inaugural address in January 1971: "First, what is rightfully ours, we must protect; what is rightfully due us we must claim. Second, what we depend on from others, we must replace with the labor of our own hands, and the skills of our own people. Third, what we do not have, we must bring into being. We must create for ourselves."<sup>2</sup> Self-determination within Indian communities meant Indian people making their own decisions, running their own affairs, and charting their own futures in ways that were consistent with their own cultures and values.



Even as the president charted a new course in Washington and tribal leaders called for greater self-government, developments elsewhere were reshaping Indian relations with American society. Pivotal books like *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (1969), by Vine Deloria Jr., and Dee Brown's best-selling indictment of the Indian wars, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* (1970), affected the way many Americans viewed the nation's past and its present dealings with Native peoples. Native and non-Native students alike began to demand classes that addressed these issues, and the first Native American studies programs were established in the early 1970s. Concurrently, the American Indian Movement intensified the pressure on the government and society, culminating in a violent standoff at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, that brought the struggles of Indian people to the attention of the world.

While frustrated Indian militants were taking to the streets in the 1970s, Congress responded to President Nixon's recommendations and passed a series of laws on Native American land claims, political status, education, social services, and religious freedom, measures that promised to protect Indian rights and increase the participation of Indian people in running their own affairs. In 1970 Nixon signed a bill returning Blue Lake to Taos Pueblo, ending a sixty-four-year fight by the people of Taos to regain the lands that President Theodore Roosevelt had proclaimed part of what is now Carson National Forest. (Roosevelt had initiated the national parks movement in the United States; the majority of the parks were established in the West and many of them were on Indian land.)

Lands were also returned to the Yakama Nation in Washington State and to Warm Springs in Oregon.

In 1965 Alaska Natives had created the Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN), a statewide organization designed to pursue the land claims of Alaska's Native peoples. Oil discoveries on Alaska's North Slope in the 1950s and 1960s brought Native land issues to national attention, and the AFN pushed for a comprehensive settlement of Native land claims. The **Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) of 1971** was intended to resolve those land claims and open the area to pipeline construction. It extinguished Native subsistence hunting rights and aboriginal claims in almost all of Alaska in return for \$962.5 million placed in an Alaska Native Fund and fee simple (full ownership) title to 44 million acres, or about one-ninth of the state. The act created a dozen regional for-profit corporations, which owned the 44 million acres and administered the fund, and more than two hundred village corporations ([Map 9.1](#)). A thirteenth regional corporation was later established for Alaska Natives who no longer resided in Alaska. Each Alaska Native received one hundred shares of stock in both a village and a regional corporation. Some Native people saw ANCSA as just another land steal by the United States and a raw deal for Alaska Natives, and discontent with some of ANCSA's provisions led to later amendments to the legislation. Although the corporations can pursue economic development and allocate dividends to their members, concerns remain they are not suited to conduct the full range of governmental responsibilities needed in Native Alaska.



Calloway, *First Peoples*, 6e, © 2019 Bedford/St. Martin's

#### ♦ Map 9.1 Alaska's Native Regional Corporations

The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act in 1971 created a dozen regional corporations and more than two hundred village corporations.

Congress passed many other acts in the early 1970s. The Indian Education Act of 1972 provided funding for Indian children who attended public schools. In 1973, responding to tireless lobbying by Ada Deer and other Menominee leaders, Congress passed the Menominee Restoration Act, returning the Menominees' tribal status and restoring their access to federal programs. The Indian Finance Act in 1974 authorized federal grants and loans to federally recognized tribes to promote economic development and led to the

creation of the Indian Business Development Program. The **Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act of 1975** gave tribes instead of government officials the right to administer federal assistance programs. Tribal governments could now contract to provide services previously carried out by the Department of the Interior and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. However, the programs were still affected by federal spending priorities. Under the Tribal Self Governance Act of 1994, tribes “compact” with the federal government to receive a lump sum for all the services they provided and decided for themselves how those funds should be allocated.<sup>3</sup>

## Protecting Women’s Reproductive Rights

One product of increased activism by Native people and increased responsiveness on the part of the federal government was greater protection for Indian families and for the personal sovereignty of Native women. From the days of the early republic, American government and society regarded the extended family structures and the relative personal and sexual freedom of women in many Native societies as evidence of instability. As the breakdown of traditional economies, the assault on cultural values and gender relations, increasing poverty and alcoholism, and other forces of colonialism took their toll, American attitudes toward Indian

families and parenting hardened: Indian families were increasingly labeled “dysfunctional,” and Indian mothers and fathers were deemed “unfit” parents. Such attitudes justified assaults on Indian families, Indian women, and Indian children for many years.

In 1974 Dr. Connie Pinkerton-Uri, a Choctaw physician working at the Indian Health Service (IHS) facility in Claremore, Oklahoma, uncovered evidence of the **sterilization of Indian women**, apparently without their informed consent. The story broke in the Native newspaper *Akwesasne News* and generated outrage and national investigation. In 1976 Senator James Abourezk of South Dakota, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, asked the General Accounting Office to conduct an investigation. The GAO investigators visited four of the twelve Indian Health Service area offices (in Aberdeen, South Dakota; Albuquerque, New Mexico; Phoenix, Arizona; and Oklahoma City). They found that 3,406 Native women between the ages of fifteen and forty-four were sterilized between 1973 and 1976. They also reported violations of the regulations for sterilizations that had been established by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The GAO did not find evidence of forced sterilization or genocide, but Native Americans conducted their own investigations and reported incidents of women being coerced into sterilization with threats of losing their medical benefits or of having their children taken away, and of women signing consent forms while under sedation or without complete information. The sterilization numbers were clearly much higher than those reported by the GAO. Several

reports indicated that IHS doctors sterilized at least 25 percent and perhaps as much as 50 percent of Native American women in the health service areas between 1970 and 1976, with devastating effects on families and communities, as well as adverse physical and psychological effects on the women themselves. Dr. Pinkerton-Uri denounced “the warped thinking of doctors who think the solution to poverty is not to allow people to be born” and dismissed the argument that a poor woman with children was “better off” sterilized: “She’s still going to be poor. She just won’t be able to have children.”<sup>4</sup>

The national exposure of what appeared to many people to be a systematic attempt to limit Indian population growth generated new regulations for federally funded sterilizations that prohibited the sterilization of minors, allowed patients to be accompanied by witnesses (and interpreters if necessary) during their discussions with a doctor, and assured patients that their medical benefits would not be affected by their decisions. In 1976 Congress passed the Indian Health Care Improvement Act, granting tribes the right to manage or control IHS programs. Many tribes took over IHS facilities and began operating their own health services. However, although sterilization abuse was curbed, it was not eliminated, and assaults on Native women’s reproductive rights continue today.<sup>5</sup>

# Regaining Rights: Child Welfare and Religious Freedom

For most of the twentieth century, similar attitudes about Indian families, parents, and poverty led judges, social workers, and adoption agencies to assume that Indian children would be better off with white families. Growing numbers of Indian children disappeared into state child welfare systems until, by the 1970s, between one-fourth and one-third of all Indian children were in non-Indian homes or institutions, “a staggering loss of kids and culture.” In 1978 Congress, in what longtime Native American Rights Fund (NARF) staff attorney Walter Echo-Hawk termed “one of its finest hours,” passed legislation to address the crisis. The **Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978** renounced the practice of transferring care of Indian children to non-Indians, required state courts to apply Native cultural values when placing Indian children, and placed responsibility for the welfare of Indian children squarely with their tribe. Children could no longer be removed from a family without the tribe or extended family members being duly notified; children were to be placed with extended family, tribal members, or other Indian families in preference to non-Indian families; and tribal courts were to have ultimate jurisdiction in matters relating to child welfare services whenever possible. “This sweeping statute,” wrote Echo-Hawk more than thirty years after its passage,

“remains one of the most impressive human rights and tribal sovereignty laws ever passed by Congress.”<sup>6</sup>

That same year, in the **American Indian Religious Freedom Act**, Congress declared its intention “to protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express, and exercise” their traditional religions, “including but not limited to access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom to worship through ceremonials and traditional rights.”<sup>7</sup> Despite its promise, the joint resolution by Congress was a policy statement, lacking legal teeth for enforcement. The Supreme Court continued to allow the federal government and state governments to intrude upon the religious life of Native peoples, and Congress later had to amend the act to provide greater protection as Native people continued the struggle for their religious rights (see [page 519](#)).



# TAKING BACK EDUCATION

As Indian communities regained responsibility for their children's welfare, so too they took back responsibility for their children's education. Important new initiatives in Indian education and cultural patrimony stemmed from the growing movement toward self-determination. Traditionally, Native American parents and elders taught their children in a community setting. But well into the twentieth century, government-sponsored schools made every effort to separate Indian students from their communities and rid them of their tribal heritage, language, and understandings, so that they could act, speak, and think like non-Indian Americans. The schools and colleges that Indian students attended operated to meet the goals of American society. They failed to meet many of the needs of their Indian students, and, not surprisingly, Indian students frequently failed at those institutions (see ["The Educational Assault on Indian Children," pages 383–91](#)). Indian people had established their own schools early on — the Cherokee Nation established its own educational system in the nineteenth century and opened the nondenominational Cherokee Female Seminary in eastern Oklahoma in 1851 — but not until the 1960s and 1970s were Indian people and communities able to have a significant voice in planning and running some of their institutions of higher education.<sup>8</sup> "It was not until Indians themselves became

participants in determining their future,” stated a report on tribal colleges by the Carnegie Foundation, “that true advancement and productive interaction began.”<sup>9</sup>

## Indian Education for Indian Students

In 1969 a Senate subcommittee published a report on Indian education that was subtitled “A National Tragedy — A National Challenge.” The committee declared, “We are shocked at what we discovered.”<sup>10</sup> The report marked an end to the government’s educational assault on Indian cultures and languages, but the legacy of that assault left Indian peoples and communities with a formidable task as they began to repair what had been broken in the past, to prepare for future challenges, and to educate Indian children to succeed in modern American society while at the same time cultivating traditional values and ways of knowledge.

In some places, Indian parents and communities took steps to ensure that young people had access to the kind of culturally grounded education that generations of federal educational policy had tried to erode. Amid ongoing struggles for sovereignty against the United States and Canada, New York State, and the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, parents of the Akwesasne Mohawk Nation established the **Akwesasne Freedom School** in 1979. Reclaiming the

right to determine the education of their own children as a fundamental attribute of nationhood and a means of reversing the assimilation process, Mohawk parents and teachers, traditional chiefs, and clan mothers immerse students in Mohawk ways of thinking, learning, and speaking. For nearly forty years, the Akwesasne Freedom School has endeavored to ensure that “the next generation of Mohawk Nation leaders has the necessary teachings and that Mohawk sovereignty will continue.”<sup>11</sup>

Prior to the 1960s, there were no institutions of higher education in Indian country. Native communities created **tribal colleges** to fill the void.<sup>12</sup> In 1966 the Navajos established the Rough Rock Demonstration School near Chinle, Arizona. Two years later, they founded the first tribal college on the Navajo Reservation: Navajo Community College — now Diné College — in Tsaile, Arizona. Students who previously had to leave the reservation for higher education in an alien environment now had the option of attending college closer to home in an institution that tried to incorporate Navajo values in its administration and classes. In the words of a former dean of instruction, the college’s mission has always been “to perpetuate Navajo-ness”: to find ways to synthesize Navajo and Western knowledge “and instill this knowledge into young Navajo men and women so they will survive in the dominant society while maintaining their heritage.”<sup>13</sup> Indian tribes founded fifteen more two-year institutions in the next decade. Tribal colleges, created and administered by Indian people and generally located on or near Indian reservations, grew out of a widespread conviction that most

institutions of higher education had failed abysmally to provide a learning environment for Indian people of traditional background. In 1972 tribes formed the American Indian Higher Education Consortium to help Indian students gain access to higher education. The consortium's lobbying in Congress resulted in passage of the Tribally Controlled Community Colleges Act in 1978, which provided funding for the colleges.

Severe budget cuts during the Ronald Reagan presidency (1981–89) threatened to eradicate many of the gains made. A task force commissioned to evaluate education among American Indians and Alaska Native people issued a report entitled “Indian Nations at Risk” in 1991. The report established goals to guide federal, tribal, private, and public schools serving Native students to better meet the educational, social, cultural, and spiritual needs of those students and their communities. Indian educators lobbied hard to hold the government to its treaty commitments and trust responsibility to provide an education for Indian children. In 1992 President Bill Clinton held a White House Conference on Indian Education. In 1995 a “National American Indian/Alaska Native Education Summit” was held in Washington, D.C. From that summit, Indian educators produced a draft that was submitted to the White House. In 1998 President Clinton signed the Executive Order on American Indian and Alaska Native Education, which affirmed “the unique political and legal relationship” between the federal and tribal governments and recognized “the unique educationally and culturally related academic needs” of Native

students. Many Indian educators regarded it as a landmark event, though they recognized how much work remained to be done and knew too well that the Indian education budget was vulnerable to political mood swings and economy-minded lawmakers.<sup>14</sup>

Title VII of the No Child Left Behind Act, signed into law by President George W. Bush in 2002, reaffirmed the federal government's trust responsibility to Indian people for the education of Indian children, but the Bush administration did not provide adequate resources to meet No Child Left Behind goals that applied to Indian country. Many Indian people were confirmed in their belief that if they wanted quality education, they would have to provide it themselves.<sup>15</sup> At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Indian tribes ran more than one hundred tribal elementary and secondary schools, and tribal colleges continue to provide Indian people with an Indian education in their own communities and in keeping with their own values.<sup>16</sup>

## Tribal Colleges

Today the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) contains thirty-eight tribally controlled colleges and universities in the United States and more are being developed. Some tribal colleges have been operating for more than forty years. The Rosebud Sioux chartered Sinte Gleska College in 1971 (named after

the chief known to whites as Spotted Tail, who pulled his grandchildren from Richard Henry Pratt's boarding school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in the 1880s). It began as a two-year college; today it is a four-year university with one thousand students, a master's degree program in education, and a Lakota studies department.<sup>17</sup> Haskell, in Lawrence, Kansas, has a longer history. Founded as a boarding school in 1884, it later became a junior college and then, in 1993, changed its name to Haskell Indian Nations University.

Tribal colleges offer a more holistic approach to learning and the kind of education that young Indian people can rarely find in mainstream American colleges. They integrate indigenous traditions into their curriculum, providing classes in tribal language, art, philosophy, and history at the same time they offer students access to the skills needed in the modern world. "While we want to give our graduates the ability to go anywhere they want," said Janine Pease, founding president of Little Big Horn College on the Crow Reservation, "we need them all desperately here on the reservation. Our first goal is to train young people to serve their own community: we need engineers, data processors, dental technicians, specialists in animal husbandry, premed, everything." Students study the Crow language and "come out of here knowing what it is to be Crow," she said, but they "must also pass college algebra."<sup>18</sup> In some ways, tribal colleges may be realizing Luther Standing Bear's dream of an education built on the exchange of

knowledge between Indian America and Anglo-America (see [“What a School Could Have Been Established,”\\_page 419](#)).



KYLE BREHM/AP Images.

♦ **Janine Pease**

Janine Pease was the founding president of Little Big Horn College on the Crow Reservation in Montana from 1982 to 2000. Dr. Pease has also served as president of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium and director of the American Indian College Fund, and was appointed by

Tribal colleges have impressive rates of success where federal education policies and mainstream colleges have failed. Most colleges have relatively small enrollments and minuscule budgets. Inadequate facilities and low salaries are typical, and college administrators sometimes struggle just to keep the doors open. One reporter called tribal colleges “underfunded miracles.”<sup>19</sup> Henrietta Mann, a Cheyenne elder who taught at the University of Montana and Montana State University, called them “miracles of persistence” that “were built dollar-by-dollar, grant-by-grant, program-by-program, and literally brick by brick.”<sup>20</sup> Funding cuts during the presidency of George W. Bush and enduring cycles of community poverty hampered the colleges’ efforts. Nevertheless, enrollment of American Indian students at tribal colleges and universities has grown at almost twice the rate of enrollment in higher education in general. The colleges provide support services for students, many of whom are older and must overcome financial obstacles and competing family commitments to attend school and complete their degrees. They train people for work on and off the reservation and also prepare students for transfer to mainstream colleges, where their rate of success is far higher than that of students who go directly from reservation communities.

In the words of one study, more was accomplished in the years “since the founding of the first tribal college to meet the higher



education needs of the tribes and their members than in the two hundred years since the first Indian graduated from Harvard University.”<sup>21</sup> The number of Indian people enrolled in college in the 1950s was about 2,000. By the 1970s, it had risen to 10,000. In 2000 it had reached 147,000, and by 2010 it was close to 200,000.<sup>22</sup> A Carnegie Foundation report in 1989 concluded that the tribal colleges “providing education and community service in a climate of self-determination” lay “at the heart of the spirit of renewal” in Indian country.<sup>23</sup> In the 1990s, Vine Deloria said that “tribal colleges may be the most important movement we have in Indian country today.”<sup>24</sup>

# THE STRUGGLE FOR NATURAL RESOURCES

As Indian communities worked to cultivate their human resources through education, many also faced challenges and opportunities in exploiting the natural resources of their homelands. Many people equate assaults on indigenous territories with events in the nineteenth century or before, when colonial settlers, soldiers, and government agents wrested the lands from their Native inhabitants. But modern assaults on indigenous territories around the world launched by multinational corporations, international financial institutions, and the consumer societies of the Western industrialized societies have been some of the most aggressive and disruptive in history.<sup>25</sup> In the nineteenth century, the United States wanted Indian land; in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, it wanted Indian resources. Coal, gas, oil, uranium, timber, and water were vital to the nation's economy and, some said, to national security. For Indian communities whose reservation lands contained such resources, the sale of those resources offered the potential for significant economic development. But access to natural and energy resources on Native American lands has also been debated as an issue of sovereign rights. As Native Americans embraced self-determination and realized educational goals, they struggled to protect their rights regarding resources that were vital

to their traditional and spiritual ways of life, and to exercise their own decisions about utilizing such resources.

## Coal, Uranium, Oil, and Gas

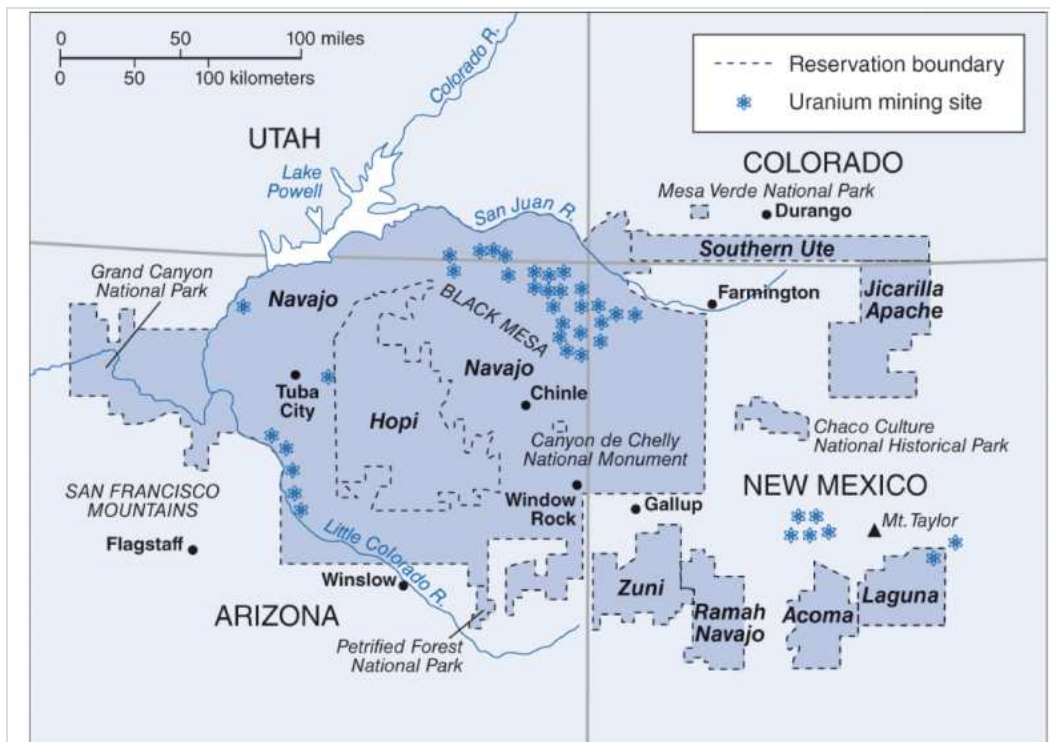
When the United States assigned Indians to reservations in the nineteenth century, it generally placed them on barren lands other Americans did not want. Ironically, many western reservations lay on one of the world's richest mineral belts. It is estimated that reservations contain one-third of all low-sulphur coal in the western United States, one-fifth of the country's reserves of oil and natural gas, and more than half of the nation's uranium deposits. With the onset of the Cold War and the escalating energy demands of modern America following the end of World War II, Indian tribes came under intense pressure from energy companies and the U.S. government to develop and market these resources. With few economic alternatives, tribal leaders found themselves negotiating — or, at that time, found the BIA negotiating for them — with outsiders eager to get at their resources, just as their ancestors had. In some cases, Indian reservations were transformed into energy colonies, exporting their valuable resources to the outside world and getting little in return.<sup>[26](#)</sup>

Entrenched in an economic crisis decades in the making, the Navajo Reservation, comprising 16 million acres straddling Arizona,

New Mexico, and Utah, became the scene of extensive exploitation of energy resources and enduring conflict. The livestock reduction program of the 1930s and 1940s had eroded the traditional Navajo economy, and the war-related industries of World War II hadn't fully offset the widespread poverty. Attractive offers to develop their energy resources seemed to offer Navajos the promise of prosperity. Peabody Coal Company signed leases with the Hopis and Navajos in 1966 to begin **coal strip mining** operations on the Black Mesa plateau, an area of the Four Corners region that overlaps the Navajo and Hopi reservations. And some Navajos did reap the rewards of the profitable exports; royalties from mining operations injected much-needed income into the reservation's economy and provided funds for Navajo Community College and scholarships for Navajo students. Some Navajos, notably tribal chairman Peter MacDonald (who worked closely with energy companies in the 1970s and 1980s), grew rich. But most Navajos benefited little from the power they were producing for other people. Like the people of a third world country, most Navajos remained poor, as the benefits and profits from exploitation of their rich resources left the reservation. Navajo energy resources provided power for Albuquerque, Phoenix, Los Angeles, and other cities, but many Navajo homes lacked running water or electricity. Smoke from the huge power plant at Four Corners blackened the sky. Navajo lambs were stunted, spat blood, and died. In July 1979, the nation's worst release of radioactivity occurred when United Nuclear Corporation's uranium tailings dam failed at Church Rock, just outside the Navajo

Reservation: 100 million gallons of radioactive water flooded into the Rio Puerco River, and ten thousand sheep died.

Many Navajos bitterly opposed the ensuing despoiling of the area. **Uranium mining** scarred the land and injured the people. The dangers of exposure to excessive levels of radiation were not so well understood at the time, and companies sometimes cut corners on what regulations did exist. Navajo miners pulled uranium out of the ground by hand, and many contracted lung cancer and other respiratory ailments later in life. Nearly 1.4 million tons of uranium ore were extracted from Monument Valley, and Navajo country today contains more than one thousand abandoned uranium mines and four former uranium mills ([Map 9.2](#)). Navajos were “the forgotten victims of America’s Cold War.” In 1990 the United States issued a formal apology and promised to compensate the families of Navajo men injured or killed by radiation in the government mines, but for victims’ families such compensation was too little, too late.<sup>[27](#)</sup>



Information from a map by Deborah W. Reade for Peter Eichstaedt, *If You Poison Us: Uranium and Native Americans* (Santa Fe, N. Mex.: Red Crane Books, 1994).

#### ♦ Map 9.2 Uranium Ore Mining Areas

The Four Corners area of the United States, regarded by many people as a special and sacred place, became pockmarked with uranium mining sites in the twentieth century.

At Laguna Pueblo in New Mexico, Anaconda Corporation operated the world's largest uranium strip mine from 1952 to 1981. At its peak of operations, the mine employed 650 workers. The Laguna tribe became relatively wealthy, but the local economy changed completely from agriculture to wage-based mining. When the extractable ore reserve was exhausted, Anaconda pulled out, and the Lagunas were left with a huge crater and piles of radioactive slag. (Anaconda later agreed to pay the tribe \$34.6 million for cleanup and reclamation projects.) Lagunas who had become

accustomed to earning regular wages were now unemployed. In addition, residents suffered from mining-related ailments; many of the new homes built with the mine profits were found to be radioactive, and local water sources were all contaminated.

Black Mesa and Laguna served as warnings to other tribes of the long-term damage that could be incurred in return for short-term gain. By the 1970s, Indian tribes with valuable mineral resources were becoming more organized and less vulnerable to exploitation by energy companies. In 1975 leaders from twenty-five tribes formed **CERT, the Council of Energy Resource Tribes**, whose goal was to secure better terms from corporations and to exert political influence through collective action. In 1982 Congress passed the Indian Mineral Development Act to encourage tribes to mine their lands as a way to become economically self-sufficient. But, after seeing the impact of America's energy demands, many tribes took a cautious approach. The Jicarilla Apaches of New Mexico and the Assiniboines and Sioux of Fort Peck in Montana drilled their own oil wells. In the 1970s, the Northern Cheyenne and Crow tribes in Montana began to take control of managing their own energy resources. The Northern Cheyennes sit on between 5 and 10 million tons of strippable coal, but they took the unprecedented step of canceling their coal mining leases and having the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency designate the air above their reservation as Class I, a standard that tolerates almost no degradation of air quality and that usually applies only to national parks and wilderness areas.<sup>28</sup> The government's attempt in the late

1980s to settle conflicts between Navajos and Hopis who inhabited a “joint use area” by removing Navajo families was seen by many people as an effort to open the region’s rich coal resources to exploitation. Navajos who regarded the area as sacred land refused to move.<sup>29</sup> The Navajo Nation established its own Environmental Protection Agency, and in 1987 the Navajos and Hopis renegotiated their leases with Peabody Coal. In 1996 approximately 75 percent of the Navajo Nation’s operating budget still depended on royalties from coal sales.<sup>30</sup>

## Fighting for and against Water

In the Southeast, Cherokees and environmentalists fought to stop construction of the Tellico Dam on the Little Tennessee River and invoked the American Indian Religious Freedom Act to protect their sacred sites, but the project was pushed through Congress in 1979 and the dam was built. Chota, the site of the old Cherokee capital, and numerous other archaeological sites were flooded.

In the arid American West, water is a scarce and precious resource. Population growth, irrigation, power plants, and desert cities like Phoenix and Las Vegas place enormous demands on the West’s limited water supply. At the same time, Indian tribes in the West need water to sustain and develop their reservations, and even to survive. “Water is the life blood, the key to the whole thing,”



declared Madonna Thunderhawk, a Lakota water-rights activist on the Standing Rock Reservation in North Dakota, in 1985.<sup>[31](#)</sup> The struggle for water brought Indians into competition and conflict with non-Indian ranchers and state governments and into court. To the chagrin of many of their neighbors, Indians prevailed in some of these cases. But, in keeping with other rulings since 1970, the Supreme Court has decided against tribes in 90 percent of the water-related cases it has ruled on.<sup>[32](#)</sup>

The basis for water-rights cases was laid in the first decade of the twentieth century when the Supreme Court decided the case of *Winters v. United States*. The suit was brought to prevent a white settler from damming the Milk River and diverting water from the Fort Belknap Reservation in Montana. Although the Court at that time was generally unsympathetic to Indians, it found in favor of the tribe. The ***Winters doctrine***, as the Court's decision became known, declared that when Congress established reservations it did so with the implicit intention that the Indians should have sufficient water to live. Indian reservations, said the Court, had "reserved water rights" that the federal government was bound to protect. For much of the century, the *Winters* doctrine remained a paper victory, and non-Indians continued to divert water from Indian lands. Nevertheless, the courts have upheld *Winters*, and the doctrine is the foundation on which western tribes have won important water-rights cases. The *Winters* doctrine has been a source of tension, as non-Indian ranchers had their water supply terminated during droughts while flows to neighboring Indian

reservations continued uninterrupted. American society has had a hard time adjusting to the realization that, in the words of one legal scholar of water rights, “the debt has come due” and one way or another “it must be paid.”<sup>33</sup> Competition for water in the West continues with numerous lawsuits over how much water tribes are entitled to, how they can use it, whether they can lease it, and so on. The tribes, the states, and the federal government continue to wrestle with finding equitable ways to allocate an ever-diminishing resource in an area of the country where control of water means power and prosperity, although water disputes today are more often resolved through multiparty negotiated settlements rather than by litigation.

The assault on Native resources and communities has not been restricted to the United States, nor have Native peoples within U.S. borders been the only ones to feel the impact of American energy consumption. The struggle of Cree Indians in northern Quebec attracted attention in both the United States and Canada in the late twentieth century as a test case of modern society’s exploitation and disregard of Native peoples and the environment — and in this case, the Indians were fighting *against* water.

In 1970 the premier of Quebec announced plans for **Hydro-Quebec**-->, the largest hydroelectric project in the world, to dam major rivers that drained into James Bay, which is at the southern end of Hudson Bay and is the largest bay and estuary system on the continent. Construction began two years later. Five major rivers

were dammed or diverted and more than four thousand square miles of forest were flooded to generate electric power for eastern Canada and the northeastern United States. “One day, after we had lived in our land for thousands of years,” said Grand Chief Matthew Coon-Come, “a decision was made to block our rivers, cut down our forests, and flood our lands. No one came to talk to us. We were not told of these plans. All of this just happened.”<sup>34</sup>

The impact on Cree lands and lives was enormous. People were relocated to make way for dams that flooded ancient hunting territories and sacred places. Migrating birds could find nowhere to land. In 1984 a sudden release of water from one reservoir drowned ten thousand migrating caribou.<sup>35</sup>

Having failed to stop the first phase of construction in the courts, the Crees widened their campaign. They lobbied for non-Native support in Canada and the United States, pointing out to audiences in New York and New England that, as consumers, *they* bore a share of responsibility for the devastation of the Cree homeland and that what was going on to the north was environmental racism and just as threatening as the destruction of the Amazonian rain forests. “It is a terrible and vast reduction of our entire world,” said Coon-Come. “It is the assignment of vast territories to a permanent and final flood.”<sup>36</sup>

Contracts for selling the power in the United States began to be delayed and canceled. In 1994 the new premier of Quebec shelved

the second phase of the James Bay project. Coon-Come was awarded the Goldman Environmental Prize for his fifteen-year fight against the project. However, plans for diverting and damming the Great Whale and Rupert rivers, which run through the heart of Cree territory, moved ahead in the first decade of the twenty-first century and the Cree Nation divided on the issue. In 2009 construction work also began on a new hydroelectric plant on the Romaine River, which runs along Quebec's Lower North Shore. The Innu people of northeastern Quebec opposed the construction as illegal, undertaken without their consent, and as a threat to the region's wildlife and the Innu way of life. In 2017 Innu delegates traveled to New England to educate American consumers about the environmental and cultural costs of supposedly clean hydroelectric power.

There are some efforts to reverse the effects of past desecrations. The Klamath River, straddling the border of Oregon and California, once contained the Pacific Coast's third most productive salmon fishery and was the economic and cultural mainstay of the Yurok, Hoopa Valley, and Karuk Indians. Between 1908 and 1962, half a dozen dams were built along the Klamath, blocking salmon runs and degrading water quality. Farmers and ranchers benefited from hydropower and pumped irrigation water, but salmon populations plummeted. Low river flows, high water temperatures, and congested conditions produced a proliferation of parasites, and in 2002 more than thirty-four thousand (some estimates say sixty thousand) Chinook and Coho salmon died in the Klamath, "the

largest adult salmon die-off in the history of the American West.” The full impact of the disaster was not felt until four years later, when the offspring of the salmon who died in 2002 would have made their spawning run. By 2006 the Klamath stock was so depleted that the federal government placed seven hundred miles of Pacific coastline, from San Francisco to central Oregon, off-limits to commercial salmon fishing for most of the season. Many commercial fishermen went bankrupt. The government canceled the entire Pacific salmon fishing season in both 2008 and 2009. Experts warned that the Klamath basin was “in a permanent crisis.” After years of conflict, Indians, commercial fishermen, ranchers, farmers, and environmentalists came together to try and save the river. The government made fish passage a condition of relicensing the dams. PacificCorp, the owner of the dams, considered building fish ladders, but ladders are of limited effectiveness, and building them would have cost more than removing the dams. In 2010 the various parties and state and federal governments made an agreement to remove four of the Klamath River dams, with California, Oregon, and the U.S. Congress pledging \$1 billion for river restoration. If the agreement is carried out — and it is still on track with PacificCorp slated to begin removing the dams in the spring of 2020 — it will be the world’s biggest dam removal project. In the meantime, in 2017 Chinook salmon runs on the Klamath hit historic lows, with devastating consequences for the Yurok, Karuk, and Hoopa Valley tribes.<sup>37</sup>



*Terray Sylvester/VWPics/Alamy stock photo.*

◆ **Ishi Pishi Falls**

Jerry Brink and J. J. Reed, members of the Karuk Indian Tribe, fish for king salmon at Ishi Pishi Falls on the Klamath River using dip nets.

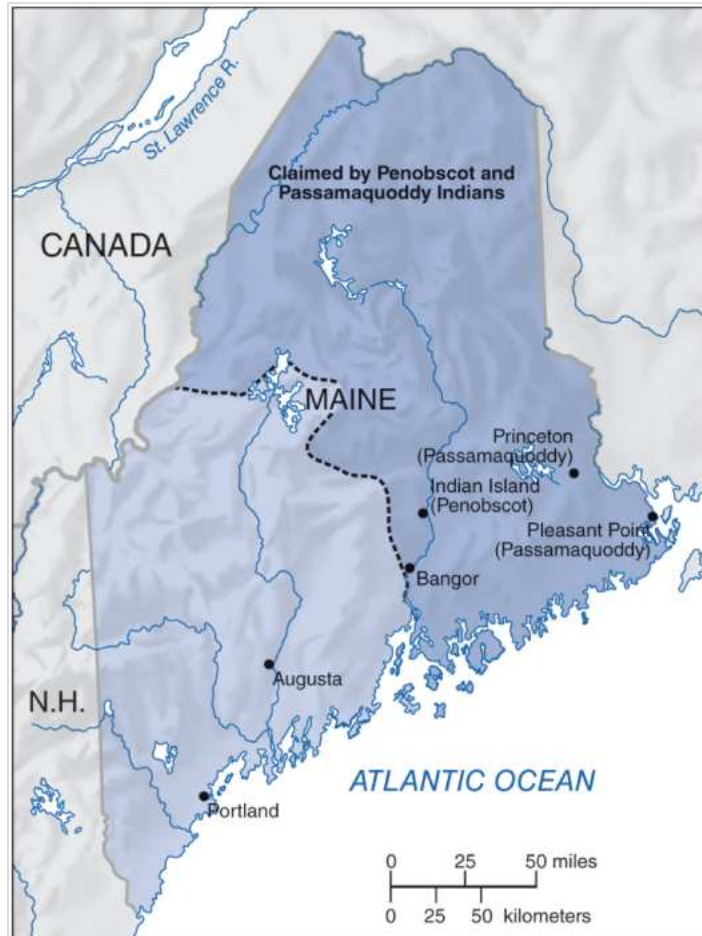
# SOVEREIGNTY GOES TO COURT

In the late twentieth century, Native peoples often found that protecting their homelands and future required defending and reasserting their rights in court, working within the system as well as against the system. In the past, Indian people had fought battles to defend their lands and their way of life and had lost; now, they took their fights to the courtroom — and frequently won. Indians and their attorneys, often with the support of the **Native American Rights Fund**, which was founded in 1970, reached back into history and uncovered laws and treaties that were supposed to guarantee and protect their rights but that were often ignored in days when Indians had no voice in the courts. In the new social and political climate of reform created by the upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s, judicial opinion was more sympathetic to the notion that the nation should live up to its treaty commitments. The courtroom replaced the battlefield as the arena where Indians could best promote and protect their people's interests. They went to court to bring land claims, to defend treaty rights, to assert their sovereign rights to manage their reservation resources and protect their environments, and to clarify their right to define tribal membership.

## Victories for Tribal Rights

Examples of these courtroom conflicts occurred all across the country. In Nevada, Northern Paiutes watched for decades as a dam across the Truckee River lowered water levels at Pyramid Lake, nearly destroying the rare cui-ui, the Lahontan trout on which the Paiutes had subsisted from time immemorial, and threatening to destroy the lake itself. In 1970 the Paiutes filed suit to have the water level restored and won their case. In Maine, the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy Indians brought suit for the return of about two-thirds of the state's land to the tribes ([Map 9.3](#)). The Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of 1790 declared that no transfers of Indian land were valid unless they had the approval of Congress, but none of the land sales that occurred in Maine after that date had been submitted for approval. If the United States was to respect its own laws, the Indians believed they had a watertight case. In 1980 President Jimmy Carter signed the **Maine Indian Claims Settlement Act**, paying the Indians \$81.5 million in compensation for lands taken in contravention of the 1790 law. Also in 1980, the Supreme Court found in favor of the Sioux in the Black Hills case (see [“The Sioux, the Treaty of Fort Laramie, and the Black Hills,” pages 336–47](#)). In both cases, however, Anglo-American justice was limited by its own remedies: Indian people who insisted that the land be returned saw the settlements as “selling out” ancestral lands.





Calloway, *First Peoples*, 6e, © 2019 Bedford/St. Martin's

#### ♦ Map 9.3 Indian Land Claims in Maine

The Penobscot and Passamaquoddy tribes claimed that about two-thirds of the state (roughly the area north and east of the line) had been taken from them illegally. In 1980 the tribes were paid \$81.5 million in compensation.

The Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968 guaranteed tribal citizens many of the protections in the Bill of Rights. Some people feared that the Indian Civil Rights Act would erode the autonomy of tribal governments, but the Supreme Court declared in ***Santa Clara Pueblo v. Martinez (1978)*** that the act was enforceable in tribal

courts; only persons detained by tribal law could seek relief in federal court. Although Santa Clara Pueblo traditionally did not insist on patrilineal patterns of descent, the tribal council in 1939 passed an ordinance denying membership to the children of women who married outside the tribe, but granting it to the children of Santa Clara men who married outside. Julia Martinez, a Santa Clara woman, married a Navajo. Their children were subsequently denied membership in Santa Clara Pueblo. Martinez sued the tribe. The tribal council argued that the tribe had the right to establish its own membership criteria. The Supreme Court agreed, noting that Indian tribes were “distinct, independent political communities retaining their original natural rights in matters of local self-government” and that tribal governments “have the power to make their own substantive law in internal matters.”<sup>38</sup> A tribe’s right to determine its own membership is a crucial attribute of sovereignty. In 2012 Santa Clara took its own measures to redress the state of affairs when tribal members voted to change the membership rules.

The struggle for fishing rights that began with “fish-ins” in the 1960s produced some significant legal victories in the 1970s and 1980s. In 1973 the United States, representing fourteen tribes, sued the state of Washington over the issue of fishing rights. The next year, U.S. District Judge George Boldt ruled that Indians were entitled to catch up to 50 percent of the fish returning to “the usual and accustomed places” designated by the treaties of the 1850s. Non-Indian fishermen reacted to the *Boldt* decision, as it became known, in anger and disbelief: Judge Boldt was burned in effigy, and

there were outbreaks of violence. A federal task force was appointed to try to avert a “fishing war” in Washington, but the struggle over fishing rights continued, even as most people came to realize that environmental destruction reduced the stakes. What good was the right to 50 percent of the harvest if there were no salmon to harvest, or if the fish that were caught were unfit to eat? The ripples from the *Boldt* decision went beyond Washington State and beyond fishing rights. “It changed the empty concept of ‘tribal sovereignty’ into something that needed to be taken seriously,” wrote one journalist. “And it transformed the way state and tribal governments interact.”<sup>39</sup>

To many Americans, it seemed that Indians were claiming and receiving special rights and privileges; non-Indians thought that Indians should be treated “just like everyone else.” In 1983, for instance, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit upheld the claims of Wisconsin Anishinaabeg that the treaties they had signed guaranteed their right to continue hunting, fishing, and gathering in the areas ceded by those treaties. The *Voigt* decision generated a backlash among local fishermen, and there was racial violence every spring spearfishing season during the 1980s as Indians attempted to exercise their rights.<sup>40</sup> After the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy in Maine won a land settlement in 1980, several Iroquois tribes brought successful land claims cases in upstate New York. In 1985 the Oneida Nation won a significant victory when the courts declared that claims brought under the Trade and Intercourse Act were not barred by the passage of time, leaving the

way open for the Oneidas to file suit. Land claims often put a cloud over property titles and generated a backlash among non-Indian property owners, most of whom bought their lands in good faith long after the Indians lost them and felt they were being punished for the sins of past generations. A common response was “the Indians sold the land, didn’t they?”<sup>[41](#)</sup>

Tired of complaints that Indians enjoyed unfair privileges, Marge Anderson, chief executive of the Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe in Minnesota, responded:

When Indian incomes are level with yours, when our schools are as good as yours, our houses as warm, our kids as safe and our woods and streams as clean as yours, when our babies first open their eyes to a future as bright as yours, then we’ll talk about level playing fields. Whether out of greed or out of racism or out of ignorance, there are always some who will go after Indian self-determination and economic development in ways as old as Columbus, as bold as Custer and as devious as any federal land grabber.<sup>[42](#)</sup>

Unfortunately for Indian people, one of the key figures “going after” Indian self-determination was Justice William Rehnquist of the U.S. Supreme Court. As chief justice, Rehnquist led the Court in a sustained assault on tribal sovereignty.

# Chipping Away at Tribal Sovereignty

Reaching back to *Worcester v. Georgia* in 1832, the Supreme Court often “served as the conscience of federal Indian law, protecting tribal powers and rights against state action, unless and until Congress clearly states a contrary intention.” After Congress and the executive branch embraced the policy of Indian self-determination, however, the Supreme Court emerged as the major threat to tribal sovereignty. Following in the wake of Indian court victories of the 1970s and early 1980s, and with conservative Republican appointees William Rehnquist, Anthony Kennedy, Sandra Day O’Connor, and Antonin G. Scalia on the bench, the Court tended to favor state sovereignty over tribal sovereignty and weakened the body of laws protecting Indian rights and liberties. Under Chief Justice Warren Burger (1969–85), the Supreme Court ruled in favor of Indians in 58 percent of the cases that came before it; under Chief Justice Rehnquist (1986 until his retirement in 2005), the Court ruled *against* Indians in 88 percent of cases. Rehnquist’s record on the Court has been described as a systematic assault on Indian rights, based on a nineteenth-century discourse of Indian savagery and diminished rights.<sup>[43](#)</sup>

In *Oliphant v. Suquamish* (1978), with Judge Rehnquist writing for the majority, the Supreme Court struck down tribal jurisdiction

over crimes committed by non-Indians on reservations (see [“The Supreme Court and Tribal Sovereignty: The \*Oliphant\* Decision and Its Impact in Indian Country,” pages 535–40](#)). Subsequently, in *Duro v. Reina* (1990), the Court further limited the scope of tribal criminal jurisdiction, holding that a tribe’s right to govern its own affairs does not include criminal jurisdiction over an Indian who is not a tribal member. Congress moved quickly to override the *Duro* decision in 1991 by passing legislation that affirmed the authority of tribes to exercise criminal jurisdiction over all Indians within their reservation. In 1981, in *Montana v. United States*, the Supreme Court reversed a lower court ruling and declared that the Crow tribe did not have authority to regulate hunting and fishing by non-Indians on non-Indian-owned land within their reservation.

Congress passes laws, but the effect of those laws often depends on how the Supreme Court interprets them. The American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 contained no enforcement provisions, and the declaration of policy did not translate into immediate and actual protection of Indian religious freedoms. Indians had to fight in court for the right to take eagle parts (federal law protects eagles as an endangered species) for religious ceremonies, to wear long hair or hold sweat lodges when in prison, and to protect sacred sites. In 1988, in *Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association*, the Supreme Court overturned a lower court injunction on the building of a logging road in the Six Rivers National Forest in California that the Yurok Indians argued would cause irreparable damage to sacred sites. In April 1990, in

*Oregon v. Smith*, the case of two members of the Native American Church (NAC) who had been dismissed from their jobs by the Oregon Department of Education for using peyote, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that state governments could prosecute people who used controlled substances as part of a religious ritual without violating their constitutional rights of religious freedom. The decision meant that hundreds of thousands of members of the Native American Church in twenty-two states became subject to arrest and imprisonment because of their form of worship; as NAC members pointed out, they now prayed in fear. Many Americans, Indian and non-Indian, saw the Court's decision as a major threat to Native American religion and to religious freedom in general. Ho-Chunk leader Reuben Snake Jr. organized a coalition and spent the last years of his life fighting to overturn the *Smith* decision. He died in 1993, just a year before Congress, responding to overwhelming public sentiment, passed the Native American Free Exercise of Religion Act in 1994, which protected Native American rights to use peyote in traditional religious ceremonies in all fifty states and strengthened the American Indian Religious Freedom Act.<sup>44</sup>

The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act granted lands to Native villages in fee simple, but in 1998, in *Alaska v. Native Village of Venetie Tribal Government*, the Supreme Court ruled that Venetie's 1.8 million acres of fee simple land and the lands held by Native corporations were not "Indian country" and consequently the tribal government lacked authority to tax a non-Native contractor who was building a school in the village. The Rehnquist Court took such

a consistently “anti-Indian” stance that some legal scholars feared it was pursuing a policy of “judicial termination.”<sup>45</sup>

By the turn of the millennium, many Indian people and scholars of Indian law were convinced that the U.S. Supreme Court had abandoned its historic role and the foundations on which it had traditionally based its decisions in favor of an assault on the sovereignty of Indian tribes.<sup>46</sup> In 2001 the Supreme Court ruled in *Nevada v. Hicks* that tribes do not have civil jurisdiction over the conduct of state officials operating on the reservation, and, in *Atkinson Trading Company v. Shirley*, that the Navajo Nation had no right to tax non-Indian businesses operating on fee land within the reservation. Yet there were exceptions to the trend: in 2004, in what many tribes viewed as a major victory given the recent slate of decisions, the Court ruled that Congress has authority to recognize the inherent power of Indian tribes to prosecute nonmember Indians for certain crimes committed on reservations. *United States v. Lara*, a case involving an Indian from another reservation who punched a tribal police officer, could have removed tribes’ jurisdiction over other Indians who came onto their reservations. Instead, the ruling overturned the 1990 *Duro v. Reina* decision, which held that tribes no longer had such power, and affirmed Congress’s authority to enact the amendment known as the “Duro fix.”<sup>47</sup>

In the middle of the twentieth century, legal scholar Felix S. Cohen wrote that “like the miner’s canary, the Indian marks the



shift from fresh air to poison gas in our political atmosphere, and our treatment of Indians, even more than our treatment of other minorities, reflects the rise and fall in our democratic faith.”<sup>48</sup> At the end of the century, Frank Pommersheim, a law professor and appellate justice on the Rosebud Sioux and Cheyenne River Sioux reservations, reported that “the present ratio of fresh air to gas is not necessarily encouraging” and worried that there seemed to be “no national moral commitment to ensure that the fresh air will not dissipate further.”<sup>49</sup> The challenge implicit in Cohen’s comment remains.

# ECONOMIC SUCCESS THROUGH SOVEREIGNTY

The Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975 transferred responsibility for planning, implementing, and administering many programs to the tribes, but the severe cuts in the Indian budget following the election of Ronald Reagan as president in 1980 meant that many of those programs could not be funded. Maintaining tribal sovereignty and tribal services required increasing tribal economic independence.

In the late twentieth century, tribes with few untapped natural resources and limited economic opportunities turned to gaming, or gambling, as a way of generating income and employment. In this they were not alone: many state and local governments also turned to games of chance to fund services in an age of federal cutbacks.<sup>50</sup> The unique status of Indian tribes and their lands makes gambling especially lucrative in Indian country — generally, income generated on reservation land is exempt from federal and state taxes, and tribal gaming operations (like state lotteries) are not subject to taxation by federal or neighboring state governments. Some tribes have staged “economic miracles.” But gaming is a contentious issue in many parts of the country.<sup>51</sup>

# The Rise of Indian Gaming

After the Third Seminole War of 1855–58, a few hundred Seminoles remained in Florida, hiding in the Everglades to avoid forced removal to Oklahoma. For 130 years they lived in poverty. Then in 1979 they opened a bingo hall and offered prizes up to \$10,000, ignoring a state law that prohibited jackpots of more than \$100. The state of Florida tried to close down the bingo hall, but the Seminoles sued in federal court and won the right to operate bingo games free from state regulation. In 1987 the Supreme Court ruled in *California v. Cabazon* that, despite Public Law 280, a state that permitted any form of gambling could not prohibit Indians from operating gambling facilities, paving the way for other tribes to open and operate gaming facilities.<sup>52</sup> The next year, Congress passed the **Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA)**. Under the act, a tribe that wants to operate Class III or “casino-type” gambling must request that the state in which its lands are located enter into negotiations for a “compact” in which the tribe and state work out issues of jurisdiction, revenue sharing, and other questions relating directly to the operation of casinos. IGRA initially gave tribes the right to sue states in federal court if they failed to negotiate in good faith, but the Supreme Court ultimately struck down this remedy as a violation of the state’s sovereign immunity under the Eleventh Amendment. Some tribes complained that the compacts violate their sovereignty, but regardless, gaming became a common if controversial form of economic development in Indian country.

Gaming opened unprecedented opportunities for economic growth for some tribes. With millions of dollars in annual revenues from gaming facilities on their south Florida reservations, in 2006 the Florida Seminoles purchased Hard Rock International for \$965 million. Known for their cultural conservatism, Seminoles successfully adopted gaming as a new economic venture, just as they had previously done with tourism and commercial craft production. Seminole gaming provides jobs for thousands of people, most of them non-Indians, thereby giving a significant boost to the local economy.<sup>53</sup> In addition to making monthly payments to tribal members, the Florida Seminoles are able to fund community services and scholarships for their members.

Two states, California and Connecticut, granted a monopoly to Indian tribes to operate gambling facilities in exchange for a higher percentage of the revenues. The Cabazon Band, with a small reservation 130 miles east of Los Angeles, improved its community support systems after opening the Fantasy Springs Casino Resort in 2000. In 2002 all tribal members had guaranteed employment; the tribe was providing social services and building housing for members returning to the reservation, and the multimillion-dollar Cabazon Cultural Museum was opened. The Cabazon's financial success of such businesses attracted attention from members of Congress, senators, and state officials, who came seeking campaign contributions and espousing pro-Indian positions on a variety of issues." By 2002 eighteen tribes in southern California had opened Class III casinos, many with multimillion-dollar entertainment

complexes. The Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians spent more than \$230 million on its casino and used casino revenues to begin work on a new tribal museum. The Viejas Band of Kumeyaay Indians wiped out unemployment on the reservation, used casino revenues for housing, social services, and environmental projects, and diversified into other businesses and investments.<sup>54</sup>

Perhaps more than any other tribe, the Mashantucket Pequots of Connecticut demonstrated the transformative power of gaming, although recent developments point to the dangers of overextending. The Pequots were a major economic and political power in southern New England at the beginning of the seventeenth century. But the English destroyed their main village in 1637 and declared the tribe extinct (see [pages 88–89](#)) and for almost 350 years the Pequots seemed to be on the verge of disappearing. But the Pequots held on to their tiny land base and their identity. Under the leadership of Richard “Skip” Hayward, tribal chair from 1975 to 1998, the Mashantucket Pequots won federal recognition as an Indian tribe in 1983. After experimenting with a number of ventures for economic development, they turned first to bingo and then to high-stakes gambling. Within easy driving distance of several major cities, the Mashantucket Pequots’ Foxwoods casino was widely believed to be the most profitable casino in the world. Profits provided the tribe with housing, health care, education, care for the elderly, and cultural programs. The casino employed ten thousand workers, a boost to the economy of southern Connecticut, and sent millions of dollars annually to the state. The Pequots were once

again a major economic and political power in the region. In an ironic twist of history, some local residents saw the Pequot tribe as an expanding business entity threatening to engulf their small towns in a flood of tourists and traffic. The income from Foxwoods provided funds for the construction of the \$193 million Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center, opened in 1998. The museum features exhibits of Pequot history and culture, houses an extensive library, and also undertakes archaeological research. However, by 2014, the museum and other gains looked to be in jeopardy as the weight of debt incurred in building a huge new hotel and other shifts in the financial climate took their toll.

Competition also made an impact as other tribes hoped to emulate the Pequots' success or at least win a measure of economic independence by going into bingo and gaming. The Pequots' neighbors in Connecticut, the Mohegans, opened their casino in the fall of 1996. Closer to the interstate than Foxwoods, the Mohegan Sun in its first six months of operation earned a profit of \$55.3 million, of which the tribe got 60 percent. The Mohegans used the money for college scholarships, a new home for the elderly, and a campaign to retrieve tribal artifacts.<sup>55</sup>

Some states and individuals who stood to lose money to Indian gaming were vocal in protesting against it. Donald Trump, then a private citizen, brought a lawsuit against the federal government, claiming that Indian gaming operations had an "unfair advantage" over his own Atlantic City casinos because they did not have to

comply with state regulations as he did. But with an economic downturn at the beginning of the new century, many states showed a new willingness to cooperate with Indian gaming to secure a piece of the pie.<sup>56</sup>

## A Devil's Bargain?

In 1988 Indian gaming in a few bingo halls earned about \$121 million. In 2001 Indian casinos brought in \$12.8 billion, and that figure almost doubled by 2006, far outpacing the gambling revenues in Las Vegas. Despite a downturn in gaming revenues during the recession that began in 2008 and that put both Foxwoods and Mohegan Sun deeply in debt, the industry stabilized and recovered. According to the National Indian Gaming Commission, 246 tribes operating a total of 449 tribal gaming facilities in 28 states (figures vary as facilities open and close) netted \$28 billion in 2013, a figure that exceeded national spending on other entertainment options (e.g., movies, sports games, concerts) combined. Most gaming operations are small to midsize facilities (78 reported gaming revenue between \$100 million and \$250 million; 214 reported gaming revenues between \$10 million and \$100 million; 79 reported gaming revenue between \$3 million and \$10 million; and 78 operations reported gaming revenue less than \$3 million). Additional revenue comes in from hotels, restaurants, entertainment, and shopping at Indian gaming facilities, all of

which create hundreds of thousands of jobs, pay employees billions of dollars in wages, and add billions of dollars to state coffers.<sup>57</sup> In 2016 gross Indian gaming revenues rose 4.4% to a total of \$31.2 billion.<sup>58</sup>

The National Indian Gaming Association says that “gaming has replaced the buffalo as the mechanism used by American Indian people for survival” and it is “the first — and only — economic development tool that has ever worked on reservations.”<sup>59</sup> But not all Indian people hunted buffalo, and not all Indian people agree on the benefits of gaming. Contrary to some popular notions that all Indians eagerly pursue the get-rich-quick opportunities it offers, gaming generated tensions and differences of opinion within Indian country and can have a polarizing effect in Indian communities. Disputes between pro- and anti-gaming factions escalated to intimidation, violence, and arson in some Iroquois communities. In the 1990s, Navajos in a tribal referendum twice voted against gaming on their reservation, but they later voted to allow slot-machine gaming, and in 2008 the Navajo Nation opened its first casino, the Fire Rock Casino near Gallup, New Mexico, in the hope of generating income and jobs to combat reservation poverty and unemployment.<sup>60</sup> In 2013 the Navajo Nation opened its fourth casino, a \$180 million resort at Twin Arrows near Flagstaff, Arizona.





# NATIONAL INDIAN GAMING ASSOCIATION

*Calloway, First Peoples, 6e, © 2019 Bedford/St. Martin's*

## ♦ National Indian Gaming Association

The logo of the National Indian Gaming Association. NIGA goals include “Protecting Tribal Sovereignty” and “Rebuilding Communities through Indian Self-Reliance.”

Supporters of gaming point out that the income generated goes back into the community, providing jobs, social service programs, utility services, clinics, housing, schools, scholarships, and hope for the future.<sup>61</sup> Profits from gaming also improve the community infrastructure and fuel the development and growth of other businesses. With prosperity comes self-sufficiency, opportunities for economic diversification, and the ability to exercise true self-determination. Gaming tribes can afford the costly legal battles necessary to protect tribal rights and resources and can exert political influence in the form of lobbying and campaign contributions that, it could be argued, effect improvements for all Indian people.

But the relationship between gaming profits and political engagement also produced scandal in 2006 in the case of Washington lobbyist Jack Abramoff, who bilked half a dozen casino tribes of millions of dollars. Many Indian people denounce gambling as a social vice and an affront to their tribal values. They worry about the impact of gaming and the sudden influx of money and people into communities unaccustomed to dealing with either in large quantities. They fear it will undermine tribal community, culture, and values, and they caution that a new stereotype of Indians as wealthy casino operators distorts reality and may prove harmful to all Indians. Casino revenues disproportionately benefit a relatively small number of tribes, and in some cases non-Indian financial backers seem to take the lion's share of the profits. Some fear that Congress may respond to growing fears about Indian gaming by returning to termination tactics, arguing that the government need no longer maintain its trust relationship with tribes who are independently wealthy. They note that tribal sovereignty is rarely challenged so long as Indians remain economically dependent but that sovereignty comes under attack when tribes exercise it to become financially successful.

The success of tribes like the Mohegans, the Pequots, and the Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux in Minnesota — all of whom operate casinos near large cities — generated a backlash among some non-Indians and renewed concern in some circles about the powers and the unique status of Indian nations within the United States. Federal recognition in 2010 opened the way for the Shinnecocks of

Southampton on Long Island to open a casino just twenty miles from Manhattan, a prospect that caused divisions within the community and provoked alarm among their Long Island neighbors.<sup>62</sup> Casinos also brought heightened attention to questions of Indian identity. Some residents resented their Indian neighbors' new financial and political influence; others, like Donald Trump, attacked the gaming Indians as being "too white" or "too black" to be "real Indians." New racist stereotypes that depict all Indians as rolling in money also imply that wealthy Indians cannot be "real" Indians. Despite multiple examples throughout history of Indians responding to new economic conditions, participating in and shaping the American economy, and enjoying wealth and prosperity, a common perception remains that real Indians are poor Indians.<sup>63</sup>

Some people ask why Native Americans need federal assistance when so much money is flowing into Indian pockets and argue that "casino tribes" should share their wealth with poorer tribes to alleviate the problems in Indian country. But as the Native American Rights Funds points out in its pamphlet, "Dispelling the Myths about Indian Gaming," only a few tribes have struck it rich and "the notion that the federal government should make rich tribes share their wealth with poorer ones is absurd and, more importantly, illegal. If the state of Michigan generates extra money from its lottery, the federal government doesn't take money away from Michigan and give it to Mississippi. Remember, each of these tribes is a sovereign nation with their rights guaranteed by treaties

and the Constitution of the United States.” Tribes must use their gaming revenues to create and maintain tribal police, firefighting stations, and ambulance services; health and child-care services, educational assistance programs, cultural enhancement, and numerous other human service programs.<sup>64</sup> “I would shudder to think what Indian country would look like without the revenues that come in from Indian gaming,” said Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs Kevin Washburn in 2014.<sup>65</sup>

Opening a casino represents an exercise of tribal sovereignty, yet many leaders question the wisdom of entering into compacts with state governments, as required under the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act, to operate high-stakes gaming: does not such action compromise a tribe’s sovereignty in pursuit of quick money? The Indian Gaming Regulatory Act prohibits state taxation of tribal casinos, but some tribes pay a large share of their casino revenues to the states.<sup>66</sup> Now well-established in many areas of Indian country, gaming confronts shifting economic climates and remains a mixed blessing, bringing new problems and challenges along with new wealth, new benefits, and new opportunities. Nevertheless, National Indian Gaming Commission chairman Jonodev Chaudhuri stated in 2017: “When Congress passed the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act almost thirty years ago, it expressly cited in its findings and purposes the longstanding federal goal to promote tribal economic development, tribal self-sufficiency and strong tribal governments; no other economic driver has been able to do that for Indian Country as successfully as gaming.”<sup>67</sup>

# NEW ERAS IN WASHINGTON

“New eras” in U.S.–Indian affairs are nothing new. Throughout the twentieth century, various presidents promised great changes during their administrations. Sometimes things improved; sometimes they got worse; Indian communities often noticed little difference. But in the first decade of the twenty-first century there were indications, in Washington, D.C., and in Indian country, that things were different this time, and that the United States and its first peoples had indeed entered a new era.

## Changes at the BIA

On September 8, 2000, at a ceremony acknowledging the 175<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs Kevin Gover delivered a historic speech. This was no time for celebration, said Gover, a Pawnee; “Rather it is a time for reflection and contemplation, a time for sorrowful truths to be spoken, a time for contrition.” In an emotional review of U.S. Indian policy and the abuses visited upon Indian peoples, Gover announced, “We must first reconcile ourselves to the fact that the works of this agency have at various times profoundly harmed the

communities it was meant to serve.” These things occurred “despite the efforts of many good people with good hearts who sought to prevent them,” and they continued to haunt Indian communities even when the BIA at long last began to serve as an advocate for Indian people. On behalf of the BIA and its ten thousand employees, Gover extended a formal apology “for the historical conduct of this agency” and made a pledge to Indian people:

Never again will this agency stand silent when hate and violence are committed against Indians. Never again will we allow policy to proceed from the assumption that Indians possess less human genius than the other races. Never again will we be complicit in the theft of Indian property. Never again will we appoint false leaders who serve purposes other than those of the tribes. Never again will we allow unflattering and stereotypical images of Indian people to deface the halls of government or lead the American people to shallow and ignorant beliefs about Indians. Never again will we attack your religions, your languages, your rituals, or any of your tribal ways. Never again will we seize your children, nor teach them to be ashamed of who they are. Never again.

Gover asked for healing and looked to a new era in which Indian people and the BIA would work together to meet the challenges of the modern world. Relatives from the Pawnee tribe sang songs of healing after the speech.<sup>68</sup>

Many people were moved by Gover's speech. Many were encouraged to think that the dark days finally were over and that real progress could now be made. But Gover could speak only for the BIA, not for the whole government, and he recognized the irony "that it took an American Indian to officially apologize to American Indians" for what non-Indians had done to them.<sup>69</sup> Tex Hall, then president of the National Congress of American Indians, cautioned that the apology would be meaningless unless it was accompanied by actions to correct past wrongs and continuing injustices. Just two years earlier, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights had issued a report entitled "A Quiet Crisis: Federal Funding and Unmet Needs in Indian Country" that concluded: "Native Americans continue to rank at or near the bottom of nearly every social, health, and economic indicator."<sup>70</sup> If the federal government was going to make amends, it needed to undertake large-scale change and reparations in its support of Native people and communities. "Would Gover's pledge be yet another broken promise?" Or did his speech "signal a new era for the BIA and for Indian Country generally, coincident with the new millennium?"<sup>71</sup>

The BIA today is indeed a very different agency from that which carried out programs of cultural genocide in the nineteenth century. For one thing, it has the largest number of Native employees in its history, with American Indian or Alaska Native people constituting 90 percent of its staff. And the agency has endeavored to reform itself. In an effort to eradicate "excessive bureaucracy" and streamline the process by which tribes

administer BIA and Indian Health Service funds, Congress passed the Indian Self-Determination Act Amendments of 1994, specifying the terms of contracts entered into by the federal government and tribal organizations. That same year, President Bill Clinton pledged to honor tribal sovereignty based on the government's "unique legal relationship with Native American tribal governments." The BIA role was becoming increasingly advisory, as Indian tribes assumed greater responsibility over their own affairs, developed their own businesses, and planned for their futures; the bureau itself experienced dramatic downsizing in the 1990s. "The role of the federal government should be to support and to implement tribally inspired solutions to tribally defined problems," said Ada Deer, whom Clinton appointed as the first woman assistant secretary for Indian affairs. "The days of federal paternalism are over."<sup>72</sup>

Nevertheless, in 1996 John Echohawk, executive director of the Native American Rights Fund, filed a class action suit against the secretary of the interior on behalf of half a million beneficiaries for the misuse of billions of dollars held in trust by the BIA. It became the largest class action suit ever certified against the U.S. government. The Indian Trust Fund was established in the late nineteenth century after the Allotment Act placed Indian lands in trust of the federal government (see ["The Dawes Allotment Act \[1887\]," pages 377–80](#)), and the disbursement of oil and gas royalties and other income from resources on Indian trust lands was assigned to the BIA. But the United States had no accurate accounting of the hundreds of thousands of Indian beneficiaries nor



of the billions of dollars owed them. “The BIA has spent more than 100 years mismanaging, diverting and losing money that belongs to Indians,” said Echohawk.

The plaintiff class (the lead plaintiff was Elouise Cobell, a member of the Blackfeet Indian Nation) demanded that the government account for deposits to and withdrawals from about 500,000 Individual Indian Money (IIM) accounts that it had set up over more than a century. These IIM accounts received (and continue to receive) revenue from the lease of land, oil, water, and timber assets that the government holds in trust for individual Indians. In many cases, the amounts paid to Indian beneficiaries had become miniscule because the assets had become fractioned among multiple holders through inheritance. Clearly, the government had been abusing its management of the accounts, and Indians weren’t seeing the full profits of their leased assets. In 2001 the U.S. District Court of the District of Columbia ruled in the Indians’ favor. The judge said the government was guilty of “fiscal and government irresponsibility in its purest form” and gave the Departments of the Interior and the Treasury five years to correct the situation.<sup>[73](#)</sup>

The Department of the Interior’s failure to address the problems in a timely fashion, and charges of contempt of court leveled against several secretaries of the Interior and the Treasury, left many people feeling that it was “business as usual” at the BIA. Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell, a Cheyenne from Colorado,

commented, “There seems to be an institutional rot that does not seem to go away.”<sup>74</sup>

The case of *Cobell v. Salazar* dragged on for fourteen years, spanned the tenure of three presidents, and involved four secretaries of the interior as defendants (it was formerly *Cobell v. Babbitt*, *Cobell v. Norton*, and *Cobell v. Kempthorne*). The original claim was for \$137 billion.<sup>75</sup> Finally, in December 2009, the Department of the Interior negotiated a settlement by which the government agreed to pay \$3.4 billion (\$1.4 billion, minus attorney’s fees, in payments to plaintiffs through an Accounting/Trust Administration Fund and \$2 billion to establish a Trust Land Consolidation Fund for the repurchase of lands from willing sellers) and to create an Indian Education Scholarship fund of up to \$60 million. Cobell pointed out that the settlement was significantly less than what Indians were owed and would not solve the underlying problems, but she acknowledged that it was the best solution likely. She called on the Obama administration to honor its promises to improve education, law enforcement, and economic conditions in Indian country. “We have spent too much time looking backward, trying to address the terrible wrongs of the past,” she said. “Now it is my hope we can move forward.”<sup>76</sup> The House and Senate approved the settlement in 2010, and President Obama signed the Claims Resolution Act that appropriated the funds for the settlement. Dartmouth College awarded Elouise Cobell an honorary doctorate in 2011. She died several months later.

# Repatriation and a New Museum

For generations, soldiers, tourists, scientists, and collectors had looted Indian country of material culture and human remains. Museums had put artifacts and even bones on display without regard to Indian peoples' feelings about the significance of the objects or the offensiveness of the displays. The 1906 Antiquities Act and the 1979 Archaeological Resources Protection Act declared Indian bones and objects found on federal land the property of the United States, and between 600,000 and 2 million skeletal remains were housed in museums, laboratories, historical societies, and universities across the country. The Smithsonian Institution alone held the remains of about 18,500 Native American people. Archaeologists and anthropologists studied Indian bones to learn about diet, mortuary customs, levels of health, and causes of death, but most Indian people regarded this as continuing exploitation and a denial of their status as human beings.

In the 1970s, Indian activists began to challenge the right of non-Indian museums to hold religious and other artifacts and skeletal remains of Indian people, and they actively sought the **repatriation** of those items. In the 1980s, the Pawnees waged a bitter fight to recover ancestral remains from the Nebraska State Historical Society and other repositories. Pawnee people believed that many of their social problems stemmed from the disturbance of graves and demanded ceremonial reburial of the bones to free the spirits

of their ancestors by returning them to the earth. Some scholars argued that this would be a terrible loss to science, but public opinion favored the Indians' position that it was a question of basic human decency — their grandparents should be left to rest in peace — and the state returned the bones for reburial.

The Zunis of New Mexico demanded the return of carved wooden war gods from museums and private collections. They pointed out that since the war gods are communally owned and cannot be sold or given away, any war gods that have been removed from their proper shrines must be stolen property. “They are the spiritual guardians of the Zuni People. When they are removed from their shrines Zuni religious leaders cannot pray to them, and their vast powers cause fires, earthquakes, wars, storms, and wanton destruction in our world.”<sup>77</sup> Once recovered, the gods could be placed in the desert and continue the cycle of decay back to the earth. The Iroquois demanded the return of twelve wampum belts from the New York State Museum, arguing that these were the tribal archives and belonged in Onondaga (where the records of the Iroquois Confederacy were kept), not on display in Albany. The twelve belts were restored to Onondaga chiefs in a ceremony in Albany in 1989.

In 1989 Congress passed a law requiring the Smithsonian Institution to return most of its skeletal remains and grave goods to Indian communities. In 1990 President George H. W. Bush signed into law the **Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation**

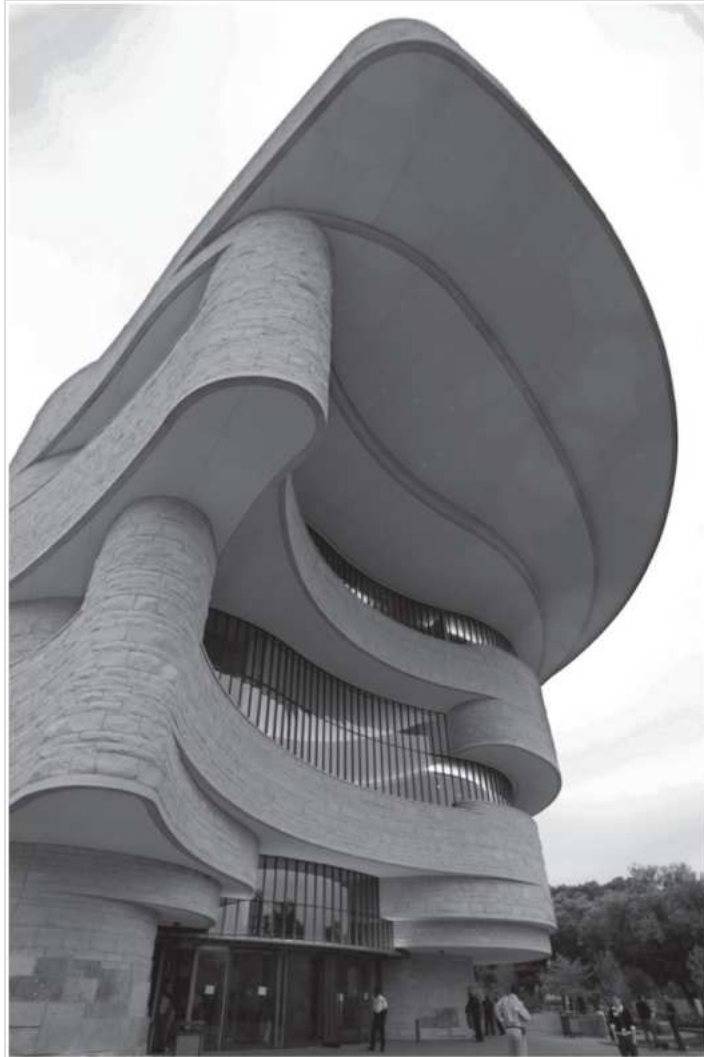
**Act (NAGPRA)**, requiring all institutions receiving federal funds to inventory their collections of Indian artifacts and human remains, share the lists with Indian tribes, and, when appropriate, return the items the tribes requested.

Some individuals and institutions complied reluctantly with the legislation. Contentious issues remain, as illustrated by the continuing controversy over the disposition of the skeletal remains of Kennewick Man (see [page 20](#)) — in 2010 the Department of the Interior added new regulations to NAGPRA that allowed tribes to claim “even those remains whose affiliation cannot be established scientifically, as long as they were found on or near the tribe’s aboriginal lands.”<sup>78</sup> In 2006 it was reported that Geronimo’s skull was among those that had been disinterred and taken to the secret Skull and Bones society at Yale University. In 2009, the centennial of Geronimo’s death, his descendants sued Skull and Bones as part of a lawsuit seeking to recover all of Geronimo’s remains, wherever they may be, and have them returned to New Mexico for reburial at the headwaters of the Gila River, Geronimo’s birthplace.<sup>79</sup> In general, however, public opinion and national law came to agree that human remains and religious objects should be returned to their original communities and not be pored over by anthropologists or displayed for tourists. For many Native Americans, repatriation is not a political victory so much as a religious duty. “Hundreds of tribes have confronted 1,500 museums over the fate of more than 200,000 Native American skeletons and 1 million grave goods and sacred objects.”<sup>80</sup>

Museums and Native peoples have had a troubled history. As repositories of indigenous art and artifacts, museums were colonial institutions that put Native people and their cultures on display. They usually depicted Indians as frozen in time and as a vanished or vanishing race, and they sometimes housed human remains and sacred objects. Until relatively recently, most museums collected, managed, and displayed objects with little or no concern for how those objects should be treated or for the communities from which they came. NAGPRA initiated a new era of more collaborative relations with Native peoples and greater sensitivity to Native concerns about what should and should not be displayed. But museums have remained, essentially, white institutions displaying Native objects for non-Native audiences.<sup>[81](#)</sup>

The National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) was conceived to be different. In 1989 Congressman Ben Nighthorse Campbell and Senator Daniel Inouye of Hawaii introduced a bill and Congress established the NMAI, a tribute to the Native peoples of the Americas, to be built on the last available site on the National Mall in Washington, D.C. W. Richard West Jr., a Southern Cheyenne from Oklahoma and a Washington lawyer with a law degree from Stanford, was appointed the museum's founding director. Douglas Cardinal, a Métis/Blackfeet architect whose previous works included the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Ottawa, was hired to design the building. The project required raising \$219 million in private funding, with \$30 million donated by "gaming tribes" (see [pages 520–25](#)) — the Mashantucket Pequots and Mohegans in

Connecticut and the Oneidas in New York. It was, to say the least, an ambitious undertaking.



*J. SCOTT APPLEWHITE/AP Images.*

♦ **National Museum of the American Indian**

Built from earth-colored textured limestone, the NMAI stands out against the other imposing buildings on the Mall. It is five stories high and covers 250,000 square feet. Facing east, set in its own landscape that includes four habitats — forest, wetland, meadow, and croplands where the “sacred three sisters” (corn, beans, and squash) are grown

using traditional agricultural techniques — the museum is designed to reflect both the ancient and contemporary presence of Native peoples.

The NMAI opened on September 21, 2004. More than twenty-five thousand people from more than five hundred Native nations attended the opening ceremony and walked in a huge procession down the Mall to the new museum. It was the largest gathering ever of American Indians in the nation's capital. Some reporters did not know what to make of Indian people wearing traditional regalia while chatting on cell phones.<sup>82</sup> In his speech at the museum's opening, Richard West called it a symbol of hope that, at long last, the "different histories, cultures, and peoples of the Americas can come together in new mutual understanding and respect."<sup>83</sup> Part of the agenda of the NMAI was to counter the effects of the past agendas of other museums. It would be international in scope, housing more than 800,000 objects. It would recognize the deep indigenous history of the continent yet provide a forum for celebrating living Native cultures, with dances, demonstrations, film screenings, lectures, and other live performances. It would acknowledge the catastrophic consequences of colonization, but emphasize survival and achievement rather than tragedy and demise. It would be a gathering place for Native peoples and give voice to them in a place where they had seldom been heard. It was, West said, "a museum that is more than a museum . . . a living place bearing witness."<sup>84</sup>



Critics worried that the NMAI ran the risk of replacing old stereotypes with new ones. James Lujan, a writer and filmmaker from Taos Pueblo, asked whom the museum was for, really. Its main message is “we’re still here,” but since Lujan and other Native people knew that already, “it logically follows that the museum was built for those who don’t know.” While he hoped the non-Native public would learn something, “All I know is that I didn’t.”<sup>85</sup> Other people felt there was not enough attention to conquest, colonization, and catastrophe. If the theme was the survival of Native peoples and cultures, wasn’t the NMAI missing an opportunity to educate the public about what Native peoples have survived?<sup>86</sup>

As Amy Lonetree points out, the NMAI confronts “centuries of unresolved trauma” as it tells the stories of Native peoples. Within the limits of its exhibition spaces, it must honor indigenous worldviews, challenge stereotypes, and convey the brutal histories of the past five hundred years.<sup>87</sup>

Richard West envisioned the NMAI as a meeting ground where the public would see the connection between the cultural origins of this hemisphere and what happened in the past five hundred years “in a way where some kind of real understanding can occur that sets the stage for cultural reconciliation over a long haul.”<sup>88</sup> The NMAI has mounted some impressive exhibits, including “Nation to Nation: Treaties Between the United States and American Indian

Nations,” which ran from 2014 to 2018. To what extent the museum can foster understanding and reconciliation remains to be seen.

## A New Embassy and a New “White Father”

In the first week of November 2009, two historic events with great potential significance for Native America took place in Washington, D.C.: the opening of the Tribal Nations Embassy and a Tribal Nations conference with a new president who vowed to work with the tribes “to bring about meaningful change.” Some tribes already had offices and ambassadors in the nation’s capital, but the National Congress of American Indians had worked for years to establish an embassy for all the tribes it represents. In early 2009, the NCAI was able to purchase a building in Washington, and on November 3, 2009, tribal representatives, administration officials, members of Congress, and international dignitaries gathered for the ceremonial opening of the Embassy of Tribal Nations. “For the first time,” NCAI president Jefferson Keel, a Chickasaw, explained, “tribal nations will have a permanent home in Washington, D.C., where they can more effectively assert their sovereign status and facilitate a much stronger nation-to-nation relationship with the federal government.”<sup>89</sup>

Two days later President Barack Obama hosted a Tribal Nations conference with almost four hundred tribal leaders. He described it as a “unique and historic event, the largest and most widely attended gathering of tribal leaders in our history.” During the 2008 election, Obama had campaigned in Indian country more than any other presidential candidate. Many Indian people worked for his campaign. Obama was adopted into the Crow Nation, and he joked about whether, as an African American, he would fit the role of the “Great White Father.” His victory at the polls that November signaled a renewal of hope for Native Americans after eight years of Republican government in Washington.

Beginning in 2009, President Obama hosted annual White House Tribal Nations conferences with Native leaders in Washington, D.C. In his address to the first conference delegates, Obama acknowledged the sorry record of U.S.–Indian relations: “It’s a history marked by violence and disease and deprivation. Treaties were violated. Promises were broken. You were told your lands, your religion, your cultures, your languages were not yours to keep.” He acknowledged the appalling conditions in many areas of Indian country: “Some of your reservations face unemployment rates of up to 80 percent. Roughly a quarter of all Native Americans live in poverty. More than 14 percent of all reservation homes don’t have electricity. And 12 percent don’t have access to a safe water supply.” To ensure that Native Americans would have a seat at the table when important decisions that affected their lives were made, Obama announced several new appointments: Kimberley Teehee, a

Cherokee, would serve as his Native American policy advisor; Jodi Archambault Gillette, a Standing Rock Sioux and Ivy League graduate, was appointed deputy associate director of the Office of Intergovernmental Affairs, the first Native American to serve as White House liaison with the more than 560 Indian tribes in the United States; and Larry Echo Hawk, a Pawnee, was named assistant secretary for Indian affairs. President Obama directed relevant federal agencies to hold “listening sessions” on American Indian and Alaska Native issues around the country and to submit detailed plans within ninety days of how they intended to improve tribal consultation and collaboration. He committed \$3 billion of the Recovery Act to help address some of the most pressing needs in Indian country: \$100 million to spur job creation in tribal economies; \$500 million to modernize the Indian Health Service; \$170 million for Indian education; and \$277 million for Indian school construction, along with budget increases for the BIA, the IHS, and tribal colleges. He looked forward to enacting health insurance reform, developing clean energy sources such as wind and solar power on reservations, and working with tribes to increase safety and reduce violent crime on reservations. “The shocking and contemptible fact that one in three Native American women will be raped in their lifetimes,” declared the president, “is an assault on our national conscience that we can no longer ignore.” Obama ended by saying: “I know you’ve heard this song from Washington before. I know you’ve often heard grand promises that sound good but rarely materialize. And each time you’re told, ‘this time will be different.’” But this time, he assured them, it would be

different: “you will not be forgotten so long as I’m in this White House.”<sup>90</sup>

Former Interior Secretary Kenneth Salazar said in 2012: “Under President Obama . . . we have pushed our agenda to start a new chapter between the United States and Indian country. . . . [but] You can’t turn 400 years of bad actions and right the wrongs of that history in four short years.”<sup>91</sup> In 2014 Obama visited Indian country for the first time as president. By executive order, he established the White House Council on Indian Affairs to strengthen the federal government’s partnership with tribal governments. The council received its mandate to build and sustain “prosperous and resilient tribal communities” by promoting economic development, improving health care, enhancing tribal justice systems and law enforcement, increasing educational quality and education, and protecting Native lands and environments. Obama acknowledged that tribal nations do better when they make their own decisions. Some Indian people said that President Obama did more for Indian country than had all his predecessors.



*Charles Rex Arbogast/AP Images.*

#### ◆ President Obama Visits Indian Country

President Barack Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama display a star quilt given to them by David Archambault II (left), Chairman of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, during their visit to the Standing Rock Reservation in North Dakota in June 2014.

In 2016 Donald Trump was elected president. He entered the White House committed to reversing the policies of the Obama presidency. As they had so many times in the past century, Indian communities across the United States braced for another shift in federal Indian policies and renewed assaults on their rights and resources.

# CONCLUSION

President Nixon's message to Congress in 1970 heralded a new era of self-determination in the federal government's dealings with Indian tribes, and in the years since then, tribal governments have taken greater responsibility in managing their own affairs, implementing and overseeing social programs, pursuing economic development, most notably but not only in building casinos, and acting as partners in their trust relationship with the federal government. But Indian communities and tribal sovereignty remain vulnerable to political changes in Washington D.C. After years of improving relations between Indian tribes and sympathetic and supportive administrations, Indian country faces renewed threats.

# CHAPTER 9 REVIEW

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## KEY TERMS

Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act of 1975

Sterilization of Indian women

Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978

American Indian Religious Freedom Act

Akwesasne Freedom School

Tribal colleges

Coal strip mining

uranium mining

CERT, the Council of Energy Resource Tribes

Winters doctrine

Native American Rights Fund

*Santa Clara Pueblo v. Martinez* (1978).

*Oliphant v. Suquamish* (1978).



[Indian Gaming Regulatory Act \(IGRA\)](#),

[repatriation](#)

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## REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How have federal Indian policies changed over the past fifty years?
2. What does self-determination mean for Indian tribes in modern America?
3. What are the bases of Indian legal rights in the United States, and what role has the modern Supreme Court played in defending or compromising those rights?
4. What values, resources, and tactics have Indian people utilized in rebuilding their nations in the modern era?

# DOCUMENTS

## The Supreme Court and Tribal Sovereignty



PRESIDENT NIXON'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS in 1970 seemed to mark a new era of optimism for Indian peoples. Nixon clearly rejected past federal policies of paternalism and termination and espoused a policy of self-determination as beneficial to Indian peoples and to the nation as a whole. In the years between Nixon's address and the Supreme Court decision in *Oliphant v. Suquamish* in 1978, some of the promise contained in Nixon's message was realized. Important new legislation passed through Congress, and Indian communities took significant steps in managing programs, running their own schools, and exerting political influence, both within Congress and through the media. They even won some landmark victories in American courts.

But tribal sovereignty — the rights of Indian nations to govern themselves — remained vulnerable. A nation's self-government includes the right to make and impose one's own laws, both on one's own citizens and on outsiders who enter the nation. In Indian

country, this became a complicated and contentious issue as more and more non-Indians took up residence within reservation boundaries. On many reservations, allotment had created a checkerboard pattern of landholding, with non-Indians living alongside Indians. Further sales and leases, migrations of Indians to the cities, and intermarriage brought more non-Indians on to reservations, with the result that by the late twentieth century some reservations contained more non-Indian than Indian residents. What was their legal status? Were they subject to tribal law, even though they were not tribal citizens? Did someone fall under tribal law the moment they stepped on to the reservation? If not, how could tribes regulate and police their own communities? More and more cases challenging Indian sovereignty in this respect reached the Supreme Court.

Mark Oliphant, a non-Indian who assaulted a tribal police officer on the Port Madison Reservation of the Suquamish tribe near Seattle, was arrested by the tribal authorities. The reservation was small, and non-Indian residents heavily outnumbered Indian residents. Oliphant challenged the tribe's authority to prosecute him, arguing in federal court that, as a non-Indian, he was immune from tribal law and subject only to state or federal law. The Marshall cases in the 1830s seemed to have made clear that Indian tribes are "distinct political communities, having territorial boundaries, within which their authority is exclusive," but the Supreme Court now found new limits on tribal sovereignty. Overturning the rulings of lower courts, the Supreme Court decided

that tribal courts do *not* have criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians. The ruling applied not only to small reservations such as that of the Suquamish, where Indian residents were in a minority, but to all Indian country.

The *Oliphant* decision has been strongly criticized by both Native and non-Native legal scholars as a calculated assault on Indian tribes' inherent powers of self-government. Many see it as "result oriented"; that is, the Court intended from the outset to limit tribal sovereignty and used shaky evidence and faulty legal reasoning to do so. In the assessment of attorney and professor Bruce Duthu, the *Oliphant* case took a local-level conflict between a private citizen and an Indian tribe, turned it into "a collision of framework interests between two sovereigns, and in the process revived the most negative and destructive aspects of colonialism as it relates to Indian rights." It transformed the nature of litigation in Indian country "by elevating challenges to the exercise of tribal power into challenges about the very *existence* of tribal power." Peter Maxfield, a non-Indian law professor at the University of Wyoming, not accustomed to making extreme statements, concluded: "The justification that the Court used to reach its result can only be characterized as reprehensible." Robert Williams Jr. goes further: "*Oliphant*, as written by Rehnquist, cites, quotes, and relies upon racist nineteenth-century beliefs and stereotypes to justify an expansive, rights-destroying, present-day interpretation of the Marshall model." Indians could not possibly have been imagined to possess the power to police non-Indians because they

were viewed as lawless and uncivilized. It was, Williams concludes, “one of the worst Supreme Court Indian rights decisions of the twentieth century, or any century for that matter.”<sup>92</sup>

**SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES *Oliphant v. Suquamish Indian Tribe* (1978)**

MR. JUSTICE REHNQUIST delivered the opinion of the Court.

. . . Located on Puget Sound across from the city of Seattle, the Port Madison Reservation [of the Suquamish tribe] is a checkerboard of tribal community land, allotted Indian lands, property held in fee-simple by non-Indians, and various roads and public highways maintained by Kitsap County.<sup>93</sup>

The Suquamish Indians are governed by a tribal government which in 1973 adopted a Law and Order Code. The Code, which covers a variety of offenses from theft to rape, purports to extend the Tribe’s criminal jurisdiction over both Indians and non-Indians. Proceedings are held in the Suquamish Indian Provisional Court. Pursuant to the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968, 25 U.S.C. § 1302, defendants are entitled to many of the due process protections accorded to defendants in federal or state criminal proceedings. However, the guarantees are not identical. Non-Indians, for example, are excluded from Suquamish tribal court juries.

Both petitioners are non-Indian residents of the Port Madison Reservation. Petitioner Mark David Oliphant was arrested by tribal authorities during the Suquamish's annual Chief Seattle Days celebration and charged with assaulting a tribal officer and resisting arrest. After arraignment before the tribal court, Oliphant was released on his own recognizance. Petitioner Daniel B. Belegarde was arrested by tribal authorities after an alleged high-speed race along the reservation highways that only ended when Belegarde collided with a tribal police vehicle. Belegarde posted bail and was released. Six days later he was arraigned and charged under the tribal code with "recklessly endangering another person" and injuring tribal property. Tribal court proceedings against both petitioners have been stayed pending a decision in this case. . . .

I

Respondents do not contend that their exercise of criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians stems from affirmative congressional authorization or treaty provision. Instead, respondents urge that such jurisdiction flows automatically from the "Tribe's retained inherent powers of government over the Port Madison Indian Reservation." . . .

The Suquamish Indian Tribe does not stand alone today in its assumption of criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians. Of the 127 reservation court systems that currently exercise criminal

jurisdiction in the United States, 33 purport to extend that jurisdiction to non-Indians. . . .

The effort by Indian tribal courts to exercise criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians, however, is a relatively new phenomenon. And where the effort has been made in the past, it has been held that the jurisdiction did not exist. Until the middle of this century, few Indian tribes maintained any semblance of a formal court system. Offenses by one Indian against another were usually handled by social and religious pressure and not by formal judicial processes; emphasis was on restitution rather than on punishment. In 1834 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs described the then status of Indian criminal systems: “With the exception of two or three tribes, who have within a few years past attempted to establish some few laws and regulations amongst themselves, the Indian tribes are without laws, and the chiefs without much authority to exercise any restraint.” H.R.Rep. No. 474, 23d Cong., 1st Sess., at 91 (1834).

It is therefore not surprising to find no specific discussion of the problem before us in the volumes of United States Reports. But the problem did not lie entirely dormant for two centuries. A few tribes during the 19th century did have formal criminal systems. From the earliest treaties with these tribes, it was apparently assumed that the tribes did not have criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians absent a congressional statute or treaty provision to that effect. For example, the 1830 Treaty with the Choctaw Indian Tribe, which had

one of the most sophisticated of tribal structures, guaranteed to the Tribe “the jurisdiction and government of all the persons and property that may be within their limits.” Despite the broad terms of this governmental guarantee, however, the Choctaws at the conclusion of this treaty provision “express a *wish* that Congress *may grant* to the Choctaws the right of punishing by their own laws any white man who shall come into their nation, and infringe any of their national regulations.” Such a request for affirmative congressional authority is inconsistent with respondents’ belief that criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians is inherent in tribal sovereignty. Faced by attempts of the Choctaw Tribe to try non-Indian offenders in the early 1800s the United States Attorneys General also concluded that the Choctaws did not have criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians absent congressional authority. See 2 Opinions of the Attorney General 693 (1834); 7 Opinions of the Attorney General 174 (1855). . . .

At least one court has previously considered the power of Indian courts to try non-Indians and it also held against jurisdiction. . . . *Ex parte Kenyon*, 14 Fed. Cases 353 (WD Ark. 1878). . . .

The conclusion of Judge Parker was reaffirmed only recently in a 1970 Opinion of the Solicitor of the Department of the Interior. See 77 I.D. 113 (1970).

While Congress was concerned almost from its beginning with the special problems of law enforcement on the Indian



reservations, it did not initially address itself to the problem of tribal jurisdiction over non-Indians. For the reasons previously stated, there was little reason to be concerned with assertions of tribal court jurisdiction over non-Indians because of the absence of formal tribal judicial systems. . . .

It was in 1834 that Congress was first directly faced with the prospect of Indians trying non-Indians. In the Western Territory Bill, Congress proposed to create an Indian territory beyond the western-directed destination of the settlers; the territory was to be governed by a confederation of Indian tribes and was expected ultimately to become a State of the Union. While the bill would have created a political territory with broad governing powers, Congress was careful not to give the tribes of the territory criminal jurisdiction over United States officials and citizens traveling through the area. The reasons were quite practical:

Officers, and persons in the service of the United States, and persons required to reside in the Indian country by treaty stipulation, must necessarily be placed under the protection, and subject to the laws of the United States. To persons merely travelling in the Indian country the same protection is extended. The want of fixed laws, of competent tribunals of justice, which must for some time continue in the Indian country, absolutely requires for the peace of both sides that this protection be extended.

H.R.Rep. No. 474, 23d Cong., 1st Sess., at 18 (1834). Congress' concern over criminal jurisdiction in this proposed Indian Territory contrasts markedly with its total failure to address criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians on other reservations, which frequently bordered non-Indian settlements. The contrast suggests that Congress shared the view of the Executive Branch and lower federal courts that Indian tribal courts were without jurisdiction to try non-Indians.

This unspoken assumption was also evident in other congressional actions during the 19th century. [The opinion discusses amendments to the Nonintercourse Act in 1854 and the Major Crimes Act of 1885.]

. . . While Congress never expressly forbade Indian tribes to impose criminal penalties on non-Indians, we now make express our implicit conclusion of nearly a century ago that Congress consistently believed this to be the necessary result of its repeated legislative actions.

In a 1960 Senate Report, that body expressly confirmed its assumption that Indian tribal courts are without inherent jurisdiction to try non-Indians, and must depend on the Federal Government for protection from intruders. In considering a statute that would prohibit unauthorized entry upon Indian land for the purpose of hunting or fishing, the Senate Report noted:

. . . One who comes on such lands without permission may be prosecuted under State law but a non-Indian trespasser on an Indian reservation enjoys immunity. *This is by reason of the fact that Indian tribal law is enforceable against Indians only; not against non-Indians.*

*Non-Indians are not subject to the jurisdiction of Indian courts and cannot be tried in Indian courts on trespass charges.* Further, there are no Federal laws which can be invoked against trespassers. . . .

S.Rep. No. 1686, 86th Cong., 2d Sess., 2-3 (1960) (emphasis added).

II

While not conclusive on the issue before us, the commonly shared presumption of Congress, the Executive Branch, and lower federal courts that tribal courts do not have the power to try non-Indians carries considerable weight. “Indian law” draws principally upon the treaties drawn and executed by the Executive Branch and legislation passed by Congress. These instruments, which beyond their actual text form the backdrop for the intricate web of judicially made Indian law, cannot be interpreted in isolation but must be read in light of the common notions of the day and the assumptions of those who drafted them.

While in isolation the Treaty of Point Elliott, 12 Stat. 927 (1855), would appear to be silent as to tribal criminal jurisdiction over non-

Indians, the addition of historical perspective casts substantial doubt upon the existence of such jurisdiction. In the Ninth Article, for example, the Suquamish “acknowledge their dependence on the Government of the United States.” As Chief Justice Marshall explained in *Worcester v. Georgia*, 6 Pet. 515, 551–552, 554 (1832), such an acknowledgement is not a mere abstract recognition of the United States’ sovereignty. “The Indian nations were, from their situation, necessarily dependent on [the United States] for their protection from lawless and injurious intrusions into their country.” *Id.*, at 555. By acknowledging their dependence on the United States, in the Treaty of Point Elliott, the Suquamish were in all probability recognizing that the United States would arrest and try non-Indian intruders who came within their Reservation. Other provisions of the Treaty also point to the absence of tribal jurisdiction. Thus the Tribe “agree[s] not to shelter or conceal offenders against the laws of the United States, but to deliver them up to the authorities for trial.” Read in conjunction with 18 U.S.C. §1152, which extends federal enclave law to non-Indian offenses on Indian reservations, this provision implies that the Suquamish are to promptly deliver up any non-Indian offender, rather than try and punish him themselves.

By themselves, these treaty provisions would probably not be sufficient to remove criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians if the Tribe otherwise retained such jurisdiction. But an examination of our earlier precedents satisfies us that, even ignoring treaty provisions and congressional policy, Indians do not have criminal

jurisdiction over non-Indians absent affirmative delegation of such power by Congress. Indian tribes do retain elements of “quasi-sovereign” authority after ceding their lands to the United States and announcing their dependence on the Federal Government. See *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, 5 Peters 1, 15 (1831). But the tribes’ retained powers are not such that they are limited only by specific restrictions in treaties or congressional enactments. As the Court of Appeals recognized, Indian tribes are proscribed from exercising both those powers of autonomous states that are expressly terminated by Congress *and* those powers “*inconsistent with their status.*”

Indian reservations are “a part of the territory of the United States.” *United States v. Rogers*, 4 How. 567, 571 (1846). Indian tribes “hold and occupy [the reservations] with the assent of the United States, and under their authority.” *Id.*, at 572. Upon incorporation into the territory of the United States, the Indian tribes thereby come under the territorial sovereignty of the United States and their exercise of separate power is constrained so as not to conflict with the interests of this overriding sovereignty. “[T]heir rights to complete sovereignty, as independent nations [are] necessarily diminished.” *Johnson v. McIntosh*, 8 Wheat. 543, 574 (1823).

We have already described some of the inherent limitations on tribal powers that stem from their incorporation into the United States. In *Johnson v. McIntosh*, *supra*, we noted that the Indian tribes’ “power to dispose of the soil at their own will, to

whomsoever they pleased,” was inherently lost to the overriding sovereignty of the United States. And in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, supra, the Chief Justice observed that since Indian tribes are “completely under the sovereignty and dominion of the United States, . . . any attempt [by foreign nations] to acquire their lands, or to form a political connexion with them, would be considered by all as an invasion of our territory, and an act of hostility.”

. . . Protection of territory within its external political boundaries is, of course, as central to the sovereign interest of the United States as it is to any other sovereign nation. But from the formation of the Union and the adoption of the Bill of Rights, the United States has manifested an equally great solicitude that its citizens be protected by the United States from unwarranted intrusions on their personal liberty. The power of the United States to try and criminally punish is an important manifestation of the power to restrict personal liberty. By submitting to the overriding sovereignty of the United States, Indian tribes therefore necessarily give up their power to try non-Indian citizens of the United States except in a manner acceptable to Congress. This principle would have been obvious a century ago when most Indian tribes were characterized by a “want of fixed laws [and] of competent tribunals of justice.” H.R.Rep. No. 474, 23d Cong., 1st Sess., at 18 (1834). It should be no less obvious today, even though present-day Indian tribal courts embody dramatic advances over their historical antecedents.

In *Ex parte Crow Dog*, 109 U.S. 556 (1883), the Court was faced with almost the inverse of the issue before us here — whether, prior to the passage of the Major Crimes Act, federal courts had jurisdiction to try Indians who had offended against fellow Indians on reservation land. In concluding that criminal jurisdiction was exclusively in the tribe, it found particular guidance in the “nature and circumstances of the case.” The United States was seeking to extend United States

law, by argument and inference only, . . . over aliens and strangers; over the members of a community separated by race [and] tradition, . . . from the authority and power which seeks to impose upon them the restraints of an external and unknown code . . . ; which judges them by a standard made by others and not for them. . . . It tries them, not by their peers, nor by the customs of their people, nor the law of their land, but by . . . a different race, according to the law of a social state of which they have an imperfect conception. . . .

*Id.* at 571. These considerations, applied here to the non-Indian rather than Indian offender, speak equally strongly against the validity of respondents’ contention that Indian tribes, although fully subordinated to the sovereignty of the United States, retain the power to try non-Indians according to their own customs and procedure. . . .

. . . We recognize that some Indian tribal court systems have become increasingly sophisticated and resemble in many respects their state counterparts. We also acknowledge that with the passage of the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968, which extends certain basic procedural rights to *anyone* tried in Indian tribal court, many of the dangers that might have accompanied the exercise by tribal courts of criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians only a few decades ago have disappeared. Finally, we are not unaware of the prevalence of non-Indian crime on today's reservations which the tribes forcefully argue requires the ability to try non-Indians. But these are considerations for Congress to weigh in deciding whether Indian tribes should finally be authorized to try non-Indians. They have little relevance to the principles which lead us to conclude that Indian tribes do not have inherent jurisdiction to try and punish non-Indians. The judgments below are therefore

*Reversed.*

MR. JUSTICE BRENNAN took no part in the consideration or decision of this case.

MR. JUSTICE MARSHALL, with whom The Chief Justice [Burger] joins, dissenting.

I agree with the court below that the "power to preserve order on the reservation . . . is a sine qua non of the sovereignty that the Suquamish originally possessed." In the absence of affirmative



withdrawal by treaty or statute, I am of the view that Indian tribes enjoy as a necessary aspect of their retained sovereignty the right to try and punish all persons who commit offenses against tribal law within the reservation. Accordingly, I dissent.

*SOURCE:* 425 U.S. 191, 98 S.Ct. 1011, 55 L. Ed. 2d. 209. Reprinted from David H. Getches, Charles F. Wilkinson, and Robert A. Williams Jr., *Cases and Materials on Federal Indian Law*, 4th ed. (St. Paul, Minn.: West Group, 1998), 532–39. Used with permission of Thomson Reuters.

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. Mescalero Apache chief Wendell Chino once described tribal sovereignty as “a bundle of rights.” What effect did the *Oliphant* ruling have on that bundle? How does the ruling support or contradict the assertion in President Nixon’s message to Congress that “we must assure the Indian that he can assume control of his own life”?
2. What arguments and evidence does the Court present to support its decision? What is the relevance of the demographic information provided in the Court’s note (see [note 93](#), [page 563](#)) to the outcome of the case?
3. What does the dissenting opinion identify as the only basis for removing an aspect of tribal sovereignty?

# Indian Leadership at the End of the Twentieth Century



THROUGHOUT THEIR HISTORY, Indian people and communities have struggled to adapt to new conditions. Some tribes, like the Navajos and Cherokees, have done so successfully time and time again in the face of recurrent setbacks and severe adversity. Successful adjustment has usually entailed balancing old and new, holding on to the past as well as embracing the future. As historian Frederick Hoxie noted from his study of Crow leadership during the difficult era around the beginning of the twentieth century, “political cultures respond to new environments and new pressures with a ‘modern’ version of their traditional culture.”<sup>94</sup> Many tribal leaders still try to cope with a changing world in a manner consistent with tribal values and practices. The following autobiographical passages show the importance of two prominent Indian leaders: Vine Deloria Jr. (1933–2005); and Wilma Mankiller (1945–2010), who served as principal chief of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma from 1985 to 1995. Both drew upon traditional values and tribal history as guides to personal and political behavior in the modern world. Mankiller interspersed passages of Cherokee history in her autobiography; Deloria urged leaders to ground their leadership in the traditional values of their tribes and communities.

Even after their passings, Mankiller and Deloria remain influential figures in Indian country.

Vine Deloria Jr. was “without question the foremost Native American intellectual of our time,” and arguably “one of the most important voices of the twentieth century.” He shaped the legal and political environment Native Americans occupied by the end of the twentieth century and inspired countless young Native scholars and activists who carried his ideas into the twenty-first century.<sup>95</sup> A Standing Rock Sioux, Deloria was born in Martin, a border town on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, in the depth of the Great Depression. Strangely, he said, the Depression was actually good for the people on Pine Ridge because federal programs devised to deal with the national economic crisis “were also made available to Indian people, and there was work available for the first time in the history of the reservations.”<sup>96</sup> World War II changed things. Reservation programs were cut and the U.S. government turned its attention and its finances to winning the war. Many young Sioux men went off to fight; many Sioux families left the reservation to work in defense plants on the West Coast. Returning veterans found it difficult to resume a life of poverty on the reservation after seeing the comparative affluence of the outside world.



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♦ Vine Deloria Jr. (2005)

Author and activist Vine Deloria Jr. (1933–2005), a Standing Rock Sioux, was one of the foremost Native American intellectuals of the twentieth century.

Deloria left the reservation in 1951 when his family moved to Iowa. He attended Iowa State University (earning a BS degree in 1958), served a stint in the marines, and entered seminary at the Lutheran School of Theology in Moline, Illinois. In 1964 he was elected executive director of the National Congress of American Indians, a position he held for three years. In 1967 he entered law school at the University of Colorado, earning his doctorate in 1970. As a writer, professor (at the University of Arizona, then at the University of Colorado), and an outspoken advocate of Indian rights, Deloria brought attention to Native American concerns and to important issues in Indian country that mainstream society ignored, preferred to forget, or misunderstood.

Eloquent, irreverent, and prolific, Deloria articulated the anger and frustrations of many Native Americans, and he wrote with a lethal wit that exposed many of the stereotypes and hypocrisies that governed Indian policies, affected Indians' lives, and even infiltrated Indian societies. In 1969 he published a groundbreaking collection of essays entitled *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*. The book took on race relations in the United States, the federal bureaucracies that hampered Indian life and stifled Indian efforts, Christian churches, and white academics who made their careers as so-called experts on Indians, a subject to which Deloria regularly returned.<sup>27</sup> In a way that no American Indian author had done before, Deloria put non-Indians on the defensive. His portrayal of anthropologists in one of the more famous passages of the book resonated with many Native people and has stood as an indictment of non-Indian academics working in Indian country. Every summer, he wrote, white anthropologists invaded Indian reservations. They were easy to spot: "Go into any crowd of people. Pick out a tall gaunt white man wearing Bermuda shorts, a World War II Army Air Force flying jacket, an Australian bush hat, tennis shoes, and packing a large knapsack incorrectly strapped on his back. He will invariably have a thin sexy wife with stringy hair, an IQ of 191, and a vocabulary in which even the prepositions have eleven syllables." He was there to "observe" but rarely wrote anything down because he already knew everything. "An anthropologist comes out to Indian reservations to make OBSERVATIONS. During the winter these observations will become books by which future anthropologists

will be trained, so that they can come out to reservations years from now and verify the observations they have studied.”<sup>98</sup>

Deloria did more than poke fun and point out absurdities. He articulated the concept of tribal sovereignty and conceptualized “the essential doctrine of tribal self-determination.” *Custer Died for Your Sins* “inspired a generation of American Indian activism” and brought Deloria wide recognition as “the intellectual voice and legal mind behind the Indian civil rights movement.”<sup>99</sup> Deloria followed that book with *We Talk, You Listen: New Tribes, New Turf* (1970), *God Is Red: A Native View of Religion* (1973), and *Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties: An American Declaration of Independence* (1974). Subsequent publications ranged across federal Indian policy, Indian treaties, Indian religion, scientific racism, stereotypes, “New Age” appropriations of Indian rituals, the absurdities of American foreign policy, environmental plundering, and the continued abuses of human rights. As he wrote in the *New York Times Magazine* in 1970, “It just seems to a lot of Indians that this continent was a lot better off when we were running it.”<sup>100</sup>

Deloria wrote the following essay in response to a huge jump in Indian population reported in the 1980 U.S. census. The demographic trends he discussed then have become even more pronounced in subsequent census reports (see [Chapter 10, pages 567–73](#)). Likewise, many of Deloria’s comments about the ramifications of the new popularity of being Indian and the

fundamental requirements for leadership have enduring relevance in Indian country today.

Traditionally, the name *Mankiller* was a title conferred on Cherokee war leaders. Cherokee women who distinguished themselves, sometimes in battle, earned the title of *Ghigau* or “Beloved Woman.” Perhaps the most famous Mankiller of the eighteenth century, Outacite, visited London as part of a Cherokee delegation to the king, but he has been surpassed in history by a namesake and beloved woman of the twentieth century. Wilma Mankiller is the first woman ever elected to the office of principal chief of the Cherokee Nation. Mankiller was born in 1945 to a Cherokee father and a Dutch-Irish mother. One of eleven children, she grew up in rural poverty in Adair County, Oklahoma, in a house with no electricity or running water. The house was located on Mankiller Flats, a 160-acre allotment granted to her grandfather in 1907 when the federal government dismantled the Cherokee government, divided up the land, and created the state of Oklahoma. In 1956 the family moved to San Francisco under the BIA relocation program. Like many other young Indians of her generation, Mankiller found that mixing with other Indians in a new urban environment generated increased political consciousness and commitment to her Indian heritage, exactly the opposite of what the government hoped to achieve by its relocation program. She became active in the Indian rights movement in San Francisco, visiting Alcatraz during its occupation by Indian students (see [pages 461–62](#)).



*DENNIS COOK/AP Images.*

◆ **Wilma Mankiller**

Wilma Mankiller (1945–2010), the first woman to be elected chief of a major Indian tribe, was the principal chief of the Cherokee Nation for ten years. In January 1998, Mankiller received the Presidential Medal of Freedom from President Bill Clinton in recognition of her strong and creative leadership of the Cherokee Nation.

In 1977, after divorcing her husband of eleven years, Mankiller returned to Oklahoma. She had two daughters, Felicia and Gina, no job, and no car. She began working for the Cherokee Nation as a volunteer, started new programs, and obtained grants to run them. In 1981 she became director of the Cherokee Nation Community



Development Department and in 1983 was elected deputy chief of the Cherokee Nation. Two years later, when President Reagan appointed Cherokee chief Ross Swimmer head of the BIA, Mankiller stepped into the office he vacated. Critics gave her little chance of being elected in her own right, and she fought gender prejudice. The next year she married Charlie Soap, a Cherokee traditionalist and community worker.<sup>[101](#)</sup>

Reelected to a four-year term in 1987, and then reelected yet again with more than 80 percent of the vote in 1991, Mankiller served as principal chief of the Cherokee Nation for ten years. During her tenure, she initiated a revitalization in Cherokee country. Tribal membership increased from 55,000 to 156,000, the number of tribal employees almost doubled to 1,271, and the tribal budget doubled to \$86 million. The tribe built three health centers and added nine children's programs. Mankiller testified before Congress on issues ranging from health care to Indian sovereignty, and she met with three U.S. presidents.<sup>[102](#)</sup> She compared her job as Cherokee chief to that of a chief executive officer running a small country.<sup>[103](#)</sup> "We are more of a republic than a reservation and exist in a complex set of laws in relationship to the U.S. government," she explained. "We view it as a dual citizenship."<sup>[104](#)</sup> Mankiller brought to politics a strong belief in the importance of maintaining traditional values and applying them to the solution of contemporary problems. She also brought a belief in leadership roles for women in politics. "Women can help turn the world right side up," she told an audience in Denver in 1994. "We bring a more collaborative

approach to government. And if we do not participate, then decisions will be made for us.”<sup>105</sup> *Ms.* magazine named her Woman of the Year in 1987, and she was inducted into the National Women’s Hall of Fame in 1993. In 1998 President Clinton awarded her the Medal of Freedom — the highest civilian award given by the U.S. government — in recognition of her extraordinary efforts on behalf of Indian peoples.

In her book, *Mankiller: A Chief and Her People*, written with journalist Michael Wallis, she relates her personal odyssey from childhood in rural Oklahoma, to life as an unhappy housewife in the San Francisco area, through the civil rights struggles of the 1960s, back to the Cherokee Nation in the late 1970s, and into national and international prominence in the 1980s and 1990s. She weaves her own story with the history of the Cherokee people. It was, she said, inconceivable to do it any other way.<sup>106</sup> Her own life story of struggle, courage, and triumph in the face of adversity parallels a larger struggle by Indian peoples to overcome the legacies of the past. “We will,” said Mankiller, “enter the twenty-first century more on our own terms than we have entered any other century.”<sup>107</sup> Chad Smith, elected chief in 1999, led the Cherokees into the new century committed to building a Cherokee future on Cherokee terms and using Cherokee talent.<sup>108</sup>

In 1979 Wilma Mankiller was involved in a freak head-on collision with a car driven by her best friend, Sherry Morris. Morris died; Mankiller almost died. Surgeons operated seventeen times and

at one point considered amputating her right leg. A year after the accident, she was diagnosed with myasthenia gravis, a debilitating disease of the nervous system. In 1989 she was hospitalized with a severe kidney infection and the next year underwent a kidney transplant. In the winter of 1996, while a fellow at Dartmouth College, she was diagnosed with lymphoma, a form of cancer. She battled her health problems for the rest of her life. Her death in 2010 deprived Indian country and America of a woman who showed how to lead with grace, courage, and generosity.

The extracts from her autobiography reprinted here focus on her term as deputy chief and her election as principal chief in her own right. In the words of historian Theda Perdue, Mankiller's courage in the face of adversity and her service to her community embodied the values of past generations of Cherokee women, values that had survived recurrent assault. Mankiller herself believed she could not have achieved what she did had it not been for the ordeals she suffered and survived: "After that, I realized I could survive anything," she said. "I had faced adversity and turned it into a positive experience — a better path. I had found the way to be of good mind."<sup>109</sup>

**VINE DELORIA JR. *The Popularity of Being Indian: A New Trend in Contemporary American Society* (1984)**

Unless the increase in the Indian population during the 1970s was due to a remarkable increase in the Indian birthrate, the 1980

census is badly out of kilter and suggests a new social phenomenon of which few people have been aware: the establishment of Indian ancestry as proof of respectability and acceptance in American life has replaced the older concept of American respectability defined by Anglo-Saxon heritage. In 1980 the federal census allowed people to identify their racial background themselves for the first time. In previous census reports ethnicity was determined by other means. The result of the new method was an increase in the American Indian population beyond anyone's wildest estimate. In 1960 the census reported 523,591 Indians in the United States. That figure jumped to 792,730 in 1970, and the last census showed a count of 1,418,195 Indians in the United States. Obviously this latter figure bears some examination. Let us look first at why there has been such a dramatic increase in the number of people identifying themselves as Indians and then address the more important issue — what are the implications of the significant increase of would-be Indians for the Indian community and its culture?

Traditionally Indians were seen as the ultimate underclass. Original residents of this continent, Indians stood in the way of the advances of Western civilization and consequently had to be extinguished or neutralized in some fashion if settlement were to proceed at its anticipated pace. Many tribes were pushed to remote and barren lands away from the major centers of population where they were expected to become sedentary agriculturalists, existing as best they could on fragments of their ancestral lands. The annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs testify that the

experiment in farming was not successful in many areas of the West and the Indian population declined precipitously, reaching an all-time low of 237,196 in 1900. Indians did not prosper under the ministrations of civilization.

The unpopularity of being identified as an American Indian affected early census reports. Whenever possible, if a person could pass as a white, the chances were that he or she did. Unquestionably, early census reports failed to identify many mixed-blood Indians as Indians.

It was probably not until the reforms of the New Deal in 1934, and following, that people began once again to identify themselves as Indians. With the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act and the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act in 1934 and 1936, it became profitable to be an Indian. Certain federal services were made available to tribal members which had not been part of the Indian's lot in previous decades.

However, while the New Deal probably emphasized Indian ancestry for the people who already identified as Indians, there is little evidence that people crossed over from white to Indian identification simply to take advantage of these services or to seek special favors from the government because of their racial identification. In general the number of programs available to non-Indians was considerably greater and more beneficial than that available to Indians.

The Indian population remained at reasonably predictable levels until 1970, so that while the 1940, 1950, and 1960 census reports may be slightly undercounted, there is no reason to suppose that they dreadfully underrepresented the number of Indians. Even the many programs made available to tribes in the War on Poverty did not produce much of an increase in the number of Indians in the United States. One would have expected a large increase between 1960 and 1970 if the sole reason for claiming Indian blood was to acquire eligibility for services provided for Indians by the federal government. The halcyon days of the Office of Economic Opportunity were 1964 to 1968, and with the onset of the Nixon administration the tenor of federal policy was to reduce or eliminate social programs. Although people might have considered themselves Indians in 1964, with the reduction of social programs at the end of the sixties there was no reason to continue the masquerade because the economic benefits inherent in the Indian status were definitely on the decline.

Public opinion was significantly tilted in favor of Indians at the beginning of the seventies. Alcatraz and succeeding activist events may have galvanized the Indian image and made it seem romantic, perhaps even mysteriously exciting, to claim to be an Indian. But the Indian occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in fall 1972 and the occupation and siege of Wounded Knee brought retaliation against Indians by the federal government so that adopting a prominent position as an Indian was not the best way to make one's mark in the world. Continuing cutbacks of federal Indian funds and

the withering of reservation and community programs in the late seventies foretold a desperate situation in Indian country for most people, and at the end of the seventies there was no merit — except perhaps some personal emotional stability — that accrued from claiming Indian blood or ancestry.

We must, then, still account for an increase in the Indian population by an astounding 78 percent between the 1970 and 1980 census reports on the basis of nonbiological factors. Never in human history have so many members of the majority undertaken to identify themselves as members of one of the most historically despised minorities of their society. The general tendency of societies traditionally has been to assimilate burdensome minorities quietly and above all to shun identification with them. A glance at Mexico and other nations south of the border will show that, while there is a majority of Indian blood present in the gene pool of those nations, there is hardly an eagerness to identify with that large racial stock of Indianness. On the contrary, people go out of their way to separate themselves from Indian ancestry, denying sometimes even the heritage that is patently obvious on their faces and in their behavior.

In spite of historical animosity toward Indians, Americans apparently consider Indian identity an important factor in maintaining a sense of personal worth. The old verities that once undergirded American social status seem to have eroded substantially, to the point where identification as an Indian is more

prestigious and more comforting than continued identification as a member of the majority. The Anglo-Saxon culture — particularly that of the North Atlantic region — which once defined mainstream American values, heritage, and ancestry, has apparently given way to a new conception of respectability in which a trace of Indian blood adds a sense of stability. This new conception is extremely curious. The conditions of Indian life have not materially improved in recent decades, not so much because Indians have lacked opportunity but more as a result of the increased opportunities for the accumulation of wealth available to members of the majority. Identifying with a group that continues to lag significantly behind the rest of society economically would seem to be a foolish endeavor. Certainly identifying as an Indian also brings with it the assumed but rarely articulated accusation that the individual has not been able to function adequately in this society. So economics alone cannot explain the increased Indian population.

There is some merit in suggesting that identification as an Indian brings with it certain institutional rewards. Colleges and universities today give preference in admission to minorities, and it may well be that non-Indians, eager to obtain admission to law schools or colleges of medicine, are claiming an Indian ancestry in order to leapfrog their fellow applicants who seek admission on the basis of merit alone. The American Indian Law Center in New Mexico reports that it continues to be astounded at the number of alleged Indians attending law schools in various parts of the country. In checking on the applicants, the American Indian Law



Center is unable to identify very many as Indians. But a few individuals changing races in order to gain admission to professional schools can hardly have swelled the ranks of American Indians by some 625,000 people, unless law schools are being less than candid about the number of people applying for admission.

Another reason frequently given for the startling increase in the Indian population is the application of Title IV of the Indian Education Act to public schools. Under that law, funds are made available to public school systems that have a certain number of Indians attending them. Though school districts may have greatly inflated the figures in order to receive federal funds, identification under these conditions is a function of the school administrators and not a matter of individual preference or belief when filling out census forms. A school official may certify a certain number of Indians in his school for purposes of receiving federal funds. However, this number remains pretty much a creature of the Department of Education; it generally does not spill over into other statistics. There is no good reason to suppose that temporary identification of a student as an Indian during one school year would carry over into a permanent self-image several years later when the census taker arrived at the door.

Closely related to Indian identification for the purpose of qualifying for federal education funds is identification for the purpose of avoiding forced busing to achieve racial balance. In the late sixties in Denver, a busing plan was put forward which allowed

minority children then attending a neighborhood school to escape busing to other parts of town. In a matter of hours the number of Indians in Denver showed a dramatic increase, and there were speculations that Denver might be the world's only wholly American Indian city. Yet forced busing for purposes of integration has not been an imminent peril in people's minds for several years. Claiming an Indian ancestor for the purpose of exempting one's children from busing would again be only a temporary expedient, not a permanent shift from one racial group to another.

Having eliminated biology, economics, admission policies to schools, Title IV funding, and busing as reasons for the increase in Indian identification in the seventies, we now come to the evaluation of personal motives to explain this phenomenon. In American life, the perceived status of the Indian considerably transcends any other status and makes it a desirable complement to one's other personal attributes and accomplishments. The increase in the number of Indians seems to be directly related to the rising interest in religious experience. In the middle sixties, Indians were already acclaimed as the world's first and best ecologists by members of the counterculture. Pop posters proclaimed the Indian reverence for the land, and the protests and occupations almost always featured an Indian activist orating vigorously before the television cameras on some topic advanced as an important religious belief. The demand for restoration of lands, first at Blue Lake in New Mexico and later at Yakima, Warm Springs, and other reservations, laid heavy emphasis on the religious aspect of the

land. Since reverence for lands, sacred places, and environment were sadly lacking in Western religions, people began to see their interest in ecology as encompassing important, new religious dimensions.

By 1972, when the Indians occupied the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters in Washington, D.C., citing religion as a valid reason for conducting protests was a popular pastime among Indians. The later marches on Washington always featured a number of medicine men who conducted ceremonies and admonished the crowds to follow the old tribal traditions. Since few people had been raised in traditional culture, almost anything that seemed right at the time became a form of traditionalism, and popular ceremonies such as the sweat lodge quickly spread across the country. Indeed, the sweat lodge, conducted under an amazing variety of auspices, became the ritual that united the national Indian movement and provided it with a degree of homogeneity.

In the middle and late seventies the number of medicine men and ceremonies proliferated rapidly. Southern California and the Dakotas in particular experienced an explosion of medicine men, so that it was a rare Indian who did not have access to some form of traditional Indian religious experience. That the medicine man and the ceremonies might have little to do with the actual traditions of any particular tribe seemed not to bother anyone participating in these activities. Few Indians questioned the activities of the contemporary medicine men, and as a result, the divergence from

the Indian norm became almost an industry in itself. To be welcomed and sometimes revered by Indians in the neighborhood, an individual needed only bluster to claim a spiritual office in a tribe — generally the more distant the tribe, the more exaggerated were the alleged credentials.

The increased interest in tribal religions did not, unfortunately, influence the ethical behavior of those who professed to have special traditional religious experiences. Both Indians and whites were callously exploited by alleged medicine men who were busy peddling a new form of Indian religion that centered primarily on recycled slogans concerning “Mother Earth.” This new statement of the ancient Indian relationship to the Earth asked little in the way of personal commitment and generated a great deal of excitement in the practitioners and participants. People began to feel that they had reestablished the old linkage to the rhythms and revelations of the planet. Heavy emphasis was given to the recitation of pious phrases that people believed would invoke ancient earth spirits and exempt an individual from the guilt that involvement with contemporary industrial society inevitably created.

Books and newspaper articles reinforced the movement of people toward Indian religious experiences. The writings of John Neihardt and Frank Waters on Indian life became immensely popular, and every summer caravans of young whites made their pilgrimages to Third Mesa and Pine Ridge in search of the ultimate reality. People who had little in the way of an Indian heritage found

themselves having dreams wherein their past lives, always as Indians, were revealed to them. Upon awakening they adopted Indian names and proudly proclaimed their solidarity with Indians. Once accepted by a circle of Indians, there seemed to be no returning to the life of the ordinary American citizen. The Black Elk phraseology and the Hopi history thereafter seemed to bind together diverse groups of Indians and whites-newly-arrived-as-Indians in a contemporary religious experience that transcended all other considerations. In short, Indian culture became a national culture, not because whites adopted the culture as their own, but because they became Indian and helped to define its contemporary expressions and loyalties.

It is interesting to note what was happening to Indians during this same period. The onset of the War on Poverty saw a strengthening of tribal governments on a scale never imagined by John Collier in the thirties.<sup>o</sup> Prior to 1960 most tribes had what might charitably be called “shadow” governments; they had little income and few programs and did very little business as corporate entities. Beginning with the Area Redevelopment Administration and continuing until the present time, tribal governments have had to take on a great many new responsibilities, almost all of them in the program area. The old Community Action Programs of the poverty war led to more sophisticated institutions that included industrial parks, school systems, and housing authorities. Many tribal governments, in the past twenty years, have become larger

than the governments of western towns and counties with a similar population base.

Traditionally Indians conducted their affairs in a highly informal atmosphere. That is to say, formal institutional life was minimized in favor of adherence to customs and kinship responsibilities. With a strong sense of tribal identity, a confirmed isolation from daily intercourse with other groups, and a legend of origin that informed the people that they were specifically chosen from among the peoples of the world to be possessors of a specific religious revelation, tribes did not need to juxtapose the institutions of society against the individual. Social and community disapproval and the shame that misbehavior might bring to families were sufficient to maintain law and order in all but the most pressing circumstances. Today most of the functions that Indians performed spontaneously according to the customs of their tribe are the subject of an agency or institution, tribally operated to be certain, yet imbued with the impersonality that we see in the modern world with its transpersonal activities.

The primary experience of Indians since they went onto the reservations has been one of confronting and resolving their relationship with the non-Indian educational system. From allotment, which was supposed to be a practical experience in the handling of property, to relocation, which was to provide Indian families with firsthand knowledge of the urban areas, almost all federal efforts to assist Indians have been premised on the belief

that Indians could and would adopt the educational values of the larger society. In our time, the postwar era, Indians have become considerably more familiar with education of all kinds. Vocational education has expanded significantly in training programs conducted both on the reservations and in the urban areas. Indians have been admitted to college and graduate professional schools in increasingly greater numbers than at any time in the past. Although still statistically underrepresented, Indians are rapidly becoming accustomed to undertaking difficult educational programs and succeeding in them.

Like other Americans, with the expansion of educational opportunities Indian communities have become subject to the ministrations of the professional specialist and consultant. The division of labor and functions in traditional society was an important part of Indian life, but it was not linked to any set of institutional objectives that sought social stability as an end product. Specialist functions were performed for individuals, and it was in the informal setting that specialties were recognized and approved. The expansion of the functions and tasks of the tribal governments today has meant the inclusion of the specialist in the activities of the Indian community. As in other American communities, however, the specialist/professional follows a personal code of ethics and is responsible to the institutional employer. Usually, the specialist/professional is more likely to serve the community on the basis of his or her own skills and activities than on the basis of the needs of the community. Indian

communities have accordingly changed significantly in the manner in which they view themselves and their access to the knowledge that enables them to succeed and survive in the contemporary world.

If we take the movement of non-Indians toward the Indian way of life — at least toward identification with a set of behaviors and attitudes that they see as Indian — and the movement of Indians, their tribes, and communities toward the American institutional mainstream, we have a strange phenomenon. Indians seem determined to shed a substantial portion of their heritage even while non-Indians are frantically adopting whatever part of the heritage they can discern and feel comfortable performing. The result of this confusion has been the blurring, almost beyond redemption, of the traditions of the individual tribal groups. It is now enough for a person to be fairly prominent in Indian affairs and have sufficient political clout to turn aside any determined inquiries regarding the extent of his Indian heritage. Leadership in Indian communities has consequently become a matter of media exposure rather than community endorsement or approval. Often it is the individual's connection with non-Indian institutions that verifies his or her Indian identity: if accepted by a well-known non-Indian institution as an Indian, the individual is regarded as an Indian — even by many Indians.

The current ambiguity associated with the Indian community cannot continue indefinitely. The banks of the Indian mainstream



have long since overflowed, and as the energies of the Indian movement reach out and include people who have not previously considered themselves Indians or as more people decide to become Indians and willingly leap into the fray, a decided lack of community cohesion results. Loyalties to family, clan, and tribe become faint, and allegiance to political networks and institutional connections become considerably stronger. The Indian landscape takes on the aspect of a charade played out before a bewildered audience that is unable to spot the players or their numbers and has not the slightest idea how one obtains a program for this ritual drama.

A scrutiny of the past may provide clues to the solution of the current problems in the Indian community. The Indian relationship to the United States was originally a political relationship, even though the conflict between Indians and members of the majority was primarily racial in character. In the last two decades the political relationship has matured into a rather precisely defined legal relationship in which rights and responsibilities are determined either by Congress or by the courts. The racial conflict has evolved and for a while appeared to be cultural conflict, but more recently it has become the great counterlifestyle for many people. The specifics of culture have given way to the generalities of fashion, and as the precision of personal behavior becomes less meaningful, a great many things that are simply alternatives to the activities of the majority are considered to be within the sphere of Indian behavior.

Much of what has happened to Indians in the contemporary world was probably predictable once the isolation of the Indian communities was disturbed by the developments of the postwar world. Interstate highways, airplanes, rural electrification, and the entrance of radios, televisions, and telephones in reservations have made a significant difference in the way Indians live their lives and in the manner in which they understand the world. Like other rural people, Indians are presently in a state of deep and profound culture shock, and this trauma cannot easily be overcome. The electric universe continues to transmit more information to Indian communities than they can possibly absorb and understand. And as with other Americans, about all Indians can do is try to fend off the most depressing aspects of contemporary life and hope for better days.

The present situation in Indian country calls for the most intelligent and determined leadership to express itself in an unqualified endorsement of traditions and values that have always been associated with the respective tribes and communities. Today Indians need to speak up but not in the same sense as the sixties and seventies required them to speak. The Indian community needs to address its problems, and it can best perform this task by addressing itself and engaging in new kinds of dialogue within tribes and between tribes. Standards of conduct ought to be reestablished, and individuals should be willing to subscribe to them and follow them. A careful accounting of the tribal cultural heritage is important for every Indian group, and impostors must

be driven out. Each Indian tribe has the right, and the responsibility, to determine the criteria for establishing tribal membership. Elected tribal leaders need to develop a new sense of corporate responsibility that can break the present networking with larger institutions and reestablish the old codes of proper conduct and concern that once characterized Indians as a distinct group.

There is every indication that at the grass roots of different tribes this new sense of identity and meaning is emerging. The recent election of Peterson Zah to the chairmanship of the Navajo tribe is a good sign that at the local level the Navajos have chosen to bring their government closer to themselves and force it to perform useful functions for the community as a whole. A new group of Indian leaders seems to be emerging in other places that would demonstrate that the old cohesion that once marked tribes as a people set apart is stirring and making itself felt. Whatever values and beliefs Indians might contribute to American society as a whole cannot be made as long as there is such confusion regarding the real strengths of Indian life. It will be only when Indians begin to speak with a coherent point of view that they will be in a position to assist in the continuing task of improving American society. One cannot hazard exactly what that contribution might be, but it should be of lasting value.

As the attention of the federal government was directed toward Indian communities in the postwar years, a pattern for relationships developed in which Indians recited their problems

and a bewildering multitude of bureaucrats, experts, and politicians stepped forward with promises of assistance and assurances of understanding. Considering the situation today, no one standing outside the Indian community is exactly certain what the best approach is for handling the problems of the Indian community. Few people want to dwell primarily on problems, and fewer people still can suggest solutions without identifying the areas where energies must be directed.

Nevertheless, it seems incumbent on us today to discard the mere recitation of wrongs and problems and call people back to a confidence in themselves that can begin to address the areas that demand attention. In the old days — customs, traditions, and whatever institutions were in vogue had a mission to serve the people. If they did not prove useful, they were discarded. That critical sense of utility now seems to be surfacing again. Let us not view it as disruptive but as an opportunity to move forward again toward new horizons and accomplishments. By counting the people who respond to the opportunities of the contemporary world, we will be able to determine how many Indians there really are.

° For more on Collier, see [pages 437–39](#).

*SOURCE:* “The Popularity of Being Indian: A New Trend in Contemporary American Society,” from *Spirit and Reason: The Vine Deloria, Jr., Reader* (Golden, Colo.: Fulcrum, 1999), 230–40. Reprinted by permission of Fulcrum Publishing.

**WILMA MANKILLER** *Returning the Balance* (1993)

“I, Wilma P. Mankiller, do solemnly swear, or affirm, that I will faithfully execute the duties of Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation. And will, to the best of my abilities, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitutions of the Cherokee Nation and the United States of America. I swear, or affirm, further that I will do everything within my power to promote the culture, heritage, and tradition of the Cherokee Nation.” . . .

By the time I took the oath of office, my eldest daughter, Felicia, had married, and I had my first grandchild, Aaron Swake. I was a forty-year-old grandmother, as well as the first woman to serve as chief of a major tribe. I told the reporters, who seemed to materialize from out of nowhere, that the only people who were really worried about my serving as chief were members of my family. That was because all of them knew very well how much time I tended to devote to my job. My daughters were, of course, concerned about my health. But my little grandson thought it was great that his grandma was the chief. . . .

One thing that I never tried to become as chief was “one of the boys,” nor am I a “good ol’ girl.” I never will be. That goes against my grain. I do know how to be political and to get the job done, but I do not believe that one must sacrifice one’s principles. Gradually, I noticed changes within the tribe and especially within the council.

Rural development was, and still remains, a high priority on my list of goals. For me, the rewards came from attempting to break the

circle of poverty. My feeling is that the Cherokee people, by and large, are incredibly tenacious. We have survived so many major political and social upheavals, yet we have kept the Cherokee government alive. I feel confident that we will march into the twenty-first century on our own terms. We are staffed with professionals — educators, physicians, attorneys, business leaders. Already, in the 1800s, we fought many of our wars with lawsuits, and it was in the courts where many of our battles were won. Today, we are helping to erase the stereotypes created by media and by western films of the drunken Indian on a horse, chasing wagon trains across the prairie. I suppose some people still think that all native people live in tepees and wear tribal garb every day. They do not realize that many of us wear business suits and drive station wagons. The beauty of society today is that young Cherokee men and women can pursue any professional fields they want and remain true to traditional values. It all comes back to our heritage and our roots. It is so vital that we retain that sense of culture, history, and tribal identity.

We also are returning the balance to the role of women in our tribe. Prior to my becoming chief, young Cherokee girls never thought they might be able to grow up and become chief themselves. That has definitely changed. From the start of my administration, the impact on the younger women of the Cherokee Nation was noticeable. I feel certain that more women will assume leadership roles in tribal communities. . . .

In 1987, after I had fulfilled the balance of Ross Swimmer's term as chief, I made the decision to run on my own and to win a four-year term of office. It was not an easy decision. I knew the campaign would be most difficult. I talked to my family and to my people. I spent long hours discussing the issues with Charlie Soap, whom I had married in 1986. Charlie had contracted with private foundations to continue development work with low-income native community projects. His counsel to me was excellent. He encouraged me to run. So did many other people.

But there were others who were opposed to my continuing as chief. Even some of my friends and advisers told me they believed the Cherokee people would accept me only as deputy, not as an elected principal chief. Some of those people came to our home at Mankiller Flats. I would look out the window and see them coming down the dirt road to tell me that I should give up any idea of running for chief. Finally, I told Charlie that if one more family came down that road and told me not to run, I was going to run for sure. That is just what happened.

I made my official announcement in early 1987, calling for a "positive, forward-thinking campaign." I chose John A. Ketcher, a member of the tribal council since 1983, as my running mate for the June 20 election. In 1985, John had been elected by the council to succeed me as deputy chief when I became principal chief. An eleven-sixteenths bilingual Cherokee, John was born in southern Mayes County in 1922. A veteran of World War II and a graduate of

Northeastern State University in Tahlequah, Ketcher, as I do, considered unity and economic development to be the two priorities for the Cherokee Nation. . . .

I drew three opponents in the race for principal chief. I had to face Dave Whitekiller, a postal assistant from the small community of Cookson and a former councilman; William McKee, deputy administrator at W. W. Hastings Indian Hospital, in Tahlequah; and Perry Wheeler, a former deputy chief and a funeral home director from Sallisaw, in Sequoyah County.

From the beginning, the best description of the campaign came from someone on the council, who said there was an “undercurrent of viciousness.” I ignored things that were going on around me. I did the same thing I had always done — went out to the communities and talked to as many of the Cherokee people as possible about the issues. I tried to answer all their questions. My critics claimed that I had failed to properly manage and direct the Cherokee Nation, which was obviously false. Our revenue for 1986 was up \$6 million, higher than it had ever been to that point. I was not about to lose focus by warring with my opponents.

The election eliminated all the candidates except for Perry Wheeler and me. None of us had received more than 50 percent of the votes. I had polled 45 percent to Wheeler’s 29 percent. We had to face each other in a July runoff. My supporters worked very hard during those last few weeks. Charlie was one of my main



champions. On my behalf, Charlie visited many rural homes where English is a second language to remind the people that prior to the intrusion of white men, women had played key roles in our government. He asked our people to not turn their backs on their past or their future.

Charlie's help was especially important because I was stricken with my old nemesis, kidney problems, during the final weeks of the campaign. Finally, just before the election, I had to be hospitalized in Tulsa, but the physicians never determined the exact location of the infection and could not bring it under control. The lengthy infection and hospitalization would nearly cost me not only the election but also my life, since it brought on extensive and irreversible kidney damage. From that point forward, I was repeatedly hospitalized for kidney and urinary-tract infections, until I underwent surgery and had a kidney transplant in 1990.

Wheeler, an unsuccessful candidate for the chief's job against Ross Swimmer in 1983, tried to make my hospitalization a major issue. He waged a vigorous and negative runoff campaign. He publicly stated that I had never been truthful about my health. It all reminded me of the way Swimmer had been attacked when he was battling cancer. Wheeler, whom I can best describe as an old-style politician, also made claims that I had not hired enough Cherokee people for what he called the higher-paying tribal posts. . . .

When all the ballots from thirty-four precincts plus the absentee votes were tallied, the woman who supposedly knew nothing about politics was declared the winner. The night of the runoff election, we went to the Tulsa Powwow, where my daughter Gina was being honored. In a photograph taken that evening, Charlie, Gina, Felicia, and I look very tired and worn, as if we had just been through a battle. Later that night, we returned to Tahlequah to check on the election results. When the votes of the local precincts were counted, it appeared that I had won easily. Everyone around me was celebrating, but I was concerned about the absentee votes. Once that vote was included, I allowed myself to celebrate.

At last, the Cherokee Nation had elected its first woman as principal chief — the first woman chief of a major Native American tribe. I had outpolled Wheeler, and John Ketcher had retained his post as deputy chief. Wheeler conceded victory to me shortly before midnight.

At long last, I had the mandate I had wanted. I had been chosen as principal chief of the Cherokee Nation by my own people. It was a sweet victory. Finally, I felt the question of gender had been put to rest. Today, if anyone asks members of our tribe if it really matters if the chief is male or female, the majority will reply that gender has no bearing on leadership. . . .

If I am to be remembered, I want it to be because I am fortunate enough to have become my tribe's first female chief. But I also want

to be remembered for emphasizing the fact that we have indigenous solutions to our problems. Cherokee values, especially those of helping one another and of our interconnections with the land, can be used to address contemporary issues.

*SOURCE:* Wilma Mankiller and Michael Wallis, *Mankiller: A Chief and Her People* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 242–51. Copyright © 1993 by Wilma Mankiller and Michael Walli. Reprinted with the permission of St. Martin's Press. All rights reserved.

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. What do Deloria and Mankiller regard as the major challenges confronting Indian people at the end of the twentieth century?
2. Both writers, in different ways, deal with issues of identity. What concerns does Deloria express about the growing trend to identify with and as Indians? What identity issues does Mankiller confront?
3. In what ways do Deloria and Mankiller find traditional solutions to modern-day problems? What qualities do they suggest are required for Indian leaders to succeed in a fast-paced and complex modern world?

# PICTURE ESSAY

## Indian Artists Depict Modern Indian Life

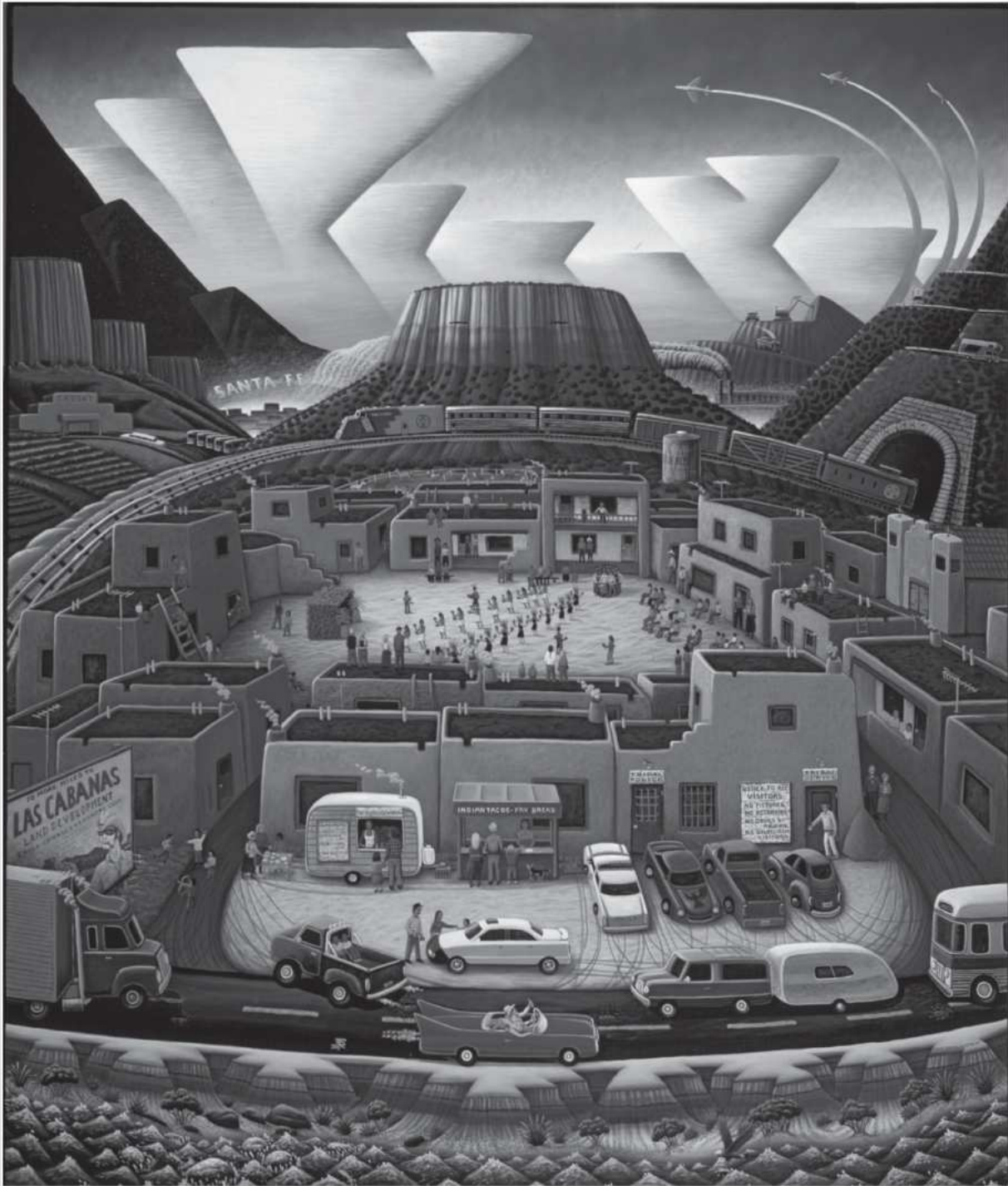


FOR A LONG TIME NON-INDIANS DOMINATED representations of Indian life, but they have never monopolized it. Indian people have always interpreted their past and present in their own ways and they continue to do so in literature, art, and film. Modern-day Native artists provide commentary on Indian experiences and depict aspects of Indian life that non-Indian artists have often missed, ignored, or misrepresented. They have dismantled old notions among some non-Indians that “Indian art” comprises only baskets, blankets, and pottery, and they employ new forms of expression while responding to traditional inspirations and values.<sup>110</sup> They often offer non-Indian audiences fresh, and sometimes troubling, perspectives on American history and contemporary American society.

In 1958 Sioux artist Oscar Howe was rejected by the Philbrook Museum’s *Annual* because his work was considered too modern and abstract to be “Indian.” Howe was furious. “There is much more to

Indian art than pretty, stylized pictures,” he said. “Are we to be held back forever with one phase of Indian painting?”<sup>111</sup> In the decades since that incident, Native artists have answered Howe’s question with a resounding “No!” They have developed other styles, creating works of art that are abstract, humorous, ironic, and discomfiting, as well as those that are visually beautiful. Many works combine traditional and new elements in their subject matter, composition, and style. In depicting Indian life today and the challenges and opportunities Indian people face, artists confront ugliness as well as beauty, draw on tradition as well as display innovation, and celebrate survival in the midst of disruption. They work against attitudes and assumptions that continue to inflict damage on Indian communities. Some make explicit social and political statements.

As Chippewa artist David Bradley conveys, Indian country by the end of the twentieth century was a complex mix of old and new, of continuity and change ([Figure 9.1](#)). Many artists offer comments and insights on the challenges Indian people face living in modern America and on the persistence of traditional ways and values in contemporary society. As in many other societies, humor often functions as a coping mechanism for dealing with hardship and hard times, and Native artists employ humor and irony, poking fun at enduring stereotypes and sometimes at themselves.



*Indian Country Today*, 1996–97 (oil on canvas)/Bradley, David P. (b. 1954)/PEABODY ESSEX MUSEUM/Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, USA/Bridgeman Images.

♦ Figure 9.1 David P. Bradley, *Indian Country Today* (1997)

Harry Fonseca, an artist of Maïdu/Portuguese/Hawaiian descent, has painted a series of pictures featuring the trickster figure Coyote. “I believe my Coyote paintings to be the most contemporary statements I have painted in regard to traditional beliefs and contemporary reality,” said Fonseca. “I have taken a universal Indian image, Coyote, and have placed him in a contemporary setting.”<sup>112</sup> In *Coyote Woman in the City* ([Figure 9.2](#)), Coyote is a woman walking the city streets.



Harry Fonseca, Maidu, 1946–2006, *Coyote Woman in the City*, 1979, Acrylic, glitter, sequins and foil on canvas, Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth: Gift of the Class of 1962; P.989.10  
©2016 Harry Fonseca Collection, Autry Museum of the America West.

♦ Figure 9.2 Harry Fonseca, *Coyote Woman in the City* (1979)

Indian tribes enjoy unique political status as sovereign nations within the United States. But, as this sculpture by Onondaga Peter



Jones suggests ([Figure 9.3](#)), their efforts to control their own lives and lands are often severely curtailed. Historic loss of lands, depletion of resources, lack of economic bases, limited educational opportunities, erosion of languages and traditions, pressing health and social problems — all hamper Indian political aspirations, even as they motivate them. Racist attitudes and stereotypes, intrusions by the federal and state governments, and the sometimes stifling hand of the BIA also present obstacles to self-government. How might one interpret the bound arms on Peter Jones's sculpture — what does tribal sovereignty amount to when it is subject to the plenary power of Congress, limitations imposed by the courts, and other constraints on tribal self-government?

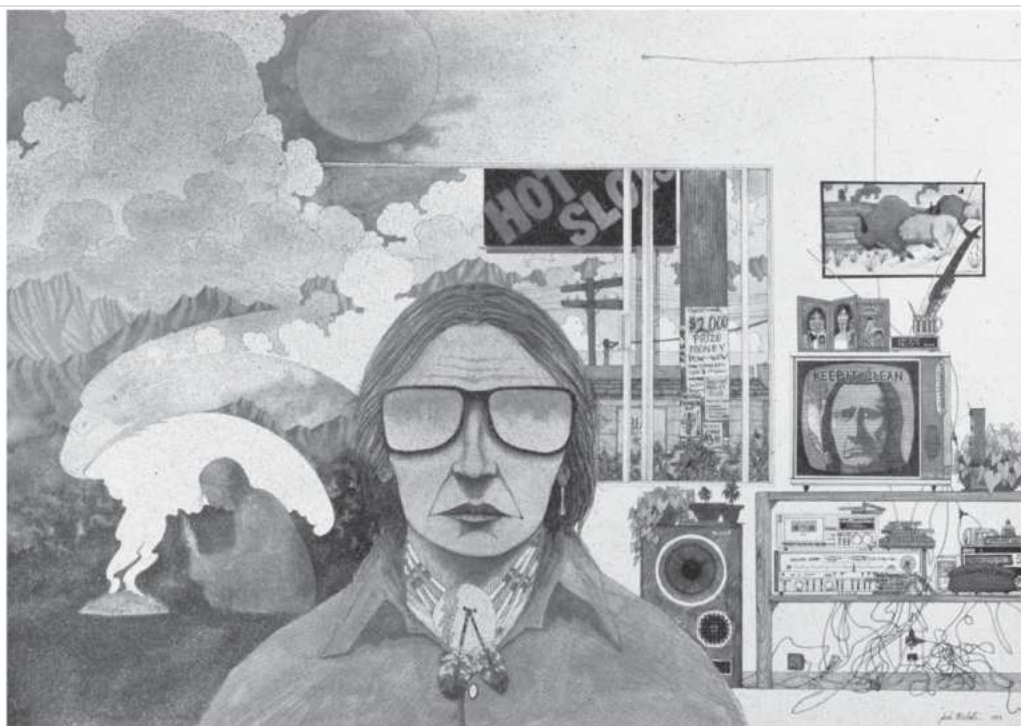


Courtesy of the Iroquois Indian  
Museum, [www.iroquoismuseum.org](http://www.iroquoismuseum.org).

◆ Figure 9.3 Peter Jones, *Sovereign Indian*

In “It’s Hard to Be Traditional When You’re All Plugged In,” Jack Malotte (Western Shoshone, b. 1953) shows an Indian in sunglasses in front of ceremonial symbols and electronic entertainment systems ([Figure 9.4](#)). This mixed-media work was featured in an exhibit on Indian Humor at the National Museum of the American Indian–New York in 1998. Malotte said at the time:

Prize-winning traditional dancers make me laugh. White Indian experts make me laugh. Christian Indians make me laugh. White artists who paint Indian things better than Indians make me laugh. Indian tacos being called a traditional food makes me laugh. Indians who call themselves cowboys make me laugh. Mixing Indian culture with the dominant society makes me laugh.<sup>113</sup>



Jack Malotte.

◆ Figure 9.4 Jack Malotte, *It's Hard to Be Traditional When You're All Plugged In*

In “Before Here Was Here,” Pawnee/Yakama artist and poet Bunky Echo-Hawk (b. 1973) foregrounds an iconic grouping in which a Native elder relates a story and imparts traditional wisdom to the young, against the backdrop of the world’s largest retail

company and a symbol of American global capitalism and consumerism ([Figure 9.5](#)).



Bunky Echo-Hawk (Pawnee/Yakama).

◆ Figure 9.5 Bunky Echo-Hawk, *Before Here Was Here*

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. In what ways do the works of art shown here challenge popular notions of what constitutes “Indian art”?
2. What suggestions do these paintings and the Jones sculpture make about Indian peoples’ adjustments to new ways and their presence and participation in modern America?

3. What do the works of art say about Indian identity in modern America?

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## CHAPTER 10

# Nations within a Nation: Indian Country Today



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### FOCUS QUESTION

What challenges and opportunities do Indian tribes in the United States confront today?

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**1978**

Congress creates Federal Acknowledgment Project (now the Office of Federal Acknowledgment) in the BIA

**1979**

Choctaws elect Phillip Martin chief; marks beginning of tribe's economic revitalization

**1990**

Native American Languages Act

**1999**

Trademark Trial and Appeal Board voids Washington Redskins' trademark rights

**2000**

Census records a population of 2.5 million American Indians, with an additional 1.6 million people claiming partial Indian ancestry

**2005**

Indian Tribal Energy Development and Self-Determination Act

**2005**

Congress updates 1994 Violence Against Women Act

**2006**

Native American Languages Preservation Act

**2007**

Cherokees amend tribal constitution to grant citizenship "by blood" only

**2007**

United Nations adopts the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

**2010**

Congress passes the Tribal Law and Order Act

**2010**

U.S. census records a population of 2.9 million American Indians, with another 2.3 million people claiming partial Indian ancestry

**2010**

United States endorses the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

**2012**

*The Round House*, by Louise Erdrich, wins National Book Award for Fiction

**2013**

Congress passes Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act

**2013**

U.S. Supreme Court decides the “Baby Veronica” case

**2014**

First gathering of the National Congress of Black American Indians

**2014**

Native Language Immersion Student Achievement Act introduced into Congress

**2015**

In February, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers initiates the Dakota Access Pipeline Project

**2016**

Congress adopts the buffalo as the national mammal of the United States

**2016**

In August, the Standing Rock Sioux, represented by Earthjustice, file an injunction, suing the Army Corps of Engineers

**2017**

President Trump signs executive order giving the go-ahead for the XL and Dakota Access pipelines

**2017**

President Trump announces plans to reduce Bears Ears National Monument by 85 percent

**2017**

New U.S. tax bill opens Alaska National Wildlife Area to drilling

# A TWENTY-FIRST-CENTURY RENAISSANCE

LAKOTA AUTHOR JOSEPH MARSHALL III WROTE that the turn of the new century meant that “the Lakota have made it through another winter” — a very long winter.<sup>1</sup> For Indian people throughout the country, the turn of the millennium was an occasion to remember the hardships they had survived, assess challenges they continued to face, and embrace new opportunities to ensure that Indian country at the end of the twenty-first century would be stronger than it was at the beginning of the century.

Centuries after Europeans first arrived on the continent, the legacies of conquest, colonization, cultural assault, and failed government policies of dependency are still evident in harrowing statistics, broken lives, and stifled hopes. Indian America continues to defy easy and narrow descriptions, but as a group, Native Americans are still among the most impoverished people in the United States. Some reservations remain notorious for poverty, alcoholism, and unemployment. Indian nations have been pushed to the brink, but they have survived and are now rebuilding and in some cases prospering. Wrapping up his survey of the struggles waged by Indian nations in modern America, legal scholar Charles

Wilkinson concludes: “Never has this land seen such staying power.”<sup>2</sup>

Throughout Indian country, tribes are reasserting their rights to self-governance, providing services formerly administered by the federal government, pursuing new economic endeavors, taking over education, running language programs, improving health and living conditions, challenging and confounding old stereotypes about identity and culture, and preserving and applying tribal values in the modern world. The Native American population is on the rise and Indian country today is forging a renaissance.<sup>3</sup> New sources of prosperity, tribal sovereignty, political influence, and cultural revitalization are creating new conditions, new rules, and new relations with American society. Native American nations, communities, and individuals still struggle, and sometimes fail, to overcome the legacies of colonialism, oppression, and dependency. But in all kinds of ways, they are beginning to “transcend the half millennium of culture shock brought about by the confrontation with Western civilization.” In the first year of the new millennium, just a few years before his death, Vine Deloria Jr. predicted: “When we leave the culture shock behind, we will be masters of our own fate again and able to determine for ourselves what kind of lives we will lead.”<sup>4</sup>

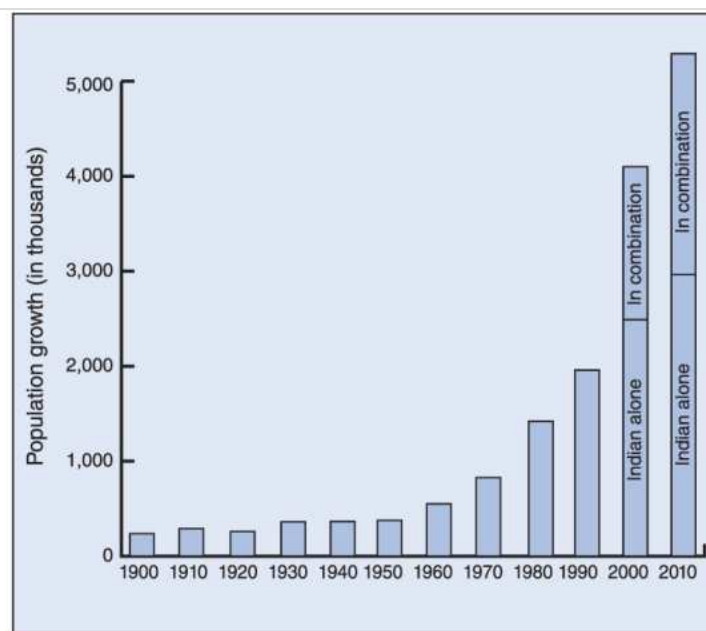
# The Census: An Evolving Profile of Indian America

American Indians were first counted as a separate group in the U.S. census in 1860, but that census did not include Indian people living on reservations and in Indian Territory. Not until 1890 were Indians counted throughout the country. In 1900 the Indian population of the United States was recorded at 237,196, or only 0.3 percent of the nation's total recorded population. Many people took it as clear evidence that Indians were on the brink of extinction. But the 1900 census was off the mark. In those days, census enumerators classified race on the basis of observation — in other words, you were counted as an Indian if you “looked” like one. Census counters failed to identify many Indian people, and many Indians chose not to be identified. Instead of continuing decline and disappearance in the twentieth century, Indian population rebounded, at first slowly and then dramatically (see [Chart 10.1](#)). In a changing social climate marked by increased Indian activism, increased interest in Indian cultures, and increased prestige and opportunities associated with Indian heritage, many people who had not done so before literally stood up to be counted as Indians.

In 2000 the Census Bureau used **self-identification** as its criterion and for the first time ever allowed respondents to check more than one box; the results of that census showed that the



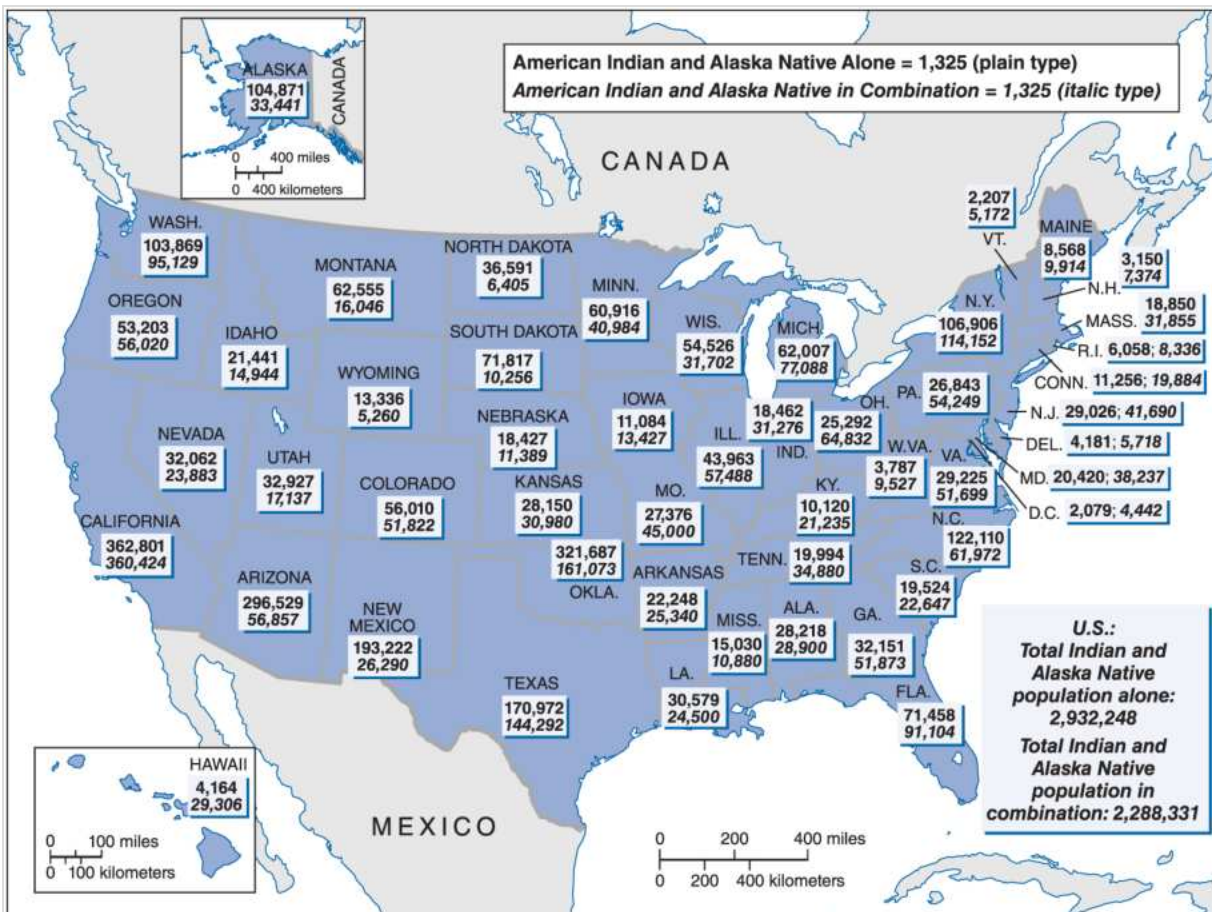
Indian population had risen to 2.5 million, with an additional 1.6 million people identifying themselves as part Indian — American Indian and white, American Indian and black, and so on — in the “American Indian in combination” category. Improved health conditions, higher birthrates, and lower death rates accounted for some of the increases — more Indians were being born and living longer — but the huge rise in American Indian population in the second half of the twentieth century was due to changing patterns in ethnic identity rather than natural increase: far more people were calling themselves Indians (see [Vine Deloria Jr., pages 546–52](#)).<sup>5</sup> In the 2010 census, those numbers again increased considerably, with 2.9 million residents identifying as Indian and another 2.3 million identifying as part Indian ([Chart 10.1](#)). According to the 2010 census, self-identified Indians now account for 1.7 percent of America’s total population.



Calloway, *First Peoples*, 6e, © 2019 Bedford/St. Martin's

♦ Chart 10.1 American Indian Population Growth Rate, 1900–2010

The 2000 and 2010 censuses also calculated tribal populations, again including an “in combination” category. In both years, the Cherokees and Navajos were reported as the largest tribes. Alaska Natives have been counted since 1880 but were generally reported in the “American Indian” category until 1940, when they began to be enumerated separately as Eskimo and Aleut. The census now uses a combined “American Indian or Alaska Native” response category to gather data on both population groups. The state with the highest proportion of Native population is Alaska, where 14.8 percent identified as American Indian and Alaska Native alone, and 19.6 percent of the population identified itself as full or part American Indian or Alaska Native in 2010 ([Map 10.1](#)).



Information from The American Indian and Alaska Native Population: 2010 Census Briefs. Issued January 2012.

#### ♦ Map 10.1 Indian Populations, 2010

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, Indian populations continued to grow steadily in every state, rebounding dramatically after the massive declines of previous centuries.

In addition to huge increases in the numbers of people reporting as American Indians and Alaska Natives, the 2000 and 2010 censuses confirmed patterns of population distribution that earlier censuses had already identified: most American Indians are located in the West and Midwest, with more than 50 percent of America's Indian population living in just ten states. Almost one in four Indian people reside in either Oklahoma or California, and the

Indian population of California is now as high as it was before European contact. In 2010, 78 percent of American Indians and Alaska Natives in both census categories (alone or in combination) lived outside of “American Indian and Alaska Native areas” (federal or state reservations, off-reservation trust lands, etc.). Well over half of all American Indians live in urban areas, although often in cities close to reservations, where they can move with ease between both communities. New York City and Los Angeles have the largest populations (112,000 and 54,000 respectively in 2010), followed by Phoenix, Oklahoma City, and Anchorage, Alaska, although Anchorage, with 36,000, has the greatest proportion of American Indian and Alaska Natives (12 percent of the total population).

## Who Is an Indian?

There is no simple answer. The question is a contentious one that goes beyond mere numbers to the issue and nature of tribal and cultural survival in the twenty-first century. Neither Indian tribes nor the federal government apply a single criterion for identifying who is an Indian. Different Indian nations have different rules for membership. Urban Indians may have different criteria for identifying as Indians than do reservation Indians.<sup>6</sup> The BIA defines Indians as people who are members of federally recognized tribes, but some Indian people do not belong to recognized tribes. The government counts as Indian those people who have (depending on

the purpose) one-half or one-quarter ancestry, but degree of ancestry, or “blood,” in itself might not be sufficient for membership in some tribes, and in some cases may not be required at all for membership. Residence, status in the community, and many other factors can play into whether one is regarded as Indian. The same person might be regarded as an Indian by some people and as non-Indian by others. Individuals may think of themselves as ethnically, culturally, or politically Indian. As ethnic identities become increasingly complex and flexible, the same person might consider him- or herself Indian for some purposes and in some situations but not in others.

Indian nations historically determined membership with little or no regard to “blood.” Members of other tribes and even Europeans could become tribal members through marriage, adoption, or even choice. In many areas of the country, intermarriage between Indians and non-Indians was more common than armed conflict. Around Puget Sound, for example, Native people and their offspring had extensive and intimate relations with immigrants and their offspring, with the result that the descendants of the Indians who were there when Europeans first arrived are now “inextricably tangled in the cultural, economic, and racial threads of a social fabric designed by non-Indians.”<sup>7</sup>



Dwayne Wilcox, Oglala Lakota, born 1957, *Wow, Full-blooded White People*, 2008, Crayon, colored pen cil and felt-tipped pen on ledger paper, Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth: Purchased through the Guernsey-Center Moore 1904 Fund; 2008.59.5 Used by permission of the artist.

### **Dwayne Wilcox, *Wow, Full-Blooded White People* (2008)**

Drawing on the stylistic traditions of ledger art (see [“The Fort Marion Artists,” pages 425–30](#)), Oglala Lakota artist Dwayne Wilcox, born in 1957, pokes fun at ideas of blood quotas by turning the tables on Anglo-American tourists, or “reversing the gaze.” His ledger art conveys some of the absurdity of having outsiders determine who is or is not an “authentic” Indian.

In many areas, Indian people and African Americans have had long histories of intermarriage, with the result that some people identify themselves as black Indians. The first gathering of the National Congress of Black American Indians was held in Washington, D.C., in July 2014. Ethnic groups change as human relations change, and many Indian peoples define themselves on their own terms, perhaps distinguishing themselves from outsiders

on the basis of clan and kinship or involvement in community and ceremony, rather than a measured tribal and ethnic identity.<sup>8</sup> “Blood” often has little to do with it.

But the U.S. government has attempted to institutionalize definitions of Indianness. The terms *Indian* and *tribe*, introduced by non-Indians, became crucial terms for classifying a huge array of people. Federal bureaucrats tried to reduce multiple ways of being Indian to simple and static categories. Government criteria for identifying Indians in the wake of extensive intermarriage with non-Indians introduced the concept of “blood quantum” (that is, one must be “one half” or “one-quarter” to qualify). Blood quotas remain to this day, though they are often inconsistently applied and with damaging results. As Indian people continue to marry non-Indians, levels of “Indian blood” will inevitably become “diluted,” with the result that Indians will eventually “disappear” or be defined out of existence if they continue to be identified according to this criterion. As activist and writer Ward Churchill put it, “North America’s Native peoples have been bound ever more tightly into the carefully crafted mechanisms of oppression and eventual negation.”<sup>9</sup> More than 50 percent of all Indians are married to non-Indians. If current trends continue, it has been projected that only about 8 percent of Indian people will have one-half or more Indian ancestry by the year 2080. As Cherokee demographer Russell Thornton predicts, “a point will be reached — perhaps not too far in the future — when it will no longer make sense to define American Indians in genetic terms, only as tribal members or as people of

Indian ancestry or ethnicity.”<sup>10</sup> One journalist asks, “How much blending can occur before Indians finally cease to be Indians?”<sup>11</sup>

Even though census figures show a growing number of Native Americans, and despite a willingness to let people define themselves (at least statistically), identity is still a crucial issue. Self-identification is not always good enough for skeptics, Native and non-Native, who point out that an Indian identity might provide access to land claim settlements, casino wealth, scholarships, health benefits, mineral and resource royalties, or other rights. Are some of the “new Indians” really just “wannabes”? Are people who self-identify as Indian but who lack tribal affiliation really Indian? Should urban Indians who have never lived on the reservation qualify as tribal members, especially when membership means access to tribal services or per capita payments from oil and gas leases? Should blood quota play any role in measuring Indianness? If not, what criteria should be applied? Should the federal government or other outside agencies have any say regarding how Indian communities determine their own membership?

Some Indian communities have attempted to tighten up the tribal rolls by excluding people who marry non-Indians or the children of people who have married outsiders, but it is uncertain what the long-term effects of such policies will be. Other communities reject the idea of measuring “Indian blood”: on Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, the Oglalas abandoned blood quantum as a criterion of tribal enrollment, basing membership



instead on factors such as residency and commitment to the Oglala people.<sup>[12](#)</sup>

For many years, the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma determined membership by tracing descent from a person on the 1906 tribal roll rather than on the degree of blood. The tribal roll was compiled to divide land among tribal members under the allotment process and contained three categories: “Cherokees by Blood,” “Intermarried Whites,” and “Freedmen.” But in 2007, the Cherokees voted for an amendment to the tribal constitution that limited citizenship to descendants of “by blood” tribal members listed on the rolls, thereby revoking the tribal citizenship of an estimated 2,800 people descended from freedmen, people the Cherokees once held as slaves but who received citizenship in the Cherokee Nation after the Civil War (as mandated by the Treaty of 1866 with the federal government). The 2007 **Cherokee freedmen** vote sparked anger and controversy and divided Cherokees. Principal Chief Chad Smith and others defended the Cherokees’ right to define their own membership as a fundamental attribute of sovereignty. Critics saw it as an act of racial discrimination, although most other Indian nations have a blood requirement for citizenship. The Congressional Black Caucus threatened to block the \$300 million the Cherokees received annually in federal funds unless the tribe reinstated the people who had been disenfranchised, but it relented when the Cherokee Nation agreed to allow the issue to be resolved in the courts.<sup>[13](#)</sup> In 2011 the Cherokee District Court declared the freedmen amendment void as a matter of law since it violated the

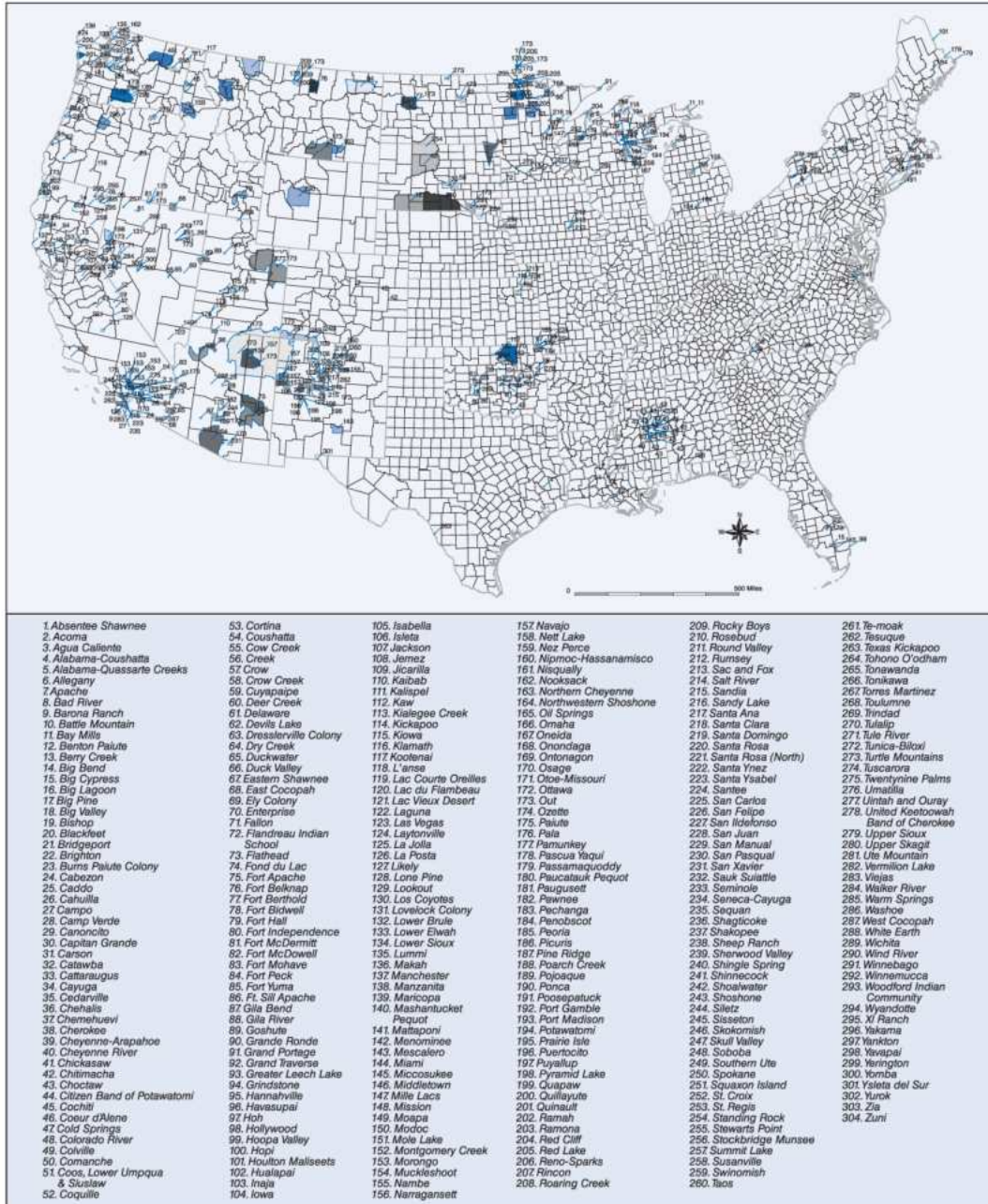
Treaty of 1866, but it was overturned later that year by the Cherokee Supreme Court. Both sides subsequently filed complaints in federal court. On August 30, 2017, the U.S. District Court ruled in favor of the Freedmen descendants, granting them full rights to citizenship in the Cherokee Nation. The Cherokee Nation has accepted the decision.

What it means to be Indian continues to be a complex and sometimes divisive issue. Some companies now advertise DNA testing services as a “fast, simple and noninvasive” method of producing “irrefutable results” for “determining Native American lineage for tribal enrollment.”<sup>14</sup> Like blood quotas, DNA testing offers one measure of determining identity, but biological proof of Native American ancestry does not in itself guarantee membership in tribes that might place higher value on sustained family ties, cultural knowledge, and community involvement. DNA testing may seem foolproof, but it raises the specter of the kind of racial science that whites applied to Indians in the nineteenth century and it may pose a new threat to tribal sovereignty.<sup>15</sup>

## “Recognized” and “Nonrecognized” Tribes

The question “Who is really an Indian?” is posed to tribes as well as to individuals.<sup>16</sup> The BIA acts not only as trustee for Indian

resources, but it also decides which groups are formally recognized as Indian tribes. Tribes with whom the United States made treaties or otherwise established a governmental relationship are recognized. There are currently more than 570 federally recognized tribes, including more than 220 Alaska Native villages ([Map 10.2](#)). Many other Indian groups are not formally recognized as Indian “tribes” by the U.S. government; some are recognized by the state in which they live but not by the federal government. Many unrecognized groups are quite small, but the Lumbees of Robeson County in North Carolina, with more than fifty thousand members, are the largest tribe east of the Mississippi. The state of North Carolina recognized the Lumbees as an Indian tribe in 1885. In 1956 Congress passed the Lumbee Act, which gave the Lumbees partial recognition, recognizing them as Indians but denying them access to federal services provided for tribes. The U.S. government has not yet found them eligible for full **federal recognition**. Indian groups who lack federal recognition do not qualify for federal assistance programs for Indians administered through agencies like the BIA and the Indian Health Service, nor do they benefit from the status of being identified as Indian nations. For example, they are not recognized as Indians for the purposes of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1988, which allows tribes to engage in gaming activities as a form of economic development on tribal land (see [pages 520–22](#)). The growth of tribal gaming has raised the stakes in federal recognition, making it a bitterly contested issue and “a major preoccupation” in Indian country in the twenty-first century.<sup>17</sup>



Information from National NAGPRA, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior,  
[www.nps.gov/nagpra/documents/resMAP.HTM](http://www.nps.gov/nagpra/documents/resMAP.HTM).

#### ♦ Map 10.2 Federal and State Recognized Reservations in the Continental United States

Indian country today comprises more than 570 different Indian tribes, bands, and Alaskan village corporations. The majority of Indian people today live in urban areas, and there are also many nonrecognized groups and groups without reservation land.

In 1901, in *Montoya v. United States*, the U.S. Supreme Court adopted a working definition of tribe as “a body of Indians of the same or similar race, united in community under one leadership or government, and inhabiting a particular though sometimes ill-defined territory.” But the concept of tribe has always essentially been an externally imposed category that poorly reflects the complexity and diversity of Indian societies and political structures, and deciding which groups “fit” the definition and why they do or do not fit it has always been a problem. In 1978 Congress created the Federal Acknowledgment Project in the BIA to evaluate the claims of nonrecognized tribes and established seven criteria that a petitioning tribe must meet in order to secure federal recognition, including evidence of its historic and continuous identification as an Indian group, evidence of the Indian identity of its members, and evidence of its governing procedures. Later known as the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research and now known as the Office of Federal Acknowledgment, this office is typically staffed by a small team of anthropologists, ethnohistorians, and genealogists. The government expects petitioning groups to provide a paper trail documenting such things as common Indian ancestry, continuous community and political leadership, and historical association with a particular territory. The BIA modified its acknowledgment procedures in the 1990s after Congress passed legislation in 1994 establishing that tribes could be federally recognized by an act of Congress, a court ruling, or the BIA. Then in 2014, the Department of the Interior initiated more reforms in the federal acknowledgment process, in an effort to streamline a system that

had been described as “broken, long, expensive, burdensome, intrusive, unfair, arbitrary and capricious, less than transparent, unpredictable, and subject to undue political influence and manipulation.”<sup>18</sup> But even with changes, the process remains expensive and time consuming and is often demeaning and potentially divisive. Petitioning groups expend a tremendous amount of money and energy in compiling the necessary documentation, with no guarantee that their claim will be successful.

More than two hundred groups have petitioned for federal recognition since 1978; most have been turned down. Tribes who have secured recognition through the BIA include the Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and Chippewa (1980), the Narragansetts (1983), the Gay Head (Aquinnah) Wampanoags (1987), the San Juan Southern Paiutes (1990), and the Mohegans (1994). Some groups have turned to Congress to try to circumvent the long bureaucratic process. Congress has acknowledged some tribes, including the Pascua Yaqui near Tucson (1978), the Mashantucket Pequots (1983), the Aroostook Mi'kmaq of Maine (1991), and the Match-E-Be-Nash-She-Wish Band of Potawatomis in Michigan (1999).

Members of President Bill Clinton's administration (1993–2001) extended eleventh-hour recognition to several tribes (including the Nipmucks in Massachusetts and the Duwamish outside Seattle), only to have the citations revoked by appointees of President George W. Bush (2001–2009). The Chinooks in Washington State first

applied for federal recognition in the 1970s. Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs Kevin Gover granted them recognition in the last weeks of the Clinton administration, but the neighboring Quinault tribe (on whose reservation the Chinooks were placed in the nineteenth century) filed a lawsuit, and in 2002 the new assistant secretary reversed Gover's decision. For Chinooks, it was difficult not to see the outcome as politically driven, and they continued to fight for recognition legislation. The BIA extended recognition to the Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation in 2002 and to the Schaghticoke Tribal Nation in 2004, but after the bureau's Interior Board of Indian Appeals sent the cases back for reconsideration, the BIA reversed its earlier decision and revoked recognition in 2005. Also in 2005, the BIA turned down the Vermont Abenakis, who had first applied for recognition in the 1980s. The state attorney general's office had warned that federal recognition would open the way for the Abenakis to open a casino; once their petition for federal recognition was denied, that fear was removed and the Vermont legislature voted to approve limited state recognition as a minority group, which enables them to market their crafts as Abenakis and apply for housing and education grants allocated for minorities. In Massachusetts, the Wampanoags of Mashpee, who had been found not to be an Indian tribe in a court case in 1977, finally won federal recognition as an Indian tribe in 2007. In 2009 the Delaware tribe of Oklahoma (formerly considered part of the Cherokee Nation) was restored to federal recognition, as was the Wilton Rancheria in northern California (after tribal members settled a lawsuit against the federal government for being wrongfully terminated fifty years

earlier). In 2010 the Obama administration approved the petition of the Shinnecock Indians on Long Island, ending the tribe's thirty-two-year struggle to obtain federal recognition.<sup>19</sup> In 2015 the Department of the Interior finally rejected the Duwamish petition. The Little Shell Tribe of Chippewa Indians of Montana was preliminarily approved for federal recognition under the Clinton administration, and recognized by the state of Montana in 2000. Federal recognition was delayed for eight years under the George W. Bush administration, and then denied in 2009 by the Obama administration. After the rules for federal recognition were eased, the Little Shell Tribe sent a new petition to the Department of the Interior and awaits a decision.

Although Indian people have lived in what is now Virginia for more than twelve thousand years and their histories have been documented since colonial times, racial ideology and racist legislation denied their existence: as in many areas of the South in the early twentieth century, people were either “white” or “colored” and census records assigned Indian people to the “colored” category. Virginia Indians did not satisfy Pocahontas-driven stereotypes. The state of Virginia recognizes eleven tribes, but until the twenty-first century the federal government recognized none. Then, in 2014, the 200-member Pamunkey tribe in Virginia won federal recognition, a decision that drew protests over the tribe's long-standing policy of trying to preserve its collective Indian identity by banning marriage to African Americans. In 2018 President Trump signed a law extending federal recognition to six



more Virginia tribes: the Chickahominy, the Eastern Chickahominy, the Upper Mattaponi, the Rappahannock, the Monacan, and the Nansemond.<sup>20</sup>

Federal acknowledgment is fundamentally about identity: who or what constitutes an Indian tribe, and who gets to decide? Since the government makes the determination, petitioning groups must try and fit their histories into the criteria the government has established. But the government has no single definition of Indianness, and acknowledgment decisions often seem inconsistent, even arbitrary. Concerns that tribes, once recognized, would immediately open casinos have often politicized the acknowledgment process. Even positive decisions generate criticisms, and sometimes lawsuits. Groups who are denied recognition lack access to many legal and financial benefits. Many groups who lack federal recognition do not conform to standard notions of Indianness; for example, many nonrecognized groups are heavily intermarried with non-Indian neighbors, and the recognition process becomes mired in issues of racial identity. Some nonrecognized groups are small. Others, like the Lumbees and the United Houma Nation of Louisiana, with seventeen thousand members, are huge but do not easily fit the federal regulations' model of tribalism. They often resent the fact that they have to comply with criteria laid down by someone else to be recognized for who they say and know they are. Members of unacknowledged California tribes have pointed out that no one questioned their ancestors' identities when they were being

murdered during the gold rush. “Nobody asked me to prove I was an Indian when I was kidnapped from my home at age five and taken across state lines to the Stewart Indian Boarding School in Carson City, Nevada — and now I have to prove it?” said Clara LeCompte, a Mountain Maidu elder. “That’s disgusting to me.”<sup>21</sup>

Critics complain that federal recognition decisions are based on politics, stereotypes, and legal fictions. They argue that, in addition to dismissing the diversity of Indian peoples and cultures produced by centuries of interaction with non-Indians, the bureaucratic scrutiny and legal regulations “work to preserve colonial patterns of domination and to establish new strategies of state control.”<sup>22</sup> Moreover, tribes that are already federally recognized sometimes are reluctant to see others recognized. Some fear that if “fraudulent” groups obtain state or federal recognition, it will diminish the standing of “authentic” tribes. In 2009 the Inter-Tribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma passed a resolution objecting to state recognition of “Indian heritage groups and cultural clubs” and calling on Congress to limit federal funding to federally recognized tribes.<sup>23</sup> Tribes who seek recognition sometimes exclude from membership individuals whose identity they fear may weaken the case for recognition. Meanwhile, many people simply point out that tribal existence is independent of U.S. government recognition.

# HOMELAND SECURITY



**Fighting Terrorism Since 1492**

*Allan Cash Picture Library/Alamy.*

## ◆ Homeland Security

With terrorist attacks an ever-present threat and all-too-frequent occurrence in the twenty-first century, this poster featuring a photograph of Geronimo (far right) and three other Apache warriors became popular in Indian country as a comment on Native American historical experiences. The image was also reproduced on T-shirts, bumper stickers, and tote bags.

# OLD STEREOTYPES AND NEW IMAGES

After more than five hundred years of contact with Europeans, after surviving the traumas of colonialism and policies of detribalization, and after sustaining a remarkable comeback in the last one hundred years, and while battling multiple challenges on many fronts, Indian people in the United States today still confront major problems in the images that other people have created of them. Native Americans today express their Indianness in multiple ways and frequently lead lives that do not square with popular assumptions about what “real” Indians do. In 2002 astronaut John Herrington, a member of the Chickasaw Nation of Oklahoma, became the first Native American to walk in space. In 2003 Private Lori Piestewa, a Hopi single mother, died in the war in Iraq; she is believed to be the first Native American servicewoman killed in combat. In 2006 pairs figure skater Naomi Lang, a member of the Karuk tribe of California, became the first Native American to participate in the Winter Olympics (with Russian-born partner Peter Tchernyshev); Notah Begay III, whose parents are Navajo and Pueblo, is the first Native American to join a PGA tour; Navajo race-car driver Cory Witherrill is the first Native American to compete in the Indy 500. Jacoby Ellsbury, Navajo, was a star rookie on the 2007 Boston Red Sox World Championship baseball team and now plays

for the New York Yankees. Iroquois lacrosse player Lyle Thompson — one of three remarkable lacrosse-playing brothers — was nominated for the best male college athlete award in 2014.

Ambassador J. Christopher Stevens, killed in the Islamist terrorist attack on the U.S. Consulate in Benghazi, Libya, in September, 2012, was a member of the Chinook Nation. Indian people today are found in virtually all walks of life. Many achieve success in modern society — as soldiers, doctors, attorneys, artists, musicians, writers, reporters, scientists, teachers and professors, businessmen and businesswomen, movie stars, athletes, and federal, state, and tribal officials — while continuing to be Indian in their identity, retaining their tribal membership and maintaining their adherence to tribal traditions and values. As they always have, Indian people display tremendous diversity in culture, behavior, and opinion. Yet one thing they have in common is that they can expect to deal with non-Indians' stereotypes and misconceptions, whether in the form of media images, innocent questions from new friends at college, insensitive behavior by sports fans, or openly racist hostility from anti-Indian groups.<sup>[24](#)</sup>



*Bryan Denton. More than 500 Native soldiers had been killed or wounded in Iraq and Afghanistan by mid-2011.*

◆ **A Native American Soldier in Afghanistan**

Four days before Christmas 2009, during the war in Afghanistan, a U.S. marine sergeant of Hopi descent prays in Helmand Province.

## “The White Man’s Indian”

From their first contacts with a few Native peoples, Europeans tended to generalize about all Indians and created ideas and images about Indian people that served their own purposes or satisfied their own fantasies — a phenomenon the historian Robert Berkhofer called “the White Man’s Indian.”<sup>25</sup> The phenomenon persists today. Many modern Americans expect all Indians to look,

dress, speak, and live like the horseback-riding, buffalo-hunting Indians they have seen depicted on television or in the movies; Indian people who do not fit these images are often regarded as somehow “less Indian.” The public, the media, and even the courts subscribe to the notion that Indians who change with the times “lose” their culture. All cultures change — indeed they must if they are to survive, and change is constant in broader American culture. But some people feel that Indians cannot be Indians if they drive pickup trucks rather than ride horses, live in condominiums in town instead of in tipis on reservations, wear business suits instead of buckskins, or communicate through social media rather than with smoke signals. Such ideas freeze Indian people in an unchanging past that, for many Indians, was never part of their culture or experience in the first place. Public attitudes often harden as Indian tribes assert their tribal sovereignty or start making money through gaming and other businesses — many Americans want to see evidence that tribal members are culturally Indian as they exercise their political and economic rights. “Contemporary Native American people face a fascinating dilemma,” wrote Native scholar and novelist Louis Owens. “In order to be seen and to have their voices heard, indigenous Americans must pose as ‘Indians.’”<sup>26</sup>

A glance at the names of automobiles, such as the Jeep Cherokee, or at the logos on grocery store products, such as Land O’Lakes butter, reveals that using stereotypical Indian images is common in American popular culture. Professional and high school

sports teams use Indian logos or “mascots,” a practice that has become increasingly controversial as more people take offense at distorted images and cultural appropriations. In 2012 Gwen Stefani and her band No Doubt released a Cowboys-and-Indians-themed video and then pulled it when it unleashed a storm of protests. Victoria’s Secret apologized after a model wearing a Plains Indian headdress and not much else paraded in its New York fashion show. Indians themselves sometimes employ the same clichés that other people find offensive as a marketing strategy: visitors to the Mashantucket Pequot’s Foxwoods casino in southeastern Connecticut, for instance, see Plains Indian-style statues and décor, with generic “Indian” symbols such as tomahawks, arrows, feathers, and buffalo.

Many negative stereotypes stem from generations of contact and colonialism: loss of land, loss of hope, and economic and social disruption produced unemployment, poverty, and alcoholism in many communities; but these stereotypes are often regarded as characteristic of all Indians.

At the same time, as more people question the values of modern American society and worry about the environmentally destructive path we are on, new and often more positive stereotypes have emerged: Indians are spiritual people who live in harmony with nature and possess virtues our own society seems to have lost. As they have in the past, some people “turn” to Indians. Emulating what they believe to be Indian ways, they hope they will somehow



acquire greater wisdom, live at one with the earth, reconnect with their better inner selves, find freedom, or give themselves new identities. Some Indians cater to this desire to “play Indian” by staging ceremonies, conducting sweatbaths for ritual purification, and bestowing Native wisdom for a price. Many more are bemused by it, while others are enraged by what they regard as continuing colonial exploitation and cultural appropriation. Stressing the positive aspects of Indian society as an implicit criticism of non-Indian society is not new — Jean-Jacques Rousseau and other eighteenth-century writers did it with their depictions of “the noble savage,” and movies like *Little Big Man* and *Dances With Wolves* in the twentieth century followed suit. Yet any stereotyping, whether negative or positive, holds people to different standards and tends to dehumanize them.

To counter such stereotypes, increasing numbers of Native people insist on greater intellectual and cultural sovereignty, the right to define their own identities and tell their own stories. History is contested ground. Who tells it — who “owns the past” — matters. Until recently, non-Indians have monopolized the writing of Indian history. Colonial writers often dehumanized Indian people, early historians regularly dismissed them, and modern scholars rarely incorporate Native American knowledge and voices in their work. Filmmakers have been equally insensitive and uninformed, offering stereotypical portrayals of Indian people and the Indian past. Many Indian people argue that knowledge from Indian communities should stay in the communities, and many are

now writing their own histories using Native sources of knowledge, and making their own films and videos.<sup>27</sup> At the very least, they demand that non-Indian scholars should exercise greater responsibility and be held to greater accountability than in the past.<sup>28</sup>

The continued development of Native American studies programs at universities and colleges; increasing numbers of Native faculty; the growth of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association, which brings together Native and non-Native scholars from the United States and around the world; and a florescence of work by Native filmmakers, writers, and artists are all changing how Native Americans' past and present are portrayed and understood.

## Playing Indian and Fighting Mascots

“Playing Indian” takes many forms and ranges from role-playing by children, through cultural appropriation, to outright racism, but it always generates images and ideas about Indianness that can be damaging and troubling for Indian people themselves.<sup>29</sup> The most contested cases involve using Indian mascots and dressing up in paint and feathers for sports events.

Dartmouth College, the University of Oklahoma, and Stanford University retired their Indian mascots in the 1970s, but some universities and colleges continue to use Indian names, symbols, and logos, while fans wear “war paint,” perform “war dances” and chants, and, literally, “drum up” support.<sup>30</sup> In face of protests and complaints from Indian people, many high schools have changed the names of their sports teams from “Chiefs,” “Warriors,” and “Braves” and have dropped the use of Indian symbols; others refuse to change. Sports fans and the general public regularly see derogatory depictions of Indian people and culture whenever the Washington Redskins, Kansas City Chiefs, Chicago Blackhawks, Cleveland Indians, and Atlanta Braves play.



Calloway, *First Peoples*, 6e, © 2019 Bedford/St. Martin's

#### ◆ National Congress of American Indians Poster

This poster issued by the National Congress of American Indians graphically displays how cartoonish and offensive caricatures that would be unacceptable if applied to other groups continue to be tolerated when applied to Native Americans. The Cleveland Indians first employed an image of grinning, red-faced, big-toothed Chief Wahoo in 1948. Seventy years later, facing mounting criticism and pressure from the baseball commissioner, who said the logo was no longer appropriate for use on the field, the club announced it would stop using the logo on team uniforms or around the stadium in 2019. However, the trademark and sales of merchandise bearing the logo continue.

Many non-Indians find it difficult to understand why Indian people get so upset about these representations. With so many problems to confront, they say, don't Indians have anything better to do? Other people tell Indians, and themselves, that the caricatures and grotesque performances they use are intended to "honor" the country's first peoples. Some Indian people are not bothered by these images, and some Indian teams use Indian logos themselves. Many, however, find them offensive and demeaning, believing that their use points to deep issues of power and racism that still pervade American society and popular culture. Stereotypical images dehumanize Indian people by reducing them to props and invoking them for their association with "wildness," violence, or supposed physical attributes. For many non-Indians, some of whom have never met a real Indian person, these clichés come to represent all that it means to be Indian. Like the racist stereotypes that have been served up to the general public by movies and television, these images adversely affect daily human relationships and individual self-esteem and feed into "more tangible" problems such as alcohol abuse, college and high school dropout rates, unemployment, poverty, sexual abuse, and, some would argue, the treatment of Native people by state and local governments and of Native issues by the courts.<sup>[31](#)</sup>

In 2005 the American Psychological Association called for the immediate retirement of all American Indian mascots, images, and symbols by schools, colleges, sports teams, and organizations, citing a growing body of literature that demonstrates the harmful

effects of racial stereotyping, especially on the self-esteem of young Native Americans.<sup>32</sup> Also in 2005, the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), the governing body of college sports, banned the use of American Indian nicknames and mascots by sports teams during its postseason tournaments. The decision affected eighteen colleges, whose nicknames and mascots the NCAA deemed “hostile and abusive.” Florida State University (FSU) appealed the decision, protesting that the Seminole tribe of Florida sanctions the use of the tribal name and the Chief Osceola mascot. (At FSU football games, a white student wears a Plains headdress and war paint, rides a horse, and brandishes a lance — none of which Osceola would have done.) The NCAA allowed FSU to continue using the nickname “Seminoles” but rejected appeals from some other universities. The Seminole Nation of Oklahoma joined other tribes in signing a statement condemning the use of Indian names and mascots by colleges. In 2007 the University of Illinois ended its use of “Chief Illiniwek” as a mascot and logo in compliance with the NCAA restrictions. The University of North Dakota (UND) at first refused to abide by the NCAA requirement, but after years of protest and growing opposition to its “Fighting Sioux” nickname and logo, UND in 2015 changed its team name to Fighting Hawks.

The issue of Native mascots and team names has come into sharpest focus with the name of the football team in the nation’s capital. The campaign that Indian people have mounted to change the name of the Washington Redskins is the most publicized of an ongoing series of attempts to stop professional, college, and high

school sports teams, and other groups and organizations, from using Indian names, mascots, and logos to rally support for or market their products.<sup>33</sup> In 1992 a group of Native Americans that included Vine Deloria Jr. and Suzan Shown Harjo (Muscogee/Cheyenne) petitioned the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office to void the trademark rights of the Washington Redskins on the basis that the team's name and logo were disparaging to Native Americans and therefore violated the law. In 1999 the federal Trademark Trial and Appeal Board found in favor of the Native American plaintiffs. The Washington Redskins appealed the decision, and a federal district court judge overturned it in 2003, a ruling that the Supreme Court let stand in 2009.<sup>34</sup> A second case, with younger plaintiffs, *Blackhorse et al. v. Pro Football, Inc.*, was filed in 2014. The U.S. Patent and Trademark Office again canceled some of the Washington Redskins' trademarks because they were disparaging to Native people. The team's owners filed an appeal to have that decision overturned. Several media outlets stopped printing and using the name. Fifty U.S. senators signed a letter urging the NFL to stand "on the right side of history" and change the team's name. A report from the Center for American Progress in 2014, citing the harmful effects of Native mascots and team names on young people, echoed a growing feeling that "the need to eliminate these derogatory representations and stereotypes is urgent and long past due."<sup>35</sup> In 2016 the Washington Redskins petitioned the Supreme Court to hear their case alongside that of an Asian American rock band called the Slants who challenged the law that says trademarks must not be disparaging. In January 2017, the

Court ruled that the Slants could trademark their name, a decision that “thrilled” the Washington Redskins. The logo and name remain and the controversy continues.

# NATIONS WITHIN A NATION

To survive in the modern world, and to ensure their survival in the future, Indian nations must do more than operate their own governments; they must exercise their tribal sovereignty to protect their lands and their sacred spaces, manage their own resources, preserve their traditions, build their economies, and educate their young people. To achieve these goals, tribes have to defend their unique status as nations within a nation. Both the federal government and Indian nations speak of tribal sovereignty and self-determination, but American and indigenous understandings of sovereignty differ. Moreover, there is a big difference between being an independent nation with international political status, and having rights of self-government within the confines of an enduring colonial relationship as “nations within a nation.” Tribal governments operate within the constraints of federal law and imposed Western democratic institutions, and they collaborate with federal and state governments, but at the same time often rely on traditional philosophies, practices, and forms of governance as guides to political action in the twenty-first century.<sup>36</sup>

## Nations, Not Minorities



Nation-states have consistently tried to reduce indigenous nations to the status of ethnic minorities and individual citizens rather than deal with them as nations with collective rights.<sup>37</sup> Tribal leaders constantly remind the United States that “Indian people are nations, not minorities,” with inherent sovereign rights of self-government that existed before conquest and that can be eroded but not erased. The right of tribes to govern their members and territories, legal scholars agree, “flows from a preexisting sovereignty limited, but not abolished, by their inclusion within the territorial bounds of the United States.”<sup>38</sup> European nations recognized these rights when they made treaties with Indians. The United States recognized them when it made its treaty with the Delawares in 1778, the first of nearly four hundred ratified U.S–Indian treaties. Although the United States officially stopped making treaties with Indian tribes in 1871, those treaties remain the law of the land. The pledges they contain form the basis for many Indian rights in modern America, shape the tribes’ dealings with the federal and state governments, and continue to define the status of tribes as sovereign nations.<sup>39</sup> The U.S. Constitution recognizes these sovereign rights as well. In *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832), the Supreme Court acknowledged that before invasion, Indians were distinct, separate, and independent nations, governed by their own laws and with their own institutions. Indian tribes are still nations with their own laws and institutions, and they have reclaimed many sovereign rights.

But tribes struggle constantly to preserve their sovereignty. States often try to interfere — although they can extend political

jurisdiction over Indian tribes only if they have congressional approval to do so — and the federal government sometimes exercises its trust responsibility to Indian tribes in ways that undermine tribal self-determination. The tribal sovereignty that many people regard as crucial to the survival of Indian nations in the twenty-first century is repeatedly challenged and threatened, sometimes negotiated and compromised, and often simply not understood.<sup>40</sup> People who don't understand tribal sovereignty often feel threatened by it and by tribes that exercise it, said the late Marge Anderson, former chief executive for the Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe; it is necessary to educate people so they understand that “we exercise sovereignty when we actively assume governance over our own communities.” W. Ron Allen, chair of the Jamestown S’Klallam tribe in Washington State and a past president of the National Congress of American Indians, recommends: “A chapter in all [American] civics textbooks should explain that the American political system is made up of multiple political structures, within which tribes are a unique set of communities.”<sup>41</sup>

## Third Sovereigns, Triple Citizens, and Tribal Justice

The United States and the states constitute sovereign governments. So do Indian tribes. “Today,” writes legal scholar Charles Wilkinson, “the tribes, not the BIA, govern Indian Country,” and the tribes “are

full-service governments.” Many tribes have their own legislatures, courts, police forces, businesses, schools, colleges, health facilities, social service agencies, environmental agencies, cultural centers, and language programs. Tribal governments interact regularly and routinely with federal, state, and local governments and with non-Indian citizens, and they conduct tribal business in Washington, D.C., and state capitals as well as on the reservation.<sup>42</sup> As Dakota attorney Susan M. Williams explains, tribal governments differ from state governments in that they do not represent and serve a “coincidental collection of citizens who happen to live in the same geographic area.” Tribal governments are responsible for the well-being and safety of communities “defined by generations upon generations of cultural, political, and religious traditions and social relations.” In addition to carrying out the usual governmental functions — providing utilities and social services, building and maintaining infrastructure, and promoting economic development — they must also protect tribes’ cultural and environmental resources for generations to come.<sup>43</sup>

Working out relations between the United States and hundreds of tribal governments on a multitude of issues remains a formidable task. Indians reside within the United States and within the borders of individual states, and the situation produces much complexity and ambiguity. Tribal members are in fact “**triple citizens**.” In 1924 the Indian Citizenship Act conferred U.S. citizenship on all Indians who had not already been made citizens by special legislation. Like other U.S. citizens, Indian people are also citizens of their states.

Indian people who are enrolled members of their tribe are also citizens of that tribe.<sup>44</sup> At the same time, many non-Indian people live on reservations and therefore fall under the jurisdiction of tribal governments in some respects, even though they are not tribal citizens.

There are three main bodies of law in the United States: federal law, state law, and Indian law. Indian people generally, and non-Indians in certain cases, are subject to all three. Indians not on reservations are generally subject to federal, state, and local laws. Only federal and tribal laws apply on reservations, however, unless Congress has provided otherwise. Consequently, when Indians step off the reservation they become subject to local or state jurisdiction; a non-Indian who enters a reservation is subject to tribal jurisdiction in civil matters. In states where Public Law 280 applies, the state has some form of civil and criminal jurisdiction over the reservations.

The relationship of federal/state/Indian law is a tangle of overlapping and sometimes conflicting jurisdictions. What, for instance, are the rights of non-Indian residents of Indian reservations, who are subject to tribal laws, courts, and taxes but have no say in tribal government? What are the rights of non-Indians who are visiting or working on reservations or the rights of Indians visiting from another reservation? And how should the federal government reconcile its obligations to protect both Native religious practices and endangered species when, as sometimes

happens, those obligations are in conflict? In 2005 a Northern Arapaho on the Wind River Reservation shot a bald eagle to obtain feathers, a plume, and a wing for his participation in the Sun Dance. He was arrested and charged with violating the Bald and Golden Eagle Protection Act.<sup>45</sup> In 2006 a U.S. district judge dismissed the charges, ruling that although the government had a duty to protect eagles, it also had a compelling interest in protecting tribal religions and tribal cultures. That decision was overturned by the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals in 2008, however, and in February 2009 the Supreme Court denied review of the case. In 2012, after more than a year of tribal meetings, the Justice Department announced it would not prosecute members of federally recognized tribes who use eagle parts in compliance with federal law.<sup>46</sup>

As such issues continue to come before the courts, the U.S. Supreme Court will continue to define the extents and limits of tribal sovereignty. Over the past forty years, the Court has taken a very narrow interpretation of tribal sovereignty, and its rulings have more often hindered than helped Indian nations as they endeavor to rebuild their communities. According to Walter Echo-Hawk, “the greatest challenge facing advocates and others concerned about the well-being of Native people is to root out . . . vestiges of racism and colonialism in the law and replace them with legal principles more in keeping with the postcolonial world.”<sup>47</sup>

“Indian law” usually refers to the laws enacted by Congress and court cases relating to Indian tribes, but there has always been

another kind of Indian law — the laws by which tribes live and settle their own disputes. Although traditionally not written down and cited like Anglo-American laws, these indigenous philosophies and principles often guided individual behavior, governed relationships, and ensured justice among tribal members, and in some places they continue to do so. In the late nineteenth century, Congress displaced the traditional dispute resolution systems of many tribes by imposing the Courts of Indian Offenses, but today more than 175 Indian nations have developed their own tribal criminal justice systems. While most tribal courts are based on a Western model of justice, some tribes incorporate traditional methods of dispute resolution into their legal systems.

Navajo courts employ Navajo values and traditions in adjudicating civil disputes that often involve non-Navajos as well as Navajos. In 1982 the Navajo Nation established the Peacemaking Division of its judicial system. It is not intended to replace the Navajos' formal court system but provides an alternative forum for resolving certain types of disputes. Whereas Anglo-American legal practices tend to be adversarial, with courts finding for one or the other party and sometimes imposing heavy penalties or fines or awarding sizable damages, Navajo courts aim to achieve reconciliation, and Navajo judges draw upon and apply key Navajo concepts such as Hózhó (harmony), K'é (peacefulness and solidarity), and K'éí (kinship) in their rulings. "To the Navajo way of thinking, justice is related to healing because many of the concepts are the same," former Navajo Supreme Court Justice Robert Yazzie

explained. There is no precise term for “guilty” in the Navajo language. Yazzie called it “a nonsense word in Navajo law” because “guilt” implies a moral fault that demands punishment; Navajo court decisions are more concerned with helping a victim than finding fault, with reintegrating the individual with the group, and with sustaining relationships with relatives and community. In a **peacemaking system**, there is no need for force, coercion, or control. There are no plaintiffs or defendants; no “good guys” or “bad guys.” “Distributive justice abandons fault and adequate compensation (a fetish of personal injury lawyers) in favor of assuring well-being for everyone. Restoration is more important than punishment.” In the words of former Navajo Supreme Court Justice Raymond D. Austin, the Navajo dispute resolution or “peacemaking” system “brings parties and communities together on amicable terms, costs a fraction of adversarial court litigation, does not cast blame on wrongdoers, and identifies and treats the underlying cause of the problem.”<sup>48</sup> Other tribes also have “peacemaker courts” that aim to provide restorative justice. The mainstream American justice system, meanwhile, has repeatedly failed Native Americans.

## Global Indigenous Nations

Today, American Indian nations and other indigenous nations around the world increasingly see and position themselves in

international rather than subnational contexts, reaching beyond their own territories and beyond the confines of national law into the international arena and developing increasing connections with Native peoples in other countries based on similar experiences and shared challenges.<sup>49</sup> Iroquois and Hopis have taken causes to the United Nations in Geneva rather than to Washington. As evidenced by the name of their professional organization, Native American and Indigenous Studies, many scholars working in the field of Native studies now adopt comparative approaches and global perspectives in their work. Indian peoples have a long history of viewing themselves and their relations with the United States in an international context. The United States has rather less experience viewing its treatment of Native Americans in an international context, but in the twenty-first century it finds that it must.

In an era of decolonization, increasing self-determination, and growing global interest in human rights since World War II, indigenous peoples who have experienced common histories of colonialism have forged international networks to face common futures. Tribal leaders and indigenous communities in different countries around the world have challenged government policies, drawn attention to injustices, and attracted widespread public support for resistance to the unchecked forces of globalization and capitalism, and to the industrial world's seemingly limitless demand for resources. Powerful nations like the United States often ignore, dismiss, or resist indigenous peoples' rights and the growing movements to assert them, but by coordinating, orchestrating, and



publicizing their campaigns, Native peoples have raised their struggles to new levels, mobilized international opposition to formerly local issues, and demonstrated the potential to transform international politics. Working through the United Nations and the media, tribal peoples have exerted their collective political clout to pressure national governments and demand a recognition and rethinking of issues of sovereignty, territorialism and human rights.<sup>50</sup> (See [United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, pages 626–31.](#))

Native peoples have employed modern technology to assert historic rights. In 2012 four women (Nina Wilson, Sylvia McAdam, Jessica Gordon, and Sheelah McLean, three members of First Nations, one a non-Native) started a grassroots movement called **Idle No More** to challenge policies of the Canadian government of conservative prime minister Stephen Harper that threatened environmental protections and treaty rights. Employing social media and the internet, Idle No More protesters mobilized First Nations, Métis, and Inuit people across Canada and generated international support. Protests spread to the United States and solidarity protests occurred in Berlin, London, Stockholm, Auckland, New Zealand, and even in Cairo, Egypt. In 2015 Aboriginal voters helped defeat Harper and elected ten Native representatives to the Canadian parliament.

# BUILDING WELL NATIONS

While Indian nations in the United States assert their rights and place within the American political system and reach out to indigenous nations in other parts of the world, they also face urgent challenges at home to ensure the health and survival of their communities. The legacies of colonialism and oppression endure in Indian country and have, at times, resulted in self-destructive acts and sickness among Indian people. Rebuilding Indian nations requires more than restoring self-government and developing reservation economies. It also requires restoring the physical and spiritual health of Indian communities after generations of dispossession, dependency, cultural assault, and institutional racism. In some areas, building **well nations** involves restoring the health of land that has been scarred by the extraction of uranium, coal, and other energy resources, or contaminated by cancer-causing pollutants, and restoring the flow and health of the water. It also involves Indian people taking greater control of their health services, education, and cultural property; protecting the health, safety, and well-being of women and children; and balancing new and traditional ways of life.

# Building Prosperity through Sovereignty

In 2012 the median household income for the nation as a whole was \$51,371; for American Indian and Alaska Native households, it was \$35,310. The poverty rate for the nation as a whole was 15.9 percent; for American Indians and Alaska Natives, it was 29.1 percent, the highest rate of any group.<sup>[51](#)</sup> Despite the well-publicized wealth generated by some tribal casinos, poverty and economic underdevelopment remain chronic problems and major challenges in large areas of Indian country.

In the past, the laws, policies, and projects of the federal government were seen as the key factors in economic development on Indian reservations, but federal projects all too often petered out without any lasting improvement in reservation economies. Today many Indian tribes have taken charge of their own economic affairs and are demonstrating that Indian sovereignty rather than federal policy seems to be the crucial factor in determining prosperity in Indian country. “The clear trend is for Indian governments to eschew their long-imposed role as extension agents of federal antipoverty programs and to engage in the task of genuine self-rule by building institutions and creating favorable conditions for investments.” When the tribes, rather than the BIA or other outsiders, take the responsibility for their own economic futures —

deciding, implementing, and being accountable for their own economic strategies — and pursue projects compatible with their cultures and values, they can achieve sustainable economic development and rebuild their nations.<sup>52</sup> But what projects meet these requirements, and have they seen success in practice?

A 2004 report by the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development concluded that “tribal self-rule — sovereignty — has proven to be the only policy that has shown concrete success in breaking debilitating economic dependence on federal spending programs and replenishing the social and cultural fabric that can support vibrant and healthy communities and families.” From this perspective, tribal sovereignty becomes a valuable economic resource — and assaults on tribal sovereignty pose an even greater threat to tribal survival.<sup>53</sup> With each successful tribal business model put into operation, sovereignty, so long sought as an inalienable right, proves necessary for the economic survival of Native communities.

Many tribes are competing, and thriving, in the world of modern capitalism, yet some people question whether Native communities can survive incorporation into the global capitalist market system. Can they still be Indians if they are successful capitalists? Like the Viejas Band of Kumeyaay in California (see [page 521](#)), many nations have channeled profits from gaming and other business ventures back into the community. They have developed successful models of tribal capitalism, following “Native pathways” of economic

development and redistributing business profits for community rather than individual or corporate benefit.<sup>54</sup> The Mississippi Band of Choctaws provides a clear example of economic success achieved by a tribe on its own terms. In 1979 unemployment on the Choctaw reservation was about 80 percent. That year the Choctaws elected Phillip Martin chief, and he led the tribe until 2007, when he was eighty years old. Under his leadership, the tribe achieved a remarkable economic turnaround. They ran several manufacturing plants in addition to promoting gaming and tourism and used the income generated on the reservation to supplement federal contracts in providing educational, health, and other services to Choctaw people. The tribe opened the Silver Star Hotel and Casino in 1994 and a second casino, the Golden Moon, eight years later. The Pearl River Resort now includes the casinos, a theme park, and a golf club. The Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians rapidly became one of the ten largest employers in Mississippi, providing more than eight thousand jobs for tribal members and others (more than 65 percent of its workforce is non-Indian). The unemployment rate on the reservation plunged to about 4 percent, and life expectancy rose significantly. There were new scholarships for Choctaw students. Tribal revenues helped the Choctaws to invest more than \$210 million in economic development projects in Mississippi. As the tribe became a business center and major employer, it expanded its court system to accommodate the increase in cases.<sup>55</sup> The evidence from the Mississippi Band of Choctaws shows that tribes that run their own affairs and control their own health care facilities can achieve a dramatic improvement in the health of their

members as well as in the economic development of the community.<sup>56</sup>

Culturally appropriate projects sometimes have goals and values that go beyond their economic success. Tribal efforts to reinstitute buffalo herds have been “a truly holistic restoration project” that helped to restore ecological, social, cultural, and spiritual health to Plains Indian communities even when such projects, as in the case of the Cheyenne River Sioux tribe’s community-based bison operation, proved economically unsuccessful.<sup>57</sup> Other, more successful economic enterprises, critics say, are not nearly so culturally grounded.

## Confronting Drugs and Alcohol

Injected into Indian country from colonial times onward as a means of stimulating trade and undermining Indian independence, alcohol continues to disrupt Indian communities, break up Indian families, shatter Indian lives, and threaten Indian futures. Many tribal leaders regard alcoholism as their primary enemy. In 1977 the American Indian Policy Review Commission declared alcohol abuse “the most severe and widespread health problem among Indians,” and things are little better today. Estimates of the rate of alcoholism on some Indian reservations range from 50 percent to 80 percent. Growing up on a reservation in South Dakota, Mary Crow Dog

recalled, “I started drinking because it was the natural way of life. My father drank, my stepfather drank, my mother drank. . . . I think I grew up with the idea that everybody was doing it.” She said, “The men had nothing to live for so they got drunk and drove off at ninety miles an hour in a car without lights, without brakes, and without destination, to die a warrior’s death.”<sup>58</sup> Seventy percent of all treatment services provided by the Indian Health Service in the early 1990s were alcohol-related. So many Indian babies are affected by fetal alcohol spectrum disorders that some Indian people insist that if the ravages of alcohol are not halted, “we will cease to exist as Indians.”<sup>59</sup>



*Diego Romero, The Drinker, 1993. Denver Art Museum: Funds Provided by the Laura Musser Fund, 1993.102. Photograph © Denver Art Museum.*

♦**Diego Romero, The Drinker (1993)**

Cochiti Pueblo artist Diego Romero (b. 1964) uses traditional Pueblo pottery techniques, but he gives them a new and often disturbing twist by adding social commentary. Romero says, “My dialogue centers around industrialization of Indian land, cars, automobiles, broken hearts, bars, Indian gaming.” He uses “a language of symbols and metaphors” so that his art speaks to everyone: “I’ve always felt that a person from Japan or Germany can come and look at one of my pots and see exactly what’s going on.”<sup>64</sup>

Myths and stereotypes about Indian drinking are common and damaging.<sup>60</sup> In fact, Indian people have resisted and protested



against the use of alcohol since colonial times.<sup>61</sup> Many Indian people fight alcoholism by returning to Indian ways and values. “I haven’t touched a drop of liquor for years,” wrote Mary Crow Dog, “ever since I felt there was a purpose to my life, learned to accept myself for what I was. I have to thank the Indian movement for that, and Grandfather Peyote, and the pipe.”<sup>62</sup> In 1987 the tribal council of the Cheyenne River Sioux declared war on alcohol abuse with the goal of eliminating it from the reservation, and its Healthy Nations Program continues the fight against that and other problems.<sup>63</sup> In 2012 the Oglala Sioux tribe filed a \$500 million lawsuit against brewers (Anheuser-Busch, Molson Coors, Pabst, and Miller), retailers, and distributors of the 3 to 4 million cans of beer a year sold in Whiteclay, Nebraska, a tiny hamlet with a dozen residents and four beer stores on the edge of the Pine Ridge reservation where alcohol is prohibited.<sup>65</sup> After the Liquor Control Commission closed the beer stores, the Nebraska Supreme Court in 2017 unanimously rejected the store owners’ bid to reopen, citing a technical flaw in their appeal. It was a victory in the fight against alcohol that one activist ranked with the Battle of the Little Bighorn as a “red-letter day in Oglala Lakota history.”<sup>66</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Pipes play a sacred role in Lakota culture and in peyote ceremonialism.

As in other places in America, drug trafficking and methamphetamine addiction have become severe problems in some Indian communities. Methamphetamine produces a euphoric high but with devastating side effects that include anorexia,

convulsions, high blood pressure, heart failure, strokes, suicidal tendencies, child abuse and neglect, violence, and even murder. Meth-addicted mothers give birth to meth-addicted babies. The methamphetamine-use rate among Native Americans is three times that among the general population. Some fear “it just may be the most formidable enemy the tribes have had to battle yet.” The San Carlos Apache tribe reported that 25 percent of patients admitted into their emergency room in 2005 tested meth-positive. “The use, production and trafficking of meth is destroying my community,” said San Carlos chairwoman Kathleen Kitcheyan in testimony before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, “shattering families, endangering our children, and threatening our cultural and spiritual lives.” Darrel Rides at the Door, a drug and alcohol counselor at Blackfeet Nation in Browning, Montana, said the same thing: “It’s destroying our culture, our way of life, killing our people,” he told the *New York Times*. Rides at the Door uses traditional healing therapies to help combat addiction and the inroads of drugs in people’s lives. Many communities are treating methamphetamine as a new enemy, declaring war on it, and implementing community watch and awareness programs to fight against it. On the Navajo Reservation, the Navajo Methamphetamine Task Forces involve elders, young people, recovering addicts, current users, health care workers, and law enforcement to combat this “tidal wave of destruction.” The U.S. government has increased funding for law enforcement in Indian country, but tribal police resources are stretched thin in the fight against drug gangs.<sup>67</sup> As it does in the rest of America, the current

opioid addiction crisis threatens to dwarf the destructive impact of methamphetamine and heroine abuse in Indian country. Leech Lake Tribal Chairman Faron Jackson Sr. described it as “the newest threat to our way of life.” In 2018 several tribes filed lawsuits against the opioid industry alleging that manufacturers and distributors had concealed and minimized the addictive risk of prescription drugs.<sup>[68](#)</sup>

## Balancing Ways of Healing

Although standards of health have improved, Indian communities confront major challenges in HIV and AIDS, diabetes, teen suicides, and other problems common to modern American society. At the end of the twentieth century, tuberculosis rates among Indian people were more than seven times the national average; alcohol-related deaths were ten times higher; fetal alcohol syndrome was thirty-three times more common; and suicide rates were four times greater among Indian teenagers than among non-Indians. The rate of Type 2 diabetes (also known as adult-onset diabetes) among Indian adults is three times that for the rest of the population and, as in the rest of the population, it is skyrocketing among young people as well. It is approaching epidemic proportions in some Indian communities.<sup>[69](#)</sup>

As U.S. citizens, Indians and Alaska Natives are eligible for Medicare, Medicaid, veterans, and other public health benefits. Members of federally recognized tribes who live on or near a reservation or an Alaska Native village are eligible to receive health care from the Indian Health Service, which is located in the Department of Health and Human Services and funded by annual appropriations from Congress. Like other Americans, many Native people are covered by private health insurance through their jobs.<sup>70</sup> But also like other Americans, they wait to see what the fate of the Affordable Care Act will be and how its repeal, replacement, or reform will play out in their communities.

Taking responsibility for the health and well-being of tribal citizens is a key component of tribal sovereignty. In 2006, with South Dakota proposing a ban on abortions, Cecilia Fire Thunder, the first female president of the Oglala Sioux, announced that she planned to open an abortion clinic on the reservation. The clinic — called Sacred Choices — would be open to all women, Native and non-Native. While some people viewed the matter as a moral issue, Fire Thunder pointed out that it was also an issue of tribal sovereignty: the Oglalas had the right to establish the clinic on their reservation even if the state banned abortions elsewhere.<sup>71</sup> Although Fire Thunder was subsequently impeached — one of the charges being that she exceeded her authority as tribal president in organizing the clinic without consulting the tribal council — and South Dakota voters defeated the abortion ban in the November 2006 elections anyway, her stand against state legislation

highlighted the link between tribal sovereignty and health care for tribal members.

Many tribes are taking over Indian Health Service (IHS) hospitals and clinics and running them themselves. Some Indian communities supplement the Western-style medicine provided by the IHS with more holistic, community-based, and culturally connected forms of healing. The Navajos have moved “closer to true self-determination in medical care” not only by playing a greater role in the delivery of IHS services and producing their own physicians but also by preserving traditional herbal, ceremonial, and cultural ways of healing. Some Western medical procedures can conflict with traditional understandings of health and well-being, and Navajo people sometimes have to accommodate biomedical technologies and Western understandings of health and illness to promote healing. At the same time, many non-Indian physicians have begun to take more note of Native healing practices. They increasingly recognize that both Native and non-Native traditions have a role to play, an approach that Dr. Lori Arviso Alvord, the first Navajo woman to become a surgeon, has consistently advocated. Some people may visit a doctor to obtain medication that will help relieve the symptoms of an illness while still relying on traditional healing rituals to provide a cure. The benefit of combining Native and Western approaches was demonstrated in 1993 when a “mystery illness” struck the Southwest. Navajo healers helped the Centers for Disease Control identify the cause of the disease — the hantavirus

carried by deer mice and other rodents — and Western medical practitioners were able to bring it under control.<sup>72</sup>

Combining Western and traditional knowledge in holistic and culturally centered approaches to healing has been shown to work — even to be necessary — in restoring the health of communities.<sup>73</sup> Traditional indigenous medicine may also help communities deal with intergenerational trauma, “this trauma across generations and across time that we often carry as a people. When we heal in traditional medicine, we undo the impact of time.”<sup>74</sup>

## Restoring Safety to Tribal Citizens

Native Americans today are more than twice as likely to be victims of violence than other Americans. Poverty, drug and alcohol abuse, domestic abuse, frustration, and despair all contribute to Indian-on-Indian violence, but Congress and the Supreme Court are also partly responsible for the escalation of interracial violence on reservations. The Major Crimes Act of 1885 authorized the federal government to exercise jurisdiction over major crimes committed in Indian country; Public Law 280 in 1953 delegated jurisdiction over crimes on Indian lands to state courts in certain states; and the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968 imposed most of the requirements of the Constitution’s Bill of Rights on Indian tribes and limited the penalties tribal courts could impose to one year in prison and

\$5,000 in fines for each offense. The Supreme Court in *Oliphant v. Suquamish* in 1978 (see [pages 535–40](#)) stripped tribes of the power to prosecute crimes committed by non-Indians on the reservations.<sup>75</sup> In addition, tribal police forces struggle to provide adequate coverage for their citizens. In 2006 the Standing Rock Reservation in North Dakota and South Dakota had a total of nine police officers (with generally only two or three on duty at any one time) to patrol 2.3 million acres; the violent crime rate on the reservation was more than eight times the national average.<sup>76</sup> Although the size of tribal police departments is growing significantly, in 2011 there were fewer than three thousand tribal and BIA law enforcement officers within Indian country, or less than two officers per one thousand residents. The average tribal police department had fewer than three police officers to serve up to ten thousand residents and patrol up to 500,000 acres. On some reservations, it could take a responding officer hours to get to a victim or crime scene in a remote area.<sup>77</sup>

Criminal jurisdiction on Indian lands is divided among federal, tribal, and state governments; complicated jurisdictional issues delay, prolong, and sometimes preclude the investigation and prosecution of crimes in Indian country. Whether or not the victim is a member of a federally recognized Indian tribe, whether or not the perpetrator is a member of a federally recognized Indian tribe, and whether or not the alleged crime took place on tribal land determine if the crime should be investigated by tribal, federal, or state police; if it should be prosecuted by a tribal prosecutor, state

prosecutor (district attorney), or federal prosecutor (U.S. attorney); and if it should be tried in tribal, state, or federal court.<sup>78</sup> After the *Oliphant* decision, Indian and Alaska Native nations were the only governments in the United States that lacked legal authority to protect their citizens from violence by any persons and the tangled maze of jurisdictions left Native women and girls particularly vulnerable. (See [pages 614–15](#).)

Congress has taken some steps to address the crisis. In 2005 it expanded and reauthorized the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA), first passed in 1994, with specific provisions and funding for tribal law enforcement agencies and services. In 2010 Congress passed, and President Obama signed, the **Tribal Law and Order Act**. The new law aimed to reduce violent crime in Indian country and combat the widespread sexual and domestic abuse of Native women. It required the Department of Justice to track and deal with declining prosecutions in Indian country, gave tribal police more authority (they can now arrest non-Indian suspects and can be deputized to enforce federal laws), and allowed tribal courts to impose sentences of up to three years instead of just one year and fines of up to \$15,000. It also increased funding for federal and tribal police officers. But tribes still lacked criminal authority over non-Indians.

In 2013, despite opposition from Republicans, Congress passed and President Obama signed into law the **Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act**, which contains provisions allowing tribal



courts to prosecute certain non-Indian sex offenders in certain categories of crimes. The new law partially repealed *Oliphant v. Suquamish*, which limited tribal jurisdiction to tribal members in criminal cases, but gaps and procedural obstacles remain. Crimes must meet certain criteria and the tribes must guarantee the defendants certain rights. Many tribes still lack the funding and resources to provide the lawyers, judges, public defenders, police forces, record-keeping services, detention facilities, and other requirements under the new law. A tribe can only prosecute non-Indian offenders who have ties to the tribe. Tribes do not have jurisdiction over crimes between non-Indians or over crimes committed by strangers. So, VAWA 2013 was “restricted to crimes of domestic or dating violence, thus leaving crimes of rape, sexual assault, and sex trafficking largely unprosecuted if committed by a stranger in Indian country.”<sup>79</sup> Because the Supreme Court (in *Alaska v. Native Village of Venetie Tribal Government*) ruled that Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act lands were “not Indian country,” VAWA does not apply to the vast majority of Alaska Native villages. VAWA 2013 therefore was “a limited *Oliphant*-fix, restoring only limited tribal criminal jurisdiction for certain crimes by non-Indians in Indian country.”<sup>80</sup> And how it will fare before the Supreme Court remains to be seen.

Restoring safety to Native women, according to the Indian Law Resource Center Report, requires restoring full criminal jurisdiction to Indian nations and ensuring that the tribes have the institutional capacity and resources to exercise that jurisdiction.

Many tribes and organizations are working to combat, prevent, and punish violence against women, and federal, state, and tribal authorities sometimes collaborate effectively, with cross-deputation agreements and data sharing, for example. Their efforts need to be supported by further reforms in federal law to allow more robust criminal authority and funding to support law enforcement and tribal courts in their efforts to keep their citizens safe.<sup>[81](#)</sup>

## The Welfare of Indian Children

As in Canada and Australia, adoption practices in the United States in the second half of the twentieth century resulted in a “lost generation” of Native children removed from their communities and placed in non-Native families.<sup>[82](#)</sup> The Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA) of 1978 represented a major step in stemming the removal of children from Indian country, but adoption rates remain high in Indian country and ICWA does not provide ironclad guarantees for the rights of Indian parents, families, and children. In 2009 a non-Indian mother gave up her baby for adoption at birth by a white couple. The child’s father, Dusten Brown, who had been briefly engaged to the mother, was a citizen of the Cherokee Nation and invoked ICWA to prevent the adoption. The South Carolina courts agreed and Brown was given custody. In 2011, after the child had lived with the adoptive parents for two years, she was given to her father, whom she had never met. What became widely known as the

**“Baby Veronica case”** attracted extensive media coverage and many people expressed outrage that a family was being torn apart. Brown, they said, had abandoned the child before she was born and was not really an Indian, having minimal “blood.” The adoptive parents appealed the decision to the U.S. Supreme Court. In a 5–4 decision in 2013, the Supreme Court overturned the lower court’s ruling. The majority opinion held that the procedures required by ICWA to end parental rights did not apply because Brown never had physical custody of his biological daughter, having given up his rights before her birth; ICWA’s requirement to make extra efforts to preserve the Indian family did not apply because no other Cherokee relatives stepped forward to assert custody and no Indian families sought to adopt the child. The case was sent back to the South Carolina courts, and the South Carolina Supreme Court finalized the adoption. After one and a half years with her biological father, and despite an attempt by the Oklahoma State Court to stay the transfer, the child was handed back to her adoptive parents. The case involved many legal motions and heated emotions, and Indian tribes worried that the Supreme Court’s decision might presage another round of assaults on tribal sovereignty.

# REVITALIZING NATIONS

All indigenous peoples confront the challenge of preserving traditional culture and tribal heritage in the modern world. Preserving and revitalizing tribal cultures, traditions, and languages is not just a way for Native Americans to demonstrate their continuing Indianness. For many tribes, it is key to individual and communal health and well-being. Traditional ways and tribal values offer guides for good living and a path back to harmony after generations of disruption. Providing young people with an education that grounds them in tribal ways is crucial to community health and well-being and to the future of their Indian nations.

## Protecting Culture and Preserving Language

Protecting cultural artifacts preserves vital connections to those who went before. In 1992 Congress adopted amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act that permit federally recognized tribes to assume greater responsibility for the preservation of significant historic properties on tribal lands. Tribes who wish to do so may assume any or all of the functions of a state historic

preservation officer with respect to tribal land. Some tribes have their own archaeologists. Repatriation (see [page 528](#)), for many Indian people, is a question of health. Human remains and sacred objects that have been wrenched from their proper place may jeopardize the spiritual well-being and the physical health of a community, even of a universe. Recovering ancestors' bones or important sacred objects can be a healing experience that begins to restore harmony to the world.<sup>83</sup>

Along with protecting and restoring cultural artifacts, preserving and reviving language is critical to Native American communities, and the evidence of a worldwide language crisis is well documented. It has been predicted that in the course of the twenty-first century, 3,000 of the world's existing 6,000 languages will die out and another 2,400 will come close to extinction. In other words, 90 percent of the world's languages are on the endangered languages list. As the late MIT linguist Ken Hale explained, language loss has far-reaching repercussions for scholars and scientists as well as for the community, and amounts to a "catastrophe for human intellectual and cultural diversity, a disaster comparable in its extent to losses in other aspects of our environment."<sup>84</sup> Loss of traditional languages that encompass deeper knowledge about the natural world may reduce people's capacity to understand and live in that world in an era of escalating change. In many Native American communities, the popular culture peddled by the media threatens to complete the work of linguicide that the boarding schools began.

Just as the U.S. government in the late nineteenth century saw the destruction of Indian languages as an effective means of erasing tribal culture and identity, so Indian people today see language revival as a means of restoring them. Many Native communities have developed or are developing language immersion programs for children. In 1990 Congress passed the Native American Languages Act. The law recognized that “the traditional languages of Native Americans are an integral part of their cultures and identities and form the basic medium for the transmission, and thus survival, of Native American cultures, literature, histories, religions, political institutions, and values.” The act states that it is the policy of the United States to “encourage and support the use of Native American languages as a medium of instruction.”<sup>85</sup> Additional legislation provided grants for recording oral histories and teaching languages in classrooms, but Indian people realize that **language preservation** and revitalization lie in their own hands.<sup>86</sup>

Immersion programs such as those at the Mohawk Akwesasne Freedom School (see [pages 506](#)) and the Nizipuhwahsin Center on the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana demonstrate the potential for such efforts to pull languages back from the brink and turn things around. The late Darryl Robes Kipp, an army veteran with a master’s in education from Harvard, and two other tribal members founded the Piegan Institute in 1987, with a commitment to preserving Blackfeet and other Native languages. Like others dedicated to the struggle to preserve languages, Kipp pointed out that language is more than just a means of communication; it is a cultural prism

through which to see the world and a storehouse of knowledge. “Our language is our library,” he said. “And Blackfeet is totally unlike English, so it gives the child another thinking blueprint.” Some Native college students are also actively involved in preserving their languages, acutely aware that the threat of language extinction increases as each Native-speaking elder passes on. In December 2006 Congress passed the Esther Martinez Native American Languages Preservation Act, establishing grants for programs designed to preserve Indian languages and reverse language loss. Speaking and thinking in one’s Native language and knowing one’s traditional ways does not render Indian people backward, said Kipp; it empowers them to participate in modern tribal and American society. Education in the boarding schools and other institutions where Native languages were suppressed or ignored “was a journey to lead us away from who we really are. . . . Language relearning is a journey home.”<sup>87</sup>

The Mashpee Wampanoag on Cape Cod, Massachusetts, who met the Pilgrims in 1621, had not spoken their language for at least a century until the tribe started work to reclaim it more than twenty years ago; it has now launched an immersion school for pre-K and kindergarten-age children, “reclaiming its long-lost language, one schoolchild at a time.”<sup>88</sup>

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Congress was funding schools where Native students were beaten for speaking their languages. In the twenty-first century, Congress acted in support of

Native language preservation. In 2014 two bills were introduced into the U.S. Senate: the Native Languages Reauthorization Act, to ensure the survival and continuing vitality of Native American languages, and the Native Language Immersion Student Achievement Act, to authorize the secretary of education to award grants to schools and private or tribal nonprofit organizations to develop and maintain programs that support the use by schools of Native American languages as their primary language of instruction.



*Lauren Donovan/AP Images.*

#### ◆ Language Immersion Program

Tom Red Bird, a fluent Lakota speaker, helping in an experimental program that offers Lakota immersion classes at Sitting Bull Community College at Fort Yates, North Dakota.



# Educating Citizens

The tribal colleges, so precarious in their early years, have achieved stability and respectability. College campuses have replaced trailers for offices and classrooms. Yet they remain vulnerable to political shifts in Washington and funding shortages. They also face the same challenges other colleges face in an era where public support for education is declining and easy access to information and sound bites often seem to take the place of learning and reasoned reflection. More than twenty-five years ago Lakota scholar and activist Vine Deloria Jr. (see [pages 541–43](#)) criticized American colleges and universities for training professionals but not producing people. “Education,” he wrote, “is more than the process of imparting and receiving information, . . . it is the very purpose of human society and . . . human societies cannot really flower until they understand the parameters of possibilities that the human personality contains.”<sup>89</sup> His comments seem more relevant than ever today. Like Deloria, Janine Pease, founding president of Little Big Horn College, past president of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium, and director of the American Indian College Fund, and appointed by President Clinton to the National Advisory Council on Indian Education, knows that education is about more than job training. “You want a well-educated citizenry. You want [students] to have enough information to live healthy lives, to raise healthy and bright children.”<sup>90</sup> Despite all the obstacles, tribal

colleges are providing their nations with that well-educated citizenry.

For many people, tribal colleges are the only opportunity they have for higher education. “We’re the only game in town,” said Diné College President Maggie George in 2013.<sup>91</sup> But increasing numbers of Native students are pursuing other opportunities and attending mainstream colleges and universities. Difficult circumstances back home and on campus sometimes distract and detract from performance in class and make it hard just to be a student, but Native graduates from some of the nation’s best schools are using the skills and credentials they acquire to benefit and strengthen their tribes. Practicing law, working in Washington, serving in tribal governments and businesses, protecting tribal lands, advocating for tribal rights and environmental justice, and in a host of other ways, they use their mainstream education to help build a future in Indian country that rests on, rather than replaces, tribal traditions and values.<sup>92</sup>



*Photo by Linda M. Welch. Courtesy of the photographer and the graduates.*

#### ♦Navajo Women Graduating from Dartmouth College

Young Navajo women celebrate their college graduation. Sheina Yellowhair, Jonathea D. Tso, Poonam Aspaas, Sophina Manheimer, and Marla Yazzie graduated from Dartmouth in 2004.

# HOMELANDS, WASTELANDS, AND PIPELINES

Efforts to preserve and revitalize communities and cultures will mean little if the homelands that sustain them are degraded and destroyed. In common with indigenous peoples in other areas of the world, Indian communities in the United States continue to experience unrelenting demands on their resources and are often the first to experience the escalating effects of climate change. Economic opportunities also bring mixed blessings. The Three Affiliated Tribes of North Dakota — the Mandans, Hidatsas, and Arikaras, who were devastated by smallpox in 1837 and who lost the best part of their Fort Berthold Reservation to flooding when the Garrison Dam was built in the 1950s — now sit on top of a fortune. The Bakken Shale deposit in North Dakota and Montana is estimated to hold 4.3 billion barrels of oil, making it the biggest oil field in U.S. history. Improved drilling techniques and hydraulic fracking, which fractures rocks and creates fissures and cracks through which the oil can flow, have turned it into one of the fastest-growing oil-production areas in the country. After generations of poverty, tribal members and the tribal treasury are now receiving millions in yearly oil production income. The oil boom has also created jobs, generated income for tribal casinos and other businesses, and brought people back to the reservation. Oil

companies have drilled dozens of wells and are even drilling below Lake Sakakawea, the 180-mile-long reservoir that flooded 10 percent of the reservation when the dam was built.

The oil boom is expected to continue, with predictions that North Dakota could pass Alaska in oil production by the end of the decade. Once wealthy farmers and traders (see [pages 256, 294](#)), the Three Affiliated Tribes are now dealing with wealth again — and with the environmental problems produced by hydraulic fracturing or fracking. By reducing dependency on the federal government, the Bakken Oil boom has the potential, in the words of one tribal chairman, to make tribes “more sovereign by the barrel.” But prosperity and employment has not spread far and wide to other northern Plains communities, and, as with earlier gold rushes, there are darker sides to the oil boom in both social and environmental damage. In the words of Deb Madison, manager of the Fort Peck Office of Environmental Protection, “The landscape is just getting torn to smithereens, and it’s hard to look at.”<sup>93</sup>

The days are over when the BIA and energy companies could decide between them how to exploit reservation resources. Now Indian tribes themselves call the shots. Some tribes have ceased being energy colonies and have become energy developers. In 2005 Congress passed the Indian Tribal Energy Development and Self-Determination Act, which gives tribes the option of entering into “tribal energy resource agreements” with the secretary of the interior; these agreements provide tribes with a kind of preapproval

for energy development and thereby cut down on bureaucratic red tape and delays.<sup>94</sup> But tribes with energy resources still come under intense pressure to exploit them, face formidable political and economic realities in making choices, and sometimes find that achieving economic prosperity may not be compatible with traditional values.

Many people argue that unless the tribes can make economic progress they stand to lose their traditional culture in the face of poverty and dependence. Others maintain that the land is sacred and should not be scarred by mining and drilling operations. They question the wisdom of pursuing quick wealth by extracting mineral resources from their reservations or from storing radioactive waste in and on their land. “Where will we all be 20 or 25 years from now when the coal is all consumed and the companies operating these gasification plants have cleaned up all the resources and moved away?” one Navajo asked. “There will be nothing; they will be working elsewhere and we will be sitting on top of a bunch of ashes with nothing to live on.”<sup>95</sup> The question of how to pursue economic development without damaging their homelands remains a challenge for many tribes.

## Nuclear Waste in Indian Country

The pressure to generate economic development on the reservations led tribal governments to consider housing toxic wastes. The U.S. Department of Energy (DOE) offered \$100,000 study grants to encourage tribes and rural communities to explore storing nuclear waste in monitored retrievable storage (MRS) facilities until a planned permanent DOE site at Yucca Mountain, Nevada, could be licensed. The Skull Valley Goshute, Mescalero Apache, Northern Arapaho, Fort McDermitt Paiute-Shoshone, Lower Brulé Sioux, Chickasaw, Sauk and Fox, Alabama-Coushatta, Ponca, Eastern Shawnee, Caddo, Yakima, and other Native groups applied for the study grants. Some of these tribes reconsidered, but others continued to explore the projects, and several accepted MRS facilities on their reservations ([Map 10.3](#)).<sup>96</sup> The Skull Valley Goshutes in Nevada leased land for an MRS facility. The economic incentives offered are attractive in communities where unemployment and poverty are commonplace, but critics of MRS facilities point out that the long-term environmental problems outweigh any short-term economic benefits. They denounce the dumping of nuclear waste on Indian reservations as “environmental racism”: American society wants the benefits of nuclear power, but no one wants the waste in their backyard, so it is sent to Indian country. The Department of Energy planned to open an underground repository at Yucca Mountain in Nevada by 2017, but the Western Shoshones fought the project, arguing that the site is on land guaranteed to them by treaty in 1863. Many more Americans worried about the dangers involved in transporting nuclear waste to the new site. In 2009 the Obama administration



announced that the Yucca Mountain site was no longer an option, and Congress reduced its funding.



Information from Zolran Grossman of Midwest Treaty Network. Adapted from Winona LaDuke, *All Our Relations* (Cambridge, Mass.: South End Press, 1999).

#### ♦ Map 10.3 Nuclear Waste in Indian Country



The construction of nuclear waste storage facilities on some reservations may offer short-term economic opportunities to the tribes, but many Indians and non-Indians regard the dumping of nuclear waste as a prime example of “environmental racism” that poses long-term threats to neighboring communities.

In February 1994, the Mescalero Apache tribal council signed an agreement with Minnesota’s Northern States Power Company, representing thirty-three nuclear energy companies, to establish a private storage site for forty thousand metric tons of spent nuclear fuel from commercial power plants. Tribal chair Wendell Chino explained the move as a step toward achieving tribal economic independence and self-sufficiency by providing jobs and income for the tribe. Other Mescaleros opposed the decision as violating sacred land and jeopardizing their children’s futures. Although tribes are subject to federal environmental laws, they are exempt from state acts that often are stricter than federal legislation, and tribal advocates of MRS sometimes dismiss state opposition by invoking their sovereignty. Other Indian peoples demand federal enforcement of environmental laws and are creating their own regulations to protect their people and resources.

The threat of contamination from leakage of nuclear waste became acute at Prairie Island, Minnesota, where the Mdewakanton Dakota community lives literally next door to a nuclear power plant and a nuclear waste storage plant. When Northern States Power Company (now a subsidiary of Xcel Energy) planned to store waste from its Prairie Island reactors outside, on a historic site and burial

ground in the Mississippi floodplain, an alliance of Indians, environmental groups, and other concerned citizens formed the Prairie Island Coalition to oppose the plan. In 1994 the Minnesota state legislature passed a law limiting the number of storage casks at the site to seventeen and requiring the power company to find a new site. The Prairie Island Indian community and their allies refuse to accept official assurances that the plant and storage facility are safe and continue to lobby for removal of the nuclear waste. In 2011 the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission extended the plant's license for another twenty years, although the catastrophe at the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear plant in Japan following the earthquake and tsunami in 2011 heightened anxieties about such plants everywhere. In 2016 a problem with the turbine caused two reactors to shut down. Xcel Energy is carrying out a major overhaul of the plant but also assessing the costs of keeping it open. Massive pipelines carry water from the Mississippi to the plant.

## The Earth Hurts

Pollution of the air, land, and water, destruction of animal and plant life, and relentless exploitation of natural resources all run counter to traditional Native ideals of living with the earth. The Arctic tundra has been used as a dumping ground for nuclear waste, and toxic PCBs have been found in Eskimo mothers' milk. At the

Mohawk community of Akwesasne on the banks of the St. Lawrence River in upstate New York, where the people used to hunt, farm, and fish, so many chemicals were dumped into the water by nearby industrial plants that it became unsafe to eat fish or game, cultivate the soil, or raise cattle. Scientists caught snapping turtles with so many PCBs in their bodies that they constituted toxic waste, an event with ominous significance for a people whose creation stories tell that the world was formed on the back of a huge sea turtle. The pollution that threatens Navajos in Arizona and Mohawks at Akwesasne threatens everyone, as does the human-induced climate change that threatens Native people who depend on the ice of the circumpolar arctic regions or whose coastal villages face submergence under rising sea levels. Shoshoni and Arapaho people on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming are still dealing with uranium-tainted water supplies after closing of a uranium mill in 1963 left behind nearly 2 million cubic yards of contaminated material.<sup>97</sup> In August 2015, the Gold King Mine near Silverton, Colorado, spilled more than 3 million gallons of toxic waste water into the San Juan River, turning it yellow and contaminating water supplies on the Navajo Reservation. “The earth hurts,” said the late Navajo elder Roberta Blackgoat, a longtime opponent of the desecration of Navajo land. “The planet is in danger. . . . It is everybody’s future.”<sup>98</sup>

In 2005 the Navajo government passed a law banning uranium mining in Navajo country, but Navajo people have also clashed with their tribal government as they continue to fight the environmental

costs of developing energy resources in their homeland. A grassroots Navajo environmental group effectively protested the proposed building of a new power plant in northwestern New Mexico by Sithe Global Power and the Diné Power Authority, which was established by the Navajo Nation Council.<sup>99</sup> In *Navajo Nation, et al. v. United States Forest Service, et al.*, a Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals panel of judges ruled that operators of the Arizona Snowbowl, a ski resort located north of Flagstaff, could not extend its season by making artificial snow from wastewater. Overturning a lower court decision in favor of the project, the appeals court accepted the arguments of the Hopi, Navajo, Yavapai, and other tribes that making snow with contaminated water on the sacred San Francisco Peaks (see [Map 1.5, page 46](#)) constituted a violation of their religious rights and of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act of 1993.<sup>100</sup> Then, upon rehearing the case in 2008, the court *en banc*<sup>o</sup> reversed the decision, and in 2009 the Supreme Court declined to review the Navajos' case. Navajo president Joe Shirley Jr. issued a statement on the sanctity of the San Francisco Peaks and called for help in preserving them; Native Americans, environmental groups, and others formed a "Save the Peaks" coalition, and Navajos requested that the United Nations intervene to protect the mountain as a sacred site. In 2012 a federal appeals court ruled in favor of the ski resort's plans to upgrade, clearing the way for the Arizona Snowbowl to become "the first ski resort in the world to use 100 percent sewage effluent to make artificial snow."<sup>101</sup> In 2015 the Navajo Nation filed a petition with the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, seeking redress for violation of their cultural

religious, and judicial rights, and the Protect the Peaks coalition held a protest in Flagstaff on the opening day of the Arizona Snowbowl.

Other tribes are also fighting back. Northern Cheyennes continue to fend off proposals to turn their Montana homeland into the largest coal strip mine in the United States. “I feel like I have lived a lifetime fighting coal strip mining,” said Gail Small of Native Action, a grassroots organization committed to fighting coal development and ensuring the survival of the Northern Cheyenne community.<sup>[102](#)</sup> EcoCheyenne, a grassroots organization that promotes renewable and sustainable energy, waged a successful campaign to stop the development of a huge coal mine on the eastern edge of Northern Cheyenne country. In 2016 the Lummi Tribe near Seattle, Washington, won a significant victory when the Army Corps of Engineers denied Pacific International Terminal a permit to build what would have been the largest coal export terminal in the country, on the grounds that it would violate the fishing rights guaranteed to the Lummi Tribe by its 1855 treaty.<sup>[103](#)</sup>

After Congress passed legislation giving Resolution Copper, a multinational mining company, access to Oak Flat in the Tonto National Forest in Arizona, members of the San Carlos Apache tribe have been protesting against the imminent desecration of a site they consider sacred. Apache people have held coming-of-age-ceremonies for young women at Oak Flat since time immemorial. In July 2015, they took their protest to Washington, D.C.,

demonstrating in front of the Capitol. Naelyn and Nizhoni Pike, teenage sisters who participated in the delegation, said, “Oak Flat is our future, and when we go back we will continue to occupy and protect what is ours.”<sup>104</sup>



BRENDAN SMIALOWSKI/Getty Images.

◆ **San Carlos Apache Delegation at the Capitol**

A delegation of San Carlos Apache tribal members in front of the Capitol steps protest the desecration of Oak Flat.

Some tribes provide models, and high standards, for the rest of America to emulate in areas of environmental protection, water quality management, and fish restoration. Some federal environmental statutes accord tribes “TAS” (Treatment as States) status, which allows them to serve as the principal governmental steward of their natural resources. Qualifying tribes can, for

example, set their own standards for air emissions and discharges into tribal waterways at levels that must meet — and may even exceed — national standards. The Isleta Pueblo in New Mexico, the first tribe accorded TAS status in 1992, set water quality standards for the Rio Grande flowing through the pueblo higher than those of the federal government, in part to protect tribal members' use of the waters for religious and ceremonial purposes. The federal government approved Isleta's water quality standard and a federal court upheld the EPA's authority to make it binding on the city of Albuquerque. Albuquerque subsequently spent more than \$60 million to upgrade its water treatment facilities so that its discharges into the Rio Grande complied with the tribe's stringent water quality standards.<sup>105</sup> Many tribes are beginning to provide clean renewable energy by harnessing the massive wind resources of their homelands; tribes in the Dakotas and Nebraska are collaborating through the Intertribal Council on Utility Policy on plans to develop the first large-scale Native-owned and -operated wind farms in the country. On the other hand, Wampanoag people at Mashpee and Aquinnah opposed and helped halt construction of a wind farm in Nantucket Sound that would infringe on sacred rituals by obstructing their view of the sunrise. As always, Native communities are negotiating paths to progress while respecting their homelands and rituals and have many (sometimes conflicting) opinions about how best to do so.

<sup>105</sup>*en banc*: A majority of the circuit judges reviewing "a question of exceptional importance."

# Global Warming and New Partnerships

In 1977 Iroquois delegates to the Non-Governmental Organizations of the United Nations in Geneva, Switzerland, issued a “call to consciousness” to the Western world. “The way of life known as Western Civilization is on a death path on which their own culture has no viable answers,” they warned. “When faced with the reality of their own destructiveness, they can only go forward into areas of more efficient destruction.” The delegates saw the air becoming foul, water being poisoned, trees dying, animals disappearing, and the weather changing. They felt it was time to break away from Western concepts of exploiting and subjugating the natural world and embrace Native ways of living with the natural world. “The traditional Native peoples hold the key to the reversal of the processes in Western Civilization which hold the promise of unimaginable future suffering and destruction.”<sup>106</sup> Decades later, Western civilization at large has not varied from its “death path.” Anishinaabe author and activist Winona LaDuke, who ran as vice-presidential candidate of the Green Party in the 1996 and 2000 elections, articulated a growing awareness that “at some point, there will be no more ‘frontiers’ to conquer.”<sup>107</sup> Kiowa author N. Scott Momaday called on Western society to live with a “moral comprehension” of the earth; the alternative, he noted, “is that we shall not live at all.”<sup>108</sup>



Increasing evidence and recurrent scientific reports about the accelerating rate and likely repercussions of global warming have convinced many people — Native and non-Native — of the urgent need for change everywhere, including Indian country. Warning that the amount of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere now exceeds what many scientists believe constitutes a temperature tipping point (350 parts per million), LaDuke calls for a moratorium on fossil fuels extraction and calls on tribes to “stop doing stupid stuff.” Targeting proposed Crow and Navajo mining projects that would add billions of metric tons of carbon to the atmosphere, she writes: “Combusting coal is, well, so last millennium, and Navajo and Crow tribal leadership are intent on resurrecting and staying wedded to a dysfunctional and archaic fossil fuels economy . . . it doesn’t matter if that coal is burned in the U.S., or if it’s burned in China. We all live in the same world.”<sup>109</sup>

Some people believe that a return to traditional indigenous ways is the only chance for humanity to survive in the twenty-first century. Indigenous communities struggling to protect their homelands have found increasing numbers of allies among concerned non-Indian organizations and have formed new action groups of their own. Organizations like Honor the Earth, founded in 1993, promote cooperation between Native Americans and environmentalists. Part of President Obama’s Third U.S. National Climate Assessment, released in 2014, dealt exclusively with the effects of climate change on Native communities. Rising sea levels and coastal erosion in the Pacific Northwest and Gulf Coast, melting

permafrost in the Arctic, and recurrent and longer droughts in the Southwest and California threaten subsistence practices, village locations, and food and water supplies. “The consequences of observed and projected climate change have and will undermine indigenous ways of life that have persisted for thousands of years,” said the report. The government allocated \$10 million to help tribes cope with the effects of climate change, a step in the right direction but a drop in the ocean given the scope of the crisis.<sup>[110](#)</sup>

Native American elders, tribal leaders, scholars, and tribal colleges have collaborated with scientists and researchers from NASA, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), and other organizations to address issues of climate change.<sup>[111](#)</sup> Scientists using satellite imagery and indigenous peoples witnessing encroaching shorelines and declining subsistence resources reaffirm each other’s findings about the effects of climate change. The American Indian and Alaska Native Climate Change Working Group has been active for more than fifteen years. Daniel Wildcat, a Yuchi member of the Muscogee Nation of Oklahoma and the director of the Haskell Environmental Research Studies Center at Haskell Indian Nations University in Lawrence, Kansas, calls for Western scientists to embrace Earth-based indigenous knowledge in facing the planet’s pressing problems and prescribes some heavy doses of “indigenous realism” for Western society’s ailing relationship to the natural world.<sup>[112](#)</sup>

Because indigenous peoples are at the forefront in feeling the impacts of global warming, many Indian tribes and organizations are on the frontlines in the fight to turn from fossil fuels to clean energy. Tribal liaisons from the National Wildlife Federation, which partners with tribes to protect wildlife and habitat from climate change, report that, while our elected officials fail to act on the greatest threat we have ever seen, “Every day, tribal citizens are drawing the line and saying no. No more coal mining. No more oil drilling. No more digging up the earth so that corporations can profit off of exploiting our land, our water and our climate. We are stopping them one project at a time and collectively, we are making a difference.”<sup>113</sup> The stakes increased in 2017 when President Trump announced he was withdrawing the United States from the international climate accord and began to roll back environmental protections.

## Protesting Pipelines

The Keystone Pipeline System has been in operation since 2010, transporting diluted bitumen from the tar sands of Alberta, where production has already damaged Native lands and water, south to Oklahoma and to refineries on the Gulf Coast of Texas. A proposed extension, **Keystone XL**, to connect with an existing pipe in Nebraska (see [Map 10.4](#)) attracted widespread opposition. Thousands of people joined the Cowboys and Indians Alliance, a

coalition of farmers, ranchers, and Native Americans committed to stopping construction of the pipeline. In April 2014, the Alliance staged a five-day “Reject and Protect” protest in Washington, D.C., and pitched tipis on the National Mall (see [the Picture Essay, “Tribal Sovereignty in Action,” on page 636](#)). The protesters presented a hand-painted tipi to the National Museum of the American Indian as a gift to President Obama and a symbol of their hopes for protected land and clean water. “Keystone XL is a death warrant for our people,” said Oglala Sioux Tribal President Bryan Brewer. “President Obama must reject this pipeline and protect our sacred land and water. The United States needs to respect our treaty rights and say no to Keystone XL.”<sup>114</sup> President Obama vetoed the pipeline bill in 2015, but, as one of his first acts in the White House, Donald Trump signed an executive order that effectively gave the go-ahead for construction of the Keystone XL pipeline. In November 2017, the Keystone pipeline leaked 210,000 gallons of oil in northeast South Dakota.<sup>115</sup>



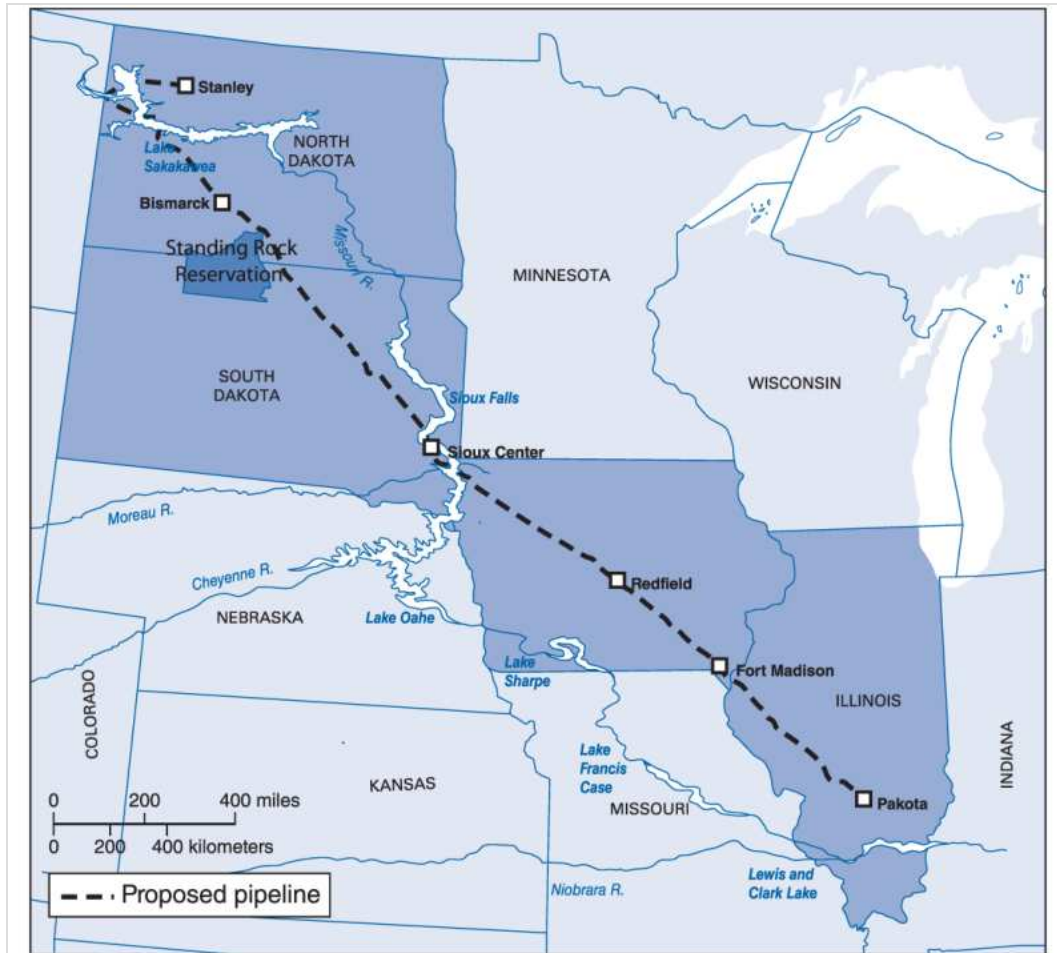
Calloway, *First Peoples*, 6e, © 2019 Bedford/St. Martin's

#### ◆ Map 10.4 Keystone Pipeline

Map showing the proposed Keystone XL extension.

Trump also gave the go-ahead to the Dakota Access pipeline. In December 2014, a Texas company called Energy Transfer Partners applied to the federal government for approval to build a massive 1,170-mile pipeline, at a cost of \$3.8 billion, to transport crude oil from the Bakken oil fields in North Dakota through South Dakota and Iowa to an existing pipeline in Illinois. The Dakota Access pipeline, as it is called, would pass within half a mile of the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation and pass under Lake Oahe, a

reservoir that serves as the tribe's supply of drinking water. The pipeline would carry half a million barrels of oil a day.



Calloway, *First Peoples*, 6e, © 2019 Bedford/St. Martin's

♦ Map 10.5 Dakota Access Pipeline

The proposed route of the Dakota Access Pipeline.

The four state governments involved granted approval and in 2015 the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, the federal government body in charge of the nation's waterways, initiated the project. Protesters — “water protectors” — in April 2016 established a camp at the confluence of the Cannonball and Missouri rivers, land they

claimed rightfully belonged to Native Americans. In July 2016, the Army Corps of Engineers granted permits for the pipeline to cross the Missouri. The **Standing Rock Sioux Tribe**, joined by the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe and represented by Earthjustice, filed an injunction in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, suing the Army Corps of Engineers for violating the National Historic Preservation Act and other laws, and citing the pipeline's potential impact on sacred and culturally significant sites and the threat it posed to water supplies — the permit allowed the company to dig under the Missouri River just upstream from the reservation. Eleven days later, Energy Transfer Partners sued the Standing Rock Sioux chairman and other tribal members for blocking construction.

The protesters attracted support from around the country and attention from around the world. News reports showed heavily armed police and private security guards using dogs and water hoses to disperse the protesters. Hundreds of people were arrested. On September 9, 2106, a U.S. District Court denied the Standing Rock Sioux motion for preliminary injunction, but the same day the Army, the Department of Justice, and the Department of the Interior called a halt on construction pending further review. On December 4, the Army Corps of Engineers announced it would not grant an easement for the pipeline to be drilled under Lake Ohoe and in January 2017 launched a full environmental study of the pipeline's contested crossing of the Missouri, a study that could have taken up to two years to complete. But on January 24, just four days after his

inauguration as president, Trump signed the executive order advancing construction of both the Keystone XL and Dakota Access pipelines. On February 8, 2017, the Army Corps of Engineers issued an easement to allow the Dakota Access pipeline to cross under Lake Oahe. The protesters' encampment was cleared and the pipeline completed, but the Standing Rock Sioux and their many allies refused to give up the fight, staging protest marches in Washington and elsewhere. "Our fight is no longer at the North Dakota site itself," said tribal chairman Dave Archambault II. "Our fight is with Congress and the Trump administration."<sup>116</sup> In June, the tribe won what Archambault called "a significant victory" when the court ruled that the federal permits authorizing the pipeline to cross the Missouri just upriver from the Standing Rock reservation were illegal in some respects, but in October 2017 a federal judge ruled that the pipeline could continue operating pending an environmental review by the Army Corps of Engineers. The fight goes on.<sup>117</sup>

Mohawk filmmaker Paulette Moore described the protest camps at Standing Rock as "part of growing Indigenous responses to extractive industry — an international challenge to worldviews that separate mind from body, individuals from community, and humans from nature."<sup>118</sup> Media coverage of the Standing Rock protests often cast Native Americans in the role of defenders of the environment, suggesting that all Native American people oppose any development. Of course, they do not. Many tribes depend on it and promote it. Like most people, they want an economy that



provides a decent living, a sustainable environment, and a future for their children that looks promising rather than bleak; they are not against development per se, but they want measured development that is initiated with tribal consultation and consent, implemented with tribal input, and carried out with respect for tribal values, tribal homelands, and tribal treaty rights.

Native Americans fighting for their rights, resources, and futures confront an increasingly hostile political climate. In 2014 the Environmental Protection Agency finalized a new Environmental Justice Policy, in the works since 2011, for working with indigenous peoples to meet the growing challenges they face. In addition, the EPA committed to incorporating Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) into its environmental science, policy, and decision-making processes, and to take into account concerns regarding information on sacred sites, cultural resources, and other traditional knowledge.<sup>119</sup> The Trump administration reversed such policies and began to dismantle the EPA. Trump in April 2017 signed an executive order calling for a review of twenty-four out of the twenty-seven national monuments established by three former presidents, including the Bears Ears National Monument established in December 2016, located in Utah between existing national parks and the Navajo Nation. The only national monument managed by Native nations, 1.3-million-acre Bear Ears National Monument holds sacred sites, cliff dwellings, canyons, and river lands. Utah's Republican congressional delegation protested closing the area to energy development. When Trump announced plans to reduce

Bears Ears National Monument by 85 percent and to shrink Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument by almost half, Indian tribes and environmental groups immediately brought lawsuits to stop the move in court. As at Standing Rock, the fight to protect Bears Ears goes on. The tax bill, passed by Republicans in Congress and signed into law by Trump in December 2017, included a provision opening Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to drilling for oil. Many people, Native and non-Native, have fought against such a development for decades, citing threats to homeland, environment, and wildlife. Others, also Native and non-Native, applaud a move they hope will bring badly needed jobs, revenue, and infrastructure to the region.<sup>[120](#)</sup>

# CONCLUSION: HISTORY MATTERS

The tense racial and political environment in the United States today has brought history, the meanings we attribute to it, and the lessons we learn from it, into sharp focus as a contested space. People with different opinions about the present and different understandings of the past have debated and clashed over the removal of Confederate statues and other monuments. For Native Americans, living in a country that has commemorated and even celebrated individuals and events that brought pain and destruction to their ancestors, controversies over “who owns the past” are not new. They protest on Columbus Day, insisting it be recognized as Indigenous Peoples’ Day, with some calling for statues of Columbus to be removed. Statues of Columbus have been vandalized, as have statues of Juníperro Serra, the eighteenth-century Franciscan whom some people revere for his missionary work among California Indians and many revile for the suffering he caused. In New Mexico, someone sawed a foot off a statue of Governor Juan de Oñate, who launched a bloody assault on Acoma in 1599 and is said to have ordered that Pueblo males have one foot amputated. In September 2017, police arrested protesters in Santa Fe’s downtown plaza who were demonstrating against a reenactment of Diego de Vargas’s reconquest of New Mexico after the Pueblo Revolt. Other

individuals and events — Custer, Sherman, Sand Creek, Wounded Knee — serve as lightning rods for clashes over the past.

Some people refuse to acknowledge the dark sides of the country's history and its enduring colonial legacies because they see it as criticizing the United States of America, and sometimes it does. But great nations deserve great histories that are honest, inclusive, and complicated, not narrow narratives that allow some citizens to take pride in the past while ignoring, dismissing, or distorting the experiences of people whose stories do not “fit.” We cannot tell the nation's history in full if we exclude Indian peoples, their ancient past on this continent, their multiple experiences with colonialism and nation building, their enduring presence, and their influence in determining events. American history without American Indians, one could say, is un-American.

Presidents and policies come and go, but Native America endures. Through centuries of struggle and generations of political activism, and contrary to the United States' expectations and predictions, Native Americans not only survived as a people but also ensured the existence of Indian country within the United States. The terms of the continuing relationship between the United States and the Indian nations within its borders are still being considered, contested, and constructed.<sup>[121](#)</sup>

“When all has been said and done,” wrote former Navajo Supreme Court Justice Raymond D. Austin, “all American Indian

peoples want is the right to live as Indians in their own country.”<sup>[122](#)</sup> As they continue to strive for that goal in the twenty-first century, will the values embedded in traditional teachings continue to serve Indian people as they have in the past? Indian America will survive, but what will be the terms of that survival? What will Indian country look like? What, indeed, will the United States look like? In Philip Deloria’s words, Indian people were “thoroughly creative in crafting an Indian life in the twentieth-century United States.”<sup>[123](#)</sup> If the history of the past five hundred years is any guide, they will be equally creative in crafting an Indian life in the twenty-first-century United States.



© Kevin R. Morris/CORBIS /VCG/Getty Images.

#### ◆ Powwow Dancer

An Indian dancer competes at a northern Plains powwow at the Buffalo Bill Historical Center in Cody, Wyoming, 1995. The word *powwow* derives from an Algonquian term for medicine men, and early European colonists often applied it to any gatherings in which medicine men participated. Today the term refers to Indian social events that revolve around dancing, drumming, and singing. Always a crucial part of Native American religious and communal life, dancing persisted even while

missionaries and government agents tried to suppress what they regarded as “heathenish practices.” In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, powwows have flourished as Indian people across the United States and Canada seek ways to come together to celebrate their heritage, preserve traditional dances, and demonstrate new forms of cultural expression.

For many Indian people in modern America, powwows are an important way to reaffirm their identity and participate in their culture in a dramatic and public way.

# CHAPTER 10 REVIEW

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## KEY TERMS

Self-identification

Cherokee freedmen

Federal recognition

Triple citizens

Peacemaking system

Idle No More

Well nations

Tribal Law and Order Act, 2010

Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act, 2013

Baby Veronica case

Language preservation

Keystone XL

Standing Rock Sioux Tribe



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## REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What factors determine Indian identity in modern America?
2. How do Indian nations distinguish themselves from other U.S. governing bodies?
3. What measures are Indian nations taking to improve conditions in Indian country?
4. What is tribal sovereignty and why is it so important to Indian tribes today?

# DOCUMENTS

## Protecting Native Women



Despite the Violence Against Women Act and the Tribal Law and Order Act, Native women and girls in America today are not safe. They face high risk of being raped and little chance of receiving justice if they are. As in other areas of the world, European and American soldiers employed sexual violence as a tool of conquest and a weapon of war against Native peoples. Colonial attitudes depicted Native women as lacking in morals and as prime targets for sexual predation and reformation. The legacies of racial, sexual, and class oppression, and of stereotypes about “squaws,” continue to haunt the lives of Indian women today.<sup>124</sup> A report issued by the Indian Law Resources Center in 2013, echoing a 2006 report by Amnesty International entitled *Maze of Injustice*, found that:

Violence against Native women and girls has reached epidemic levels in Indian country and Alaska Native villages — rates that are 2½ times higher than violence against any other group of women in the United States. Native women are more than twice as likely to be stalked than other women. One in three Native

women will be raped in her lifetime, and six in ten will be physically assaulted. The murder rate for Native women is ten times the national average on some reservations. Alaska Native women are subjected to the highest rate of forcible sexual assault in the country. One in two Alaska Native women will experience sexual or physical violence, and “an Alaska Native woman is sexually assaulted every 18 hours.”<sup>125</sup>

In a *New York Times* op-ed entitled “Broken Justice in Indian Country” in 2008, Professor Bruce Duthu, a member of the Houma Nation of Louisiana who teaches Indian law and policy at Dartmouth College, showed that since the Supreme Court decision in *Oliphant v. Suquamish* (1978) Native women and girls have had less protection from such violence and less access to justice because the vast majority of perpetrators were non-Indian and therefore immune from prosecution by tribal courts.<sup>126</sup> A 2009 report on sexual violence against Indian women in Minnesota found that rapes on upstate reservations increased during hunting season: a non-Indian could drive up from the Twin Cities and be home in five hours and the tribal police could not arrest him.<sup>127</sup> A Native woman, abused and battered in her own home in front of her children by a non-Indian spouse, or an Indian teenager date-raped by a non-Indian visiting the reservation, had no recourse in tribal court. The statistics underrepresent the crisis: many, perhaps most, rape victims do not report the crime; they fear retribution, do not expect justice, and experience discrimination from non-Indian agencies. When Indian victims do turn to federal and state

authorities, those authorities often fail to prosecute. According to a U.S. Government Accountability Office report in 2010, federal authorities declined to prosecute 67 percent of Indian country matters referred to them that involved sexual abuse and related matters.<sup>[128](#)</sup>

Behind the appalling statistics and legislation lie thousands of individual lives. In a *New York Times* op-ed urging passage of the 2103 the Violence Against Women Act through the House of Representatives, where some Republicans were balking, author Louise Erdrich pointed out that “[w]hat seems like dry legislation can leave Native women at the mercy of their predators or provide a slim margin of hope for justice.”<sup>[129](#)</sup> The testimony of Deborah Parker, vice chairperson of the Tulalip Tribes in Washington State, in support of reauthorizing the Violence Against Women Act puts a human face on the statistics. Although VAWA generally did not go into effect until 2015, the Tulalip Tribes of Washington, along with the Pascua Yaqui Tribe of Arizona and the Umatilla Tribes of Oregon, took advantage of a pilot program and were the first in the country to exercise special criminal jurisdiction for certain crimes against women under VAWA. Such efforts are sure to be challenged on the grounds that Congress lacks the power to subject non-Indian U.S. citizens to criminal trials in the courts of tribal nations that provide them no avenues for political representation or participation.

**DEBORAH PARKER “*I Am a Native American Statistic*” (2012)**

I am here today to support the Violence Against Women Act. I was here on an environmental protection issue on Monday and did not plan on providing my story while at the nation's capital. However, I could not allow another day of silence to continue.

Yesterday I shared with Senator Murray the reasons why the Violence Against Women Act is so important to our Native American women. I did not expect that I would be sharing my own personal story.

I am a Native American statistic. I am a survivor of sexual and physical violence. My story starts in the '70s as a toddler. You may wonder, how do I remember when this occurred? I was the size of a couch cushion — a red velvet approximately two-and-a-half feet couch cushion. One of the many girls violated and attacked by a man who had no boundaries or regards for a little child's life. My life.

The man responsible was never convicted. In the early '80s at a young age, I was asked to babysit my auntie's children. During the late hours of the evening, she arrived but was not alone. Instead of packing my things to go home, my sense was to quickly grab the children. . . . The four or five men who followed my auntie home raped her. I had to protect the children and hide. I could not save my auntie. I only heard her cries. Today is the first time that I have ever shared this story. She died at a young age. The perpetrators were never prosecuted.

During this time on our reservation, there was no real law enforcement. And because I know the life for a Native woman was short, I fought hard to attend college in the early '90s, and study criminal justice so I could be one to protect our women. However, I am only one. And we still have no real protection for women on our reservations.

In the late '90s I returned from college and began a program to help young female survivors. We have saved many lives during the creation of this program. However one of my girls, Sophia, was murdered on my reservation. By her partner. I still remember this day very strongly. And yet another one of our young girls took her life. A majority of our girls have struggled with sexual and domestic violence — not once, but repeatedly.

My question for Congress was, and has always been, why did you not protect me or my family? Why is my life, and the lives of so many other Native American women less important?

It is now 2012. I am urging Congress to uphold the U.S. Constitution and honor U.S. treaty agreements to provide protection, education, health, and safety to our indigenous men and women of this country. Please support the Violence Against Women Act, and send a strong message across the country that violence against Native American women is unlawful and is not acceptable in any of our lands.

Our tribal courts will work with you to ensure that violators are accountable and victims are made whole and well. . . . Thank you for listening to my story. I am blessed to be alive today. I send my love and prayers to all of the other victims and survivors of sexual and domestic violence.

*SOURCE:* Daniel M. Cobb, ed., *Say We Are Nations: Documents of Politics and Protest in Indigenous America since 1887* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 237–38. Transcribed from “Women Senators, Tribal Leader Discuss Importance of VAWA Improvements.” Originally published April 25, 2012. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yIV7-XASQy8>.

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. What might the U.S. government do to help stop sexual violence against Native women and what challenges would it face in doing so?
2. Many people view sexual violence against Native women as an assault on tribal sovereignty, and some believe that tribal governments must combat sexual violence in their communities. How can tribal governments respond?

## PIPELINES AND TREATY RIGHTS



Relations between the Lakota or western Sioux and the United States got off to a bad start. When a band of Brulé or Sicangu Sioux met the Lewis and Clark expedition on its way up the Missouri River in the spring of 1804 and demanded gifts as an expression of friendship and acknowledgment of their sovereignty, things turned ugly and tensions almost exploded in violence (see [pages 254–55](#)). The subsequent history of U.S.–Sioux relations was one of distrust, conflict, broken treaties, and land theft, most notably with the illegal taking of the Black Hills (see [pages 336–41](#)). When Dave Archambault II, chairman of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, presented Barack and Michelle Obama with a star quilt (see [page 533](#)) during the presidential visit to the reservation in June 2014, it seemed that, perhaps, relations between the Sioux and the United States were entering a new era of mutual trust and respect. Six months later, Energy Transfer Partners applied to the federal government for approval to build a pipeline to transport crude oil from the Bakken oil fields that would pass within half a mile of the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation, pass under the Missouri River, and threaten the tribe’s supply of drinking water as well as sacred cultural sites.

While the water protectors tried to stop construction at the site and thousands of people demonstrated in cities around the country, Archambault took the fight to the American public, the courts, and the international community. In September 2016, he traveled to Geneva, Switzerland, where he addressed the U.N. Human Rights Council. Calling on “all parties” to stop construction of the pipeline,



he accused the oil companies and the U.S. government of violating the Sioux sovereignty and treaty rights. In addition to the infringement of treaty boundaries, the tribes maintain that the Treaties of Fort Laramie in 1851 and 1868 require the federal government to consider a tribe's welfare when making decisions that affect the tribe. In November 2016, the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, an official body of the U.N., released a statement calling on the United States to adequately consult with the tribes before going ahead with the project and to comply with its commitments under the U.N. Declaration of Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Despite recurrent setbacks and growing criticism, Archambault continued to challenge the Dakota Access pipeline and its progress in court and to articulate the tribe's position and concerns. In September 2017, Archambault was voted out of office, losing to tribal councilman Mike Faith.

Two hundred and thirteen years after the Sioux confronted Lewis and Clark, relations with the U.S. government sank back into a familiar pattern of distrust and confrontation. For many people, how the Dakota Access pipeline conflict is resolved will signal how the United States intends to treat not only Native nations with whom it has solemn treaties but also the environment it shares with them.

**United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues,  
*Statement on the Dakota Access Pipeline* (November 4, 2016)**

Grand Chief Edward John has just spent three days (Oct. 29–31, 2016) in the Oceti Sakowin Camp and surrounding area at the invitation of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribal Chairman, David Archambault.

During his visit, Grand Chief Edward John met with members of the Sioux nation and with law enforcement officers stationed in Morton County sheriff's office. The office confirmed that some 412 people have been arrested, 9% of whom are from Standing Rock, including Standing Rock Sioux Tribal Chairman Dave Archambault.

As Expert Members of the Permanent Forum, we reiterate our deep concerns expressed in our statement on 31 August 2016 over the proposed pipeline construction route. We also have concerns that some 380 cultural and sacred sites along the pipeline route have been destroyed by work associated with the clearing for the pipeline. Further, numerous individuals have confirmed that there has been little consultation by the federal government related to the DAPL project.

The rights of the Sioux peoples are recognized and affirmed in their treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements with the United States, in various court decisions, in the U.S. Constitution and in international human rights instruments. Despite such recognition, their rights are being violated by decisions made with respect to the pipeline project traversing unceded Sioux territory.

Despite the call of the Obama administration to the company to hold the construction of the DAPL, we understand the construction is proceeding on a 24-hour work day basis, seven days a week. The company's decision to proceed with right-of-way clearing and construction has put the Standing Rock Sioux in a difficult and untenable situation.

The total lack of presence and action by the United States government, at the federal level, is a concern that must be addressed. We remind the United States of their ratification of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights as well as the 2010 public pronouncement of support for the U.N. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and their 22 September 2014 reiteration of commitment to the U.N. Declaration at the World Conference on Indigenous Peoples. We call on the United States to take urgent action on the alarming situation in North Dakota, including the criminalization of indigenous peoples in their peaceful attempts to safeguard their human rights and fundamental rights.

We understand the Standing Rock Sioux have transmitted urgent human rights appeals to four Human Rights Mandate Holders, jointly with the International Indian Treaty Council, on 19 August 2016 and 4 September 2016. We fully support this action and urge the respective Special Rapporteurs to take this matter up immediately and furthermore, to implore the United States to take concrete action on an urgent basis. We further recommend and

respectfully request that the U.N. Committee on Elimination of Racial Discrimination consider undertaking an Early Warning and Urgent Action procedure on the basis of information reflected in the report and statement of Chief Edward John.

Furthermore, we urge the Government to support the U.N. Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples on her visit to Standing Rock on an urgent and priority basis to examine this difficult situation related to the Sioux's struggle to protect their lands, waters, sacred sites and territories. We underscore the fact that their Treaties, court decisions and other agreements guarantee significant rights — rights that are seemingly being thrown to the wind by the U.S. government.

We urge the U.S. Government to take urgent action and protect the traditional lands and sacred sites of the Standing Rock Sioux and uphold their human rights commitments, including under the U.N. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

*SOURCE:* United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, Department of Economic and Social Affairs Room S-2954, United Nations, New York, New York, USA 10017.

**DAVE ARCHAMBAULT II, *Standing Rock Sioux Tribe v. U.S. Army Corps of Engineers* (February 10, 2017)**

SECOND DECLARATION OF DAVE ARCHAMBAULT, II

I, Dave Archambault II, declare as follows:

1. My name is Dave Archambault, II and I am the Chairman of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. I have served as Chairman since 2013. I also served as a member of the Tribal Council from 2007 until 2011.
2. Since the Tribe first learned that the Dakota Access pipeline planned to cross Lake Oahe immediately upstream from the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation, the Tribe's position has been clear — we oppose the pipeline crossing Lake Oahe at that location. Our fundamental interest is to protect the waters of Lake Oahe from the risks associated with oil spills and to protect sacred sites along the pipeline's proposed path from destruction and desecration.
3. The waters of Lake Oahe have great significance to my people and to me. They are the waters that we drink, that we rely on for irrigation and other economic pursuits, and that sustain us spiritually. It is the drinking water supply for our homes, as well as the hospital, schools, and all public buildings on the Reservation. We have seen so many oil spills in North Dakota and around the country, and we are aware of the devastating impacts such spills have in the past and continue to have today. As a fundamental part of our belief system, which is the belief system that guides my life, we have an obligation to our children, and to future generations, to protect against the contamination of these precious waters.
4. There is an important historic dimension to our concerns about the Dakota Access pipeline. The United States entered treaties with the Sioux Nation in 1851 and 1868, promising that

we would have our homeland forever and that they would protect us against depredations. But, after gold was found and immigrants came into our territory, the United States broke its promises to us. The United States even tried to starve my people, in an effort to get us to consent to the taking of our lands. But we did not consent. Nevertheless, the United States dispossessed us from large amounts of land promised to us.

5. In modern times, this pattern continued — as our lands were taken and our way of life destroyed, to benefit others. In 1958, Congress enacted the Oahe Taking Act which took away 56,000 acres of land on our Reservation. These were fertile, wooded bottomlands — the best lands of the Reservation. These lands were permanently flooded, requiring the forced relocation of my people from their protected lowlands to the harsh and windswept uplands. This was a devastating event in the life of the Tribe, causing vast economic and social hardship that continues to this day.
6. The Tribe has a strong interest in making sure that this historic pattern does not continue. In every era, when the United States responds to demands from those seeking to advance particular economic interests — for gold in the Black Hills, for land for non-Indian homesteaders on our Reservation, or for navigation or hydropower — it has always been the Tribe that has borne the heavy burdens, through the loss of our lands and harm to our way of life. While so much has been taken away by the misdeeds of the federal government, the Tribe has survived, and we have an obligation to protect what remains for the good

of our children. We must take positive steps to see that our rights are not ignored by the federal government. That is why we have stressed the importance of meaningful consultation regarding the Dakota Access pipeline. We must see that the federal government, which has solemn obligations under our Treaties and under the trust responsibility, hears our voices, and protects our Reservation and our way of life. As Chairman of the Tribe, I have done all I can to advance these principles.

7. There is also an important spiritual dimension to our concerns about the Dakota Access pipeline. Water plays a central role in our spiritual beliefs and our religious ceremonies. Our creation stories include stories of the importance of water. In our world view, everything is connected — people, animals, the land, and the water — and our belief system requires maintaining water in a pure form. Water is the critical element that nourishes and sustains all life. And water itself has a spirit that connects us all. When we say “mni wiconi,” it means that water is a source of life — that water gives life. Water provides the foundation and basis for all living things. That is a core religious belief that sustains me and our people.
8. The waters of Lake Oahe have a particular religious significance to me and to the Tribe. Certain religious ceremonies, such as the sundance, have historically taken place on the banks of Lake Oahe right near where Dakota Access proposes to cross. Other ceremonies continue to this day. For example, each year when the ice begins to break up after the winter, families from our Tribe have prayer

ceremonies on the banks of Lake Oahe at the site of the proposed crossing. Other ceremonies are also connected with Lake Oahe — although our ancestors have taught us that certain ceremonies should not be disclosed to outsiders. Nevertheless, there is a significant connection between the waters of Lake Oahe and the religious practices of my people.

9. One of the teachings of our ancestors, which is central to our belief system, is that to understand the interconnected nature of all things, one must look up to the heavens and down to the center of the earth. Along with our precious waters, the earth, the air and the sun are also sources of life. All of these four sources are connected, and all four are necessary for all beings to exist. We do not look at the sky and the ground as separate things — they are part of the unity of all of nature. This means that we must protect and conserve not only things on the surface, but in the sky and under the ground as well. Our ceremonies reflect the interconnectedness of water, earth, air and the sun (fire), and our spiritual life depends on the integrity of this understanding.
10. Another important teaching of our ancestors is to honor those who have come before us and in particular to ensure that their final resting places are not harmed or desecrated. In Lake Oahe, directly in the path of the proposed Dakota Access pipeline crossing, there is an island. Before the federal government built the Oahe Dam and Reservoir, this was not an island, but dry land along the Missouri River. It is my understanding that



there are ancestors buried on this island and so this is a site of great religious and cultural significance to us.

11. Consistent with our history and our spiritual knowledge and understanding, the Tribe has worked hard to address its concerns regarding the Dakota Access pipeline in a good way. On behalf of the Tribe I have expressed our concerns in innumerable meetings with federal officials, I have spoken with all who would listen, and I have written to all those who had a role in the decisions to be made.
12. Throughout the process, we emphasized three things. First, we have a right to be heard — so meaningful consultation must be afforded to us consistent with the federal trust responsibility. Second, our Treaties must be honored, our sacred places protected, and our waters preserved. Third, the decision making process must be fair — which means that an environmental impact statement is required. These positions have never changed.

...

*SOURCE:* Case 1:16-cv-01534-JEB Document 107-1. Filed February 10, 2017.

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. What argument can be made for and against construction of the Dakota Access pipeline?

2. Should treaties made in the nineteenth century stand in the way of economic development in the twenty-first century?

## U.S.–Indian Relations on a World Stage



AMERICAN INDIANS ARE OFTEN CONSIDERED as little more than a subplot in the history of the United States. But long before the United States existed as a nation, the indigenous inhabitants of the continent lived in an international context. Indian nations established diplomatic relations with other Indian nations, and after European invasion, they forged political relationships with the Spanish, French, Dutch, and English — and with individual colonies as well. As the young United States began to establish its dominance, some tribes continued to maintain alliances with the British in the North and with the Spanish in the South, and forged multinational indigenous coalitions to resist American expansion. Some Indians traveled to Europe on diplomatic missions in colonial times (see [“Indians in Eighteenth-Century London,” pages 180–85](#)), and they continued to do so in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: Ojibwa George Copway addressed the third World Peace Congress in Frankfurt am Main, Germany, in 1850; Deskaheh traveled on an Iroquois passport to Britain and then to Geneva to speak at the League of Nations in 1923.

As international institutions proliferated in the second half of the twentieth century, American Indians continued to reach across international lines to build collations and raise awareness about issues facing indigenous communities around the world. One such origination, the International Indian Treaty Council (IITC), was created in June 1974 when five thousand representatives from more than ninety indigenous nations in North and South America met on the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation<sup>130</sup> (see [Maps 6.4](#) and [8.1](#)). As a result of this meeting, the IITC released the *Declaration of Continuing Independence*, shown below, which demonstrates how American Indians advocated on an international level to assert their treaty rights and sovereignty.



Calloway, *First Peoples*, 6e, © 2019 Bedford/St. Martin's

♦ International Indian Treaty Council

Formed in 1974, the International Indian Treaty Council is an organization of indigenous peoples from North, Central, and South America, the Caribbean, and the Pacific.

In 1977 the United Nations recognized the International Indian Treaty Council (IITC) as a category II Non-governmental Organization (NGO) with consultative status on the U.N. Economic and Social Council. The IITC has continued to work for international recognition of indigenous rights and of the treaties indigenous peoples made with nation-states. It was also instrumental in securing U.N. adoption of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

In 1985 the U.N. Working Group on Indigenous Populations began developing a set of human rights standards that would protect the world's indigenous peoples. It completed its draft of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 1993; the draft was then referred to the Commission on Human Rights, which established another working group to examine its terms and to fine-tune the wording and provisions. Some nations expressed concerns about some key provisions of the declaration, such as indigenous peoples' right to self-determination and control over natural resources existing on their traditional lands. The final version of the declaration was adopted in 2006 by the Human Rights Council (the successor body to the Commission on Human Rights) and was referred to the General Assembly of the United Nations for voting.

On September 13, 2007, the General Assembly voted to adopt it, with 143 countries voting in favor of the declaration, 4 voting against it, and 11 abstaining. Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States — all countries with small indigenous populations — voted against it. The Bush administration's refusal to approve the declaration left the United States open to charges of hypocrisy when it claimed to support human rights in other areas. Australia changed its vote in favor of the declaration in 2009; New Zealand and then Canada followed suit in 2010. Native Americans pushed the Obama administration to honor its campaign promises and align with the rest of the world in its commitment to indigenous rights, and in December 2010 President Obama announced that the United States endorsed the U.N. declaration — the last country to do so.

U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon described the declaration's adoption as “a historic moment when U.N. Member States and indigenous peoples have reconciled with their painful histories and are resolved to move forward together on the path of human rights, justice and development for all.” The Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples is a nonbinding document that sets out the individual and collective rights of the estimated 370 million indigenous peoples of the world in matters of self-determination, culture, identity, language, employment, health, education, and other issues. Resolution 61/295 establishing the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples begins with a lengthy preamble in which the U.N. General Assembly acknowledges that indigenous

peoples “have suffered from historic injustices as a result of . . . their colonization and dispossession of their lands, territories and resources” that had prevented them from exercising “their right to development in accordance with their own needs and interests.” Seeing the declaration as the basis for improved relations and future partnerships between indigenous peoples and nation-states, the General Assembly presented it “as a standard of achievement to be pursued in a spirit of partnership and mutual respect.” The states that endorse the U.N. declaration do not “give” Native people rights; they recognize their inherent rights.

Like the Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples provides a system of guiding principles rather than a legally binding commitment. Nevertheless, by sustained coordination indigenous peoples made a place for themselves in the international system, secured a universal set of standards for indigenous rights, and produced a new framework for indigenous–state relationships that rests on respect and rights rather than state domination. If upheld and implemented — and that is a big “if” — it would lead to a new way of conducting relations beyond the state system of international politics.<sup>[131](#)</sup>

More than twenty years in the making, the UN declaration marks an important victory for indigenous communities. Though not legally binding, the formal recognition of indigenous rights on a global scale marks the culmination of a sustained and successful

campaign to establish internationally agreed principles for the treatment of indigenous peoples.

## **International Indian Treaty Council, *Declaration of Continuing Independence* (June 1974)**

### PREAMBLE

The United States of America has continually violated the independent Native Peoples of this continent by Executive action, Legislative fiat and Judicial decision. By its actions, the U.S. has denied all Native people their International Treaty rights, Treaty lands and basic human rights of freedom and sovereignty. This same U.S. Government, which fought to throw off the yoke of oppression and gain its own independence, has now reversed its role and become the oppressor of sovereign Native people.

Might does not make right. Sovereign people of varying cultures have the absolute right to live in harmony with Mother Earth so long as they do not infringe upon this same right of other peoples. The denial of this right to any sovereign people, such as the Native American Indian Nations, must be challenged by *truth* and *action*. World concern must focus on all colonial governments to the end that sovereign people everywhere shall live as they choose; in peace with dignity and freedom.

The International Indian Treaty Conference hereby adopts this Declaration of Continuing Independence of the Sovereign Native

American Indian Nations. In the course of these human events, we call upon the people of the world to support this struggle for our sovereign rights and our treaty rights. We pledge our assistance to all other sovereign people who seek their own independence.

#### DECLARATION

The First International Treaty Council of the Western Hemisphere was formed on the land of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe on June 8-16, 1974. The delegates, meeting under the guidance of the Great Spirit, represented 97 Indian tribes and Nations from across North and South America.

We, the sovereign Native Peoples recognize that all lands belonging to the various Native Nations now situated within the boundaries of the U.S. are clearly defined by the sacred treaties solemnly entered into between the Native Nations and the government of the United States of America.

We, the sovereign Native Peoples, charge the United States of gross violations of our International Treaties. Two of the thousands of violations that can be cited are the “wrongfully taking” of the Black Hills from the Great Sioux Nation in 1877, this sacred land belonging to the Great Sioux Nation under the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. The second violation was the forced march of the Cherokee people from their ancestral lands in the state of Georgia to the then “Indian Territory” of Oklahoma after the Supreme Court of the United States ruled the Cherokee treaty rights inviolate. The treaty



violation, known as the “Trail of Tears,” brought death to two-thirds of the Cherokee Nation during the forced march.

The Council further realizes that securing United States recognition of treaties signed with Native Nations requires a committed and unified struggle, using every available legal and political resource. Treaties between sovereign nations explicitly entail agreements with represent “the supreme law of the land” binding each party to an inviolate international relationship.

We acknowledge the historical fact that the struggle for Independence of the Peoples of our sacred Mother Earth have always been over sovereignty of land. These historical freedom efforts have always involved the highest human sacrifice.

We recognize that all Native Nations wish to avoid violence, but we also recognize that the United States government has always used force and violence to deny Native Nations basic human and treaty rights.

We adopt this Declaration of Continuing Independence, recognizing that struggle lies ahead — a struggle certain to be won — and that the human and treaty rights of all Native Nations will be honored. In this understanding the International Indian Treaty Council declares:

The United States Government in its Constitution, Article VI, recognizes treaties as part of the Supreme Law of the United States.

We will peacefully pursue all legal and political avenues to demand United States recognition of its own Constitution in this regard, and thus to honor its own treaties with Native Nations.

We will seek the support of all world communities in the struggle for the continuing independence of Native Nations.

We the representatives of sovereign Native Nations united in forming a council to be known at the International Indian Treaty Council to implement these declarations.

The International Indian Treaty Council will establish offices in Washington, D.C. and New York City to approach the international forces necessary to obtain the recognition of our treaties. These offices will establish an initial system of communications among Native Nations to disseminate information, getting a general consensus of concerning issues, developments and any legislative attempt affecting Native Nations by the United States of America.

The International Indian Treaty Council recognizes the sovereignty of all Native Nations and will stand in unity to support our Native and international brothers and sisters in their respective and collective struggles concerning international treaties and agreements violated by the United States and other governments.

All treaties between the Sovereign Native Nations and the United States Government must be interpreted according to the traditional and spiritual ways of the signatory Native Nations.

We declare our recognition of the Provisional Government of the Independent Oglala Nation, established by the Traditional Chiefs and Headmen under the provisions of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty with the Great Sioux Nation at Wounded Knee, March 11, 1973.

We condemn the United States of America for its gross violation of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty in militarily surrounding, killing and starving the citizens of the Independent Oglala Nation into exile.

We demand the United States of America recognize the sovereignty of the Independent Oglala Nation and immediately stop all present and future criminal prosecutions of sovereign Native Peoples. We call upon the conscionable nations of the world to join us in charging and prosecuting the United States of America for its genocidal practices against the sovereign Native Nations; most recently illustrated by Wounded Knee 1973 and the continued refusal to sign the United Nations 1948 Treaty on Genocide.

We reject all executive orders, legislative acts and judicial decisions of the United States related to Native Nations since 1871, when the United States unilaterally suspended treaty-making relations with the Native Nations. This includes, but is not limited to, the Major Crimes Act, the General Allotment Act, the Citizenship Act of 1924, the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the Indian Claims Commission Act, Public Law 280 and the Termination Act. All treaties made between Native Nations and the

United States made prior to 1871 shall be recognized without further need of interpretation.

We hereby ally ourselves with the colonized Puerto Rican People in their struggle for Independence from the same United States of America.

We recognize that there is only one color of Mankind in the world who are not represented in the United Nations; that is the indigenous Redman of the Western Hemisphere. We recognize this lack of representation in the United Nations comes from the genocidal policies of the colonial power of the United States.

The International Indian Treaty Council established by this conference is directed to make the application to the United Nations for recognition and membership of the sovereign Native Nations. We pledge our support to any similar application by an aboriginal people.

This conference directs the Treaty Council to open negotiations with the government of the United States through its Department of State. We seek these negotiations in order to establish diplomatic relations with the United States. When these diplomatic relations have been established, the first order of business shall be to deal with U.S. violations of treaties with Native Indian Nations, and violations of the rights of those Native Indian Nations who have refused to sign treaties with the United States.

We, the People of the International Indian Treaty Council, following the guidance of our elders through instructions from the Great Spirit, and out of respect for our sacred Mother Earth, all her children, and those yet unborn, offer our lives for our International Treaty Rights.

**GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (September 13, 2007)**

ARTICLE 1

Indigenous peoples have the right to the full enjoyment, as a collective or as individuals, of all human rights and fundamental freedoms as recognized in the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international human rights law.

ARTICLE 2

Indigenous peoples and individuals are free and equal to all other peoples and individuals and have the right to be free from any kind of discrimination, in the exercise of their rights, in particular that based on their indigenous origin or identity.

ARTICLE 3

Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely

pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

#### ARTICLE 4

Indigenous peoples, in exercising their right to self-determination, have the right to autonomy or self-government in matters relating to their internal and local affairs, as well as ways and means for financing their autonomous functions.

#### ARTICLE 5

Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinct political, legal, economic, social and cultural institutions, while retaining their right to participate fully, if they so choose, in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the State.

#### ARTICLE 6

Every indigenous individual has the right to a nationality.

#### ARTICLE 7

1. Indigenous individuals have the rights to life, physical and mental integrity, liberty and security of person.
2. Indigenous peoples have the collective right to live in freedom, peace and security as distinct peoples and shall not be subjected to any act of genocide or any other act of violence, including forcibly removing children of the group to another group.

#### ARTICLE 8

1. Indigenous peoples and individuals have the right not to be subjected to forced assimilation or destruction of their culture.
2. States shall provide effective mechanisms for prevention of, and redress for: (a) Any action which has the aim or effect of depriving them of their integrity as distinct peoples, or of their cultural values or ethnic identities; (b) Any action which has the aim or effect of dispossessing them of their lands, territories or resources; (c) Any form of forced population transfer which has the aim or effect of violating or undermining any of their rights; (d) Any form of forced assimilation or integration; (e) Any form of propaganda designed to promote or incite racial or ethnic discrimination directed against them.

#### ARTICLE 9

Indigenous peoples and individuals have the right to belong to an indigenous community or nation, in accordance with the traditions and customs of the community or nation concerned. No discrimination of any kind may arise from the exercise of such a right.

#### ARTICLE 10

Indigenous peoples shall not be forcibly removed from their lands or territories. No relocation shall take place without the free, prior and informed consent of the indigenous peoples concerned and

after agreement on just and fair compensation and, where possible, with the option of return.

#### ARTICLE 11

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to practise and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs. This includes the right to maintain, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical sites, artefacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies and visual and performing arts and literature.
2. States shall provide redress through effective mechanisms, which may include restitution, developed in conjunction with indigenous peoples, with respect to their cultural, intellectual, religious and spiritual property taken without their free, prior and informed consent or in violation of their laws, traditions and customs.

#### ARTICLE 12

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to manifest, practise, develop and teach their spiritual and religious traditions, customs and ceremonies; the right to maintain, protect, and have access in privacy to their religious and cultural sites; the right to the use and control of their ceremonial objects; and the right to the repatriation of their human remains.
2. States shall seek to enable the access and/or repatriation of ceremonial objects and human remains in their possession



through fair, transparent and effective mechanisms developed in conjunction with indigenous peoples concerned.

#### ARTICLE 13

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons.
2. States shall take effective measures to ensure that this right is protected and also to ensure that indigenous peoples can understand and be understood in political, legal and administrative proceedings, where necessary through the provision of interpretation or by other appropriate means.

#### ARTICLE 14

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning.
2. Indigenous individuals, particularly children, have the right to all levels and forms of education of the State without discrimination.
3. States shall, in conjunction with indigenous peoples, take effective measures, in order for indigenous individuals, particularly children, including those living outside their

communities, to have access, when possible, to an education in their own culture and provided in their own language.

#### ARTICLE 15

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to the dignity and diversity of their cultures, traditions, histories and aspirations which shall be appropriately reflected in education and public information.
2. States shall take effective measures, in consultation and cooperation with the indigenous peoples concerned, to combat prejudice and eliminate discrimination and to promote tolerance, understanding and good relations among indigenous peoples and all other segments of society.

#### ARTICLE 16

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to establish their own media in their own languages and to have access to all forms of non-indigenous media without discrimination.
2. States shall take effective measures to ensure that State-owned media duly reflect indigenous cultural diversity. States, without prejudice to ensuring full freedom of expression, should encourage privately owned media to adequately reflect indigenous cultural diversity.

#### ARTICLE 17

1. Indigenous individuals and peoples have the right to enjoy fully all rights established under applicable international and domestic labour law.
2. States shall in consultation and cooperation with indigenous peoples take specific measures to protect indigenous children from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development, taking into account their special vulnerability and the importance of education for their empowerment.
3. Indigenous individuals have the right not to be subjected to any discriminatory conditions of labour and, inter alia, employment or salary.

#### ARTICLE 18

Indigenous peoples have the right to participate in decision-making in matters which would affect their rights, through representatives chosen by themselves in accordance with their own procedures, as well as to maintain and develop their own indigenous decision-making institutions.

#### ARTICLE 19

States shall consult and cooperate in good faith with the indigenous peoples concerned through their own representative institutions in order to obtain their free, prior and informed consent before

adopting and implementing legislative or administrative measures that may affect them.

#### ARTICLE 20

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and develop their political, economic and social systems or institutions, to be secure in the enjoyment of their own means of subsistence and development, and to engage freely in all their traditional and other economic activities.
2. Indigenous peoples deprived of their means of subsistence and development are entitled to just and fair redress.

#### ARTICLE 21

1. Indigenous peoples have the right, without discrimination, to the improvement of their economic and social conditions, including, inter alia, in the areas of education, employment, vocational training and retraining, housing, sanitation, health and social security.
2. States shall take effective measures and, where appropriate, special measures to ensure continuing improvement of their economic and social conditions. Particular attention shall be paid to the rights and special needs of indigenous elders, women, youth, children and persons with disabilities.

#### ARTICLE 22

1. Particular attention shall be paid to the rights and special needs of indigenous elders, women, youth, children and persons with disabilities in the implementation of this Declaration.
2. States shall take measures, in conjunction with indigenous peoples, to ensure that indigenous women and children enjoy the full protection and guarantees against all forms of violence and discrimination.

#### ARTICLE 23

Indigenous peoples have the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for exercising their right to development. In particular, indigenous peoples have the right to be actively involved in developing and determining health, housing and other economic and social programmes affecting them and, as far as possible, to administer such programmes through their own institutions.

#### ARTICLE 24

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to their traditional medicines and to maintain their health practices, including the conservation of their vital medicinal plants, animals and minerals. Indigenous individuals also have the right to access, without any discrimination, to all social and health services.
2. Indigenous individuals have an equal right to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health.

States shall take the necessary steps with a view to achieving progressively the full realization of this right.

ARTICLE 25

Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinctive spiritual relationship with their traditionally owned or otherwise occupied and used lands, territories, waters and coastal seas and other resources and to uphold their responsibilities to future generations in this regard.

ARTICLE 26

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned, occupied or otherwise used or acquired.
2. Indigenous peoples have the right to own, use, develop and control the lands, territories and resources that they possess by reason of traditional ownership or other traditional occupation or use, as well as those which they have otherwise acquired.
3. States shall give legal recognition and protection to these lands, territories and resources. Such recognition shall be conducted with due respect to the customs, traditions and land tenure systems of the indigenous peoples concerned.

ARTICLE 27

States shall establish and implement, in conjunction with indigenous peoples concerned, a fair, independent, impartial, open

and transparent process, giving due recognition to indigenous peoples' laws, traditions, customs and land tenure systems, to recognize and adjudicate the rights of indigenous peoples pertaining to their lands, territories and resources, including those which were traditionally owned or otherwise occupied or used. Indigenous peoples shall have the right to participate in this process.

#### ARTICLE 28

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to redress, by means that can include restitution or, when this is not possible, just, fair and equitable compensation, for the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned or otherwise occupied or used, and which have been confiscated, taken, occupied, used or damaged without their free, prior and informed consent.
2. Unless otherwise freely agreed upon by the peoples concerned, compensation shall take the form of lands, territories and resources equal in quality, size and legal status or of monetary compensation or other appropriate redress.

#### ARTICLE 29

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to the conservation and protection of the environment and the productive capacity of their lands or territories and resources. States shall establish

and implement assistance programmes for indigenous peoples for such conservation and protection, without discrimination.

2. States shall take effective measures to ensure that no storage or disposal of hazardous materials shall take place in the lands or territories of indigenous peoples without their free, prior and informed consent.
3. States shall also take effective measures to ensure, as needed, that programmes for monitoring, maintaining and restoring the health of indigenous peoples, as developed and implemented by the peoples affected by such materials, are duly implemented.

#### ARTICLE 30

1. Military activities shall not take place in the lands or territories of indigenous peoples, unless justified by a relevant public interest or otherwise freely agreed with or requested by the indigenous peoples concerned.
2. States shall undertake effective consultations with the indigenous peoples concerned, through appropriate procedures and in particular through their representative institutions, prior to using their lands or territories for military activities.

#### ARTICLE 31

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and



traditional cultural expressions, as well as the manifestations of their sciences, technologies and cultures, including human and genetic resources, seeds, medicines, knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literatures, designs, sports and traditional games and visual and performing arts. They also have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual property over such cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expressions.

2. In conjunction with indigenous peoples, States shall take effective measures to recognize and protect the exercise of these rights.

#### ARTICLE 32

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for the development or use of their lands or territories and other resources.
2. States shall consult and cooperate in good faith with the indigenous peoples concerned through their own representative institutions in order to obtain their free and informed consent prior to the approval of any project affecting their lands or territories and other resources, particularly in connection with the development, utilization or exploitation of mineral, water or other resources.
3. States shall provide effective mechanisms for just and fair redress for any such activities, and appropriate measures shall

be taken to mitigate adverse environmental, economic, social, cultural or spiritual impact.

#### ARTICLE 33

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to determine their own identity or membership in accordance with their customs and traditions. This does not impair the right of indigenous individuals to obtain citizenship of the States in which they live.
2. Indigenous peoples have the right to determine the structures and to select the membership of their institutions in accordance with their own procedures.

#### ARTICLE 34

Indigenous peoples have the right to promote, develop and maintain their institutional structures and their distinctive customs, spirituality, traditions, procedures, practices and, in the cases where they exist, juridical systems or customs, in accordance with international human rights standards.

#### ARTICLE 35

Indigenous peoples have the right to determine the responsibilities of individuals to their communities.

#### ARTICLE 36

1. Indigenous peoples, in particular those divided by international borders, have the right to maintain and develop contacts, relations and cooperation, including activities for spiritual, cultural, political, economic and social purposes, with their own members as well as other peoples across borders.
2. States, in consultation and cooperation with indigenous peoples, shall take effective measures to facilitate the exercise and ensure the implementation of this right.

#### ARTICLE 37

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to the recognition, observance and enforcement of treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements concluded with States or their successors and to have States honour and respect such treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements.
2. Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as diminishing or eliminating the rights of indigenous peoples contained in treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements.

#### ARTICLE 38

States in consultation and cooperation with indigenous peoples, shall take the appropriate measures, including legislative measures, to achieve the ends of this Declaration.

#### ARTICLE 39

Indigenous peoples have the right to have access to financial and technical assistance from States and through international cooperation, for the enjoyment of the rights contained in this Declaration.

#### ARTICLE 40

Indigenous peoples have the right to access to and prompt decision through just and fair procedures for the resolution of conflicts and disputes with States or other parties, as well as to effective remedies for all infringements of their individual and collective rights. Such a decision shall give due consideration to the customs, traditions, rules and legal systems of the indigenous peoples concerned and international human rights.

#### ARTICLE 41

The organs and specialized agencies of the United Nations system and other intergovernmental organizations shall contribute to the full realization of the provisions of this Declaration through the mobilization, inter alia, of financial cooperation and technical assistance. Ways and means of ensuring participation of indigenous peoples on issues affecting them shall be established.

#### ARTICLE 42

The United Nations, its bodies, including the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, and specialized agencies, including at the country level, and States shall promote respect for and full

application of the provisions of this Declaration and follow up the effectiveness of this Declaration.

#### ARTICLE 43

The rights recognized herein constitute the minimum standards for the survival, dignity and well-being of the indigenous peoples of the world.

#### ARTICLE 44

All the rights and freedoms recognized herein are equally guaranteed to male and female indigenous individuals.

#### ARTICLE 45

Nothing in this Declaration may be construed as diminishing or extinguishing the rights indigenous peoples have now or may acquire in the future.

#### ARTICLE 46

1. Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, people, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act contrary to the Charter of the United Nations or construed as authorizing or encouraging any action which would dismember or impair, totally or in part, the territorial integrity or political unity of sovereign and independent States.

2. In the exercise of the rights enunciated in the present Declaration, human rights and fundamental freedoms of all shall be respected. The exercise of the rights set forth in this Declaration shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law and in accordance with international human rights obligations. Any such limitations shall be non-discriminatory and strictly necessary solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and for meeting the just and most compelling requirements of a democratic society.
3. The provisions set forth in this Declaration shall be interpreted in accordance with the principles of justice, democracy, respect for human rights, equality, non-discrimination, good governance, and good faith.

*SOURCE:* U.N. General Assembly, 61st Session. Resolution 61/295, United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. © 2007 United Nations. Reprinted by permission of the United Nations.

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. In what areas has the United States historically denied indigenous people their rights as depicted by the Declaration of Continuing Independence?
2. In what ways are the concerns expressed in the IITC declaration reflected in the U.N declaration? What does that tell you about the experiences of indigenous populations around the world?

3. In what areas does the United States still have work to do to come into compliance with the U.N. declaration? Which provisions seem especially challenging for the United States?
4. What does [Article 46.1](#) suggest about how far reaching the changes resulting from the declaration will be?

# PICTURE ESSAY

## Tribal Sovereignty in Action



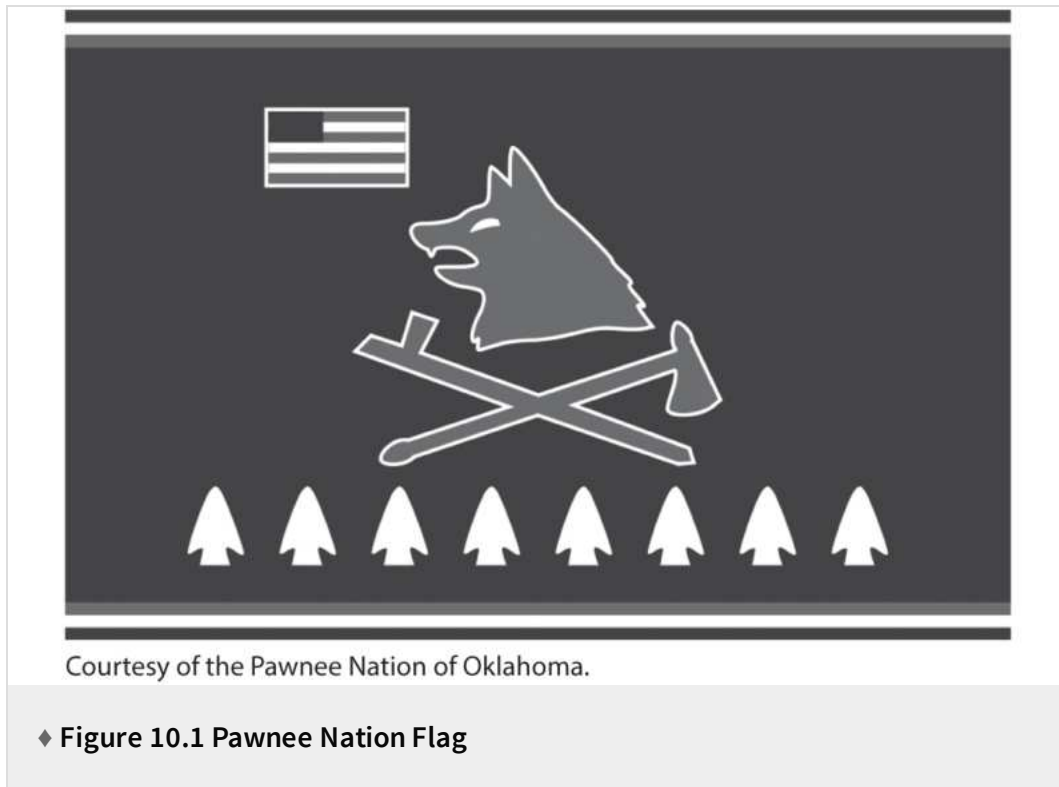
INDIAN NATIONS IN MODERN AMERICA FACE recurrent challenges to their sovereignty and constraints on their exercise of self-government (see [the Peter Jones sculpture on page 558](#)). Sometimes they have to make compromises in order to work effectively with federal, state, and local authorities and with non-Indian businesses and residents. Nevertheless, Indian tribes steadfastly defend their sovereign rights as nations within a nation and routinely exercise powers of self-government. As the images in this picture essay suggest, tribal sovereignty manifests itself in many forms, from enforcing tribal law, to maintaining the health of the community and protecting the environment.

Tribes publicly exercise their sovereignty in a number of ways. At the international level, the Iroquois asserted their status as a sovereign nation when they issued their own declaration of war against Germany and Japan (see [page 491](#)) and they continue to do so when the Iroquois Nationals lacrosse team travels abroad on



Iroquois passports. (In 1987 the International Lacrosse Federation recognized the Iroquois as an independent nation, meaning they could compete as a national team, just like the United States or Canada.) At the local level, many tribes issue their own license plates for reservation residents, both as a source of revenue and as an affirmation of tribal sovereignty.

Most Indian tribes in the United States now have flags. Like the flags of other nations, these flags are symbols of sovereignty and display images that express national identity and recall national history.<sup>132</sup> The flag of the Pawnee Nation of Oklahoma ([Figure 10.1](#)) reflects the tribe's long relationship with the United States. The red wolf's head, set against a blue field, represents the Pawnees (Plains tribes referred to the Pawnees as "wolves"); the stylized flag at upper left represents the United States, and the crossed pipe and tomahawk represent peace and war respectively. The eight arrowheads stand for the wars in which the Pawnees have fought in the service of the United States: the Plains Indian wars, the Spanish-American War, World War I, World War II, the Korean War, the Vietnam War, Operation Desert Storm, and the Iraq War. "Like the flag of the United States, the Pawnee Indian Flag should never be desecrated and it should never touch the ground."<sup>133</sup>



Tribal governments come in many shapes and sizes. Even small reservations have their own tribal police. Swift Sanchez, then a sergeant with the Suquamish Tribal Police, logs a call on a computer in her vehicle while on patrol on the Suquamish Reservation in Washington State in 2010 ([Figure 10.2](#)). After *Oliphant v. Suquamish* (see [pages 535–40](#)), tribal police officers like Sergeant Sanchez had jurisdiction over Indians on the reservation but only in civil cases over non-Indians, which created major problems for law enforcement in crimes such as sexual violence by outsiders against Indian women. The Tribal Law and Order Act (2010) and the Violence Against Women Act (2013) went some way toward remedying those problems, enhancing the powers of tribal police and tribal courts in some situations.



Ted S. Warren/AP Images.

◆ Figure 10.2 Tribal Police

Most Indian tribes operate their own court systems. Indians and non-Indians who come before tribal courts often encounter a different philosophy of justice than they would experience in state or federal court. The Navajo Nation court system is the largest and most established tribal legal system in the world. The Judicial Branch of the Navajo Nation consists of a system of seven district courts, seven family courts, seven peacemaker courts, and a supreme court. In this photograph, Associate Justice Lorene Ferguson of the Navajo Supreme Court, right, with Associate Justice Marcella King-Ben, left, questions counsel during oral arguments in a case about whether tribal courts have jurisdiction in a lawsuit against a pharmaceutical company ([Figure 10.3](#)). Frank

Pommersheim, a scholar of federal Indian law and Supreme Court judge for two Lakota tribes, regards tribal courts as “crucibles of sovereignty” and believes that “the wisdom and integrity of tribal law and tribal courts, properly and consistently informed by tradition and evolving contemporary tribal standards,” are “the best bulwark against federal encroachment.”<sup>134</sup>



Greg Wahl-Stephens/AP Images.

◆ Figure 10.3 Navajo Supreme Court

Tribes also protect the health of the community, the environment, and the culture. Many manage forestry, fishing, and water quality; provide welfare services and social programs that include housing and care centers for children, the elderly, and the

sick; and maintain programs of cultural preservation and language revitalization.

Protecting the environment for future generations is an act of sovereignty as well as stewardship. When the Cowboy and Indian Alliance staged a five-day protest in Washington, D.C., in 2014 against construction of the Keystone pipeline, the protesters pitched tipis on the National Mall. In clear sight of the Capitol Building, the tipis represented a powerful reminder to Congress of continuing treaty rights that the United States stood to breach if it allowed construction of the pipeline to proceed across tribal lands. The image reflects the ongoing participation of sovereign Indian nations within the political system of the United States ([Figure 10.4](#)). More extensive protests erupted in response to the construction of the Dakota Access pipeline ([Figure 10.5](#)). As the photograph of protesters marching in San Francisco in November 2016 makes clear, for Indian nations in the United States today, the pipeline represents both a broader corporate threat to the environment and a violation of their sovereign rights embedded in treaties with the United States.



SAUL LOEB/AFP/Getty Images.

◆ Figure 10.4 Tipis on the Mall



John Orvis/Splash News/Newscom.

◆ Figure 10.5 Dakota Access Pipeline Protest

## QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. What do these images convey about what it means to be a nation within a nation in twenty-first-century America?
2. Indian tribes are sometimes described as “third sovereigns” in the United States. What does this mean, and what can that sovereignty look like?

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## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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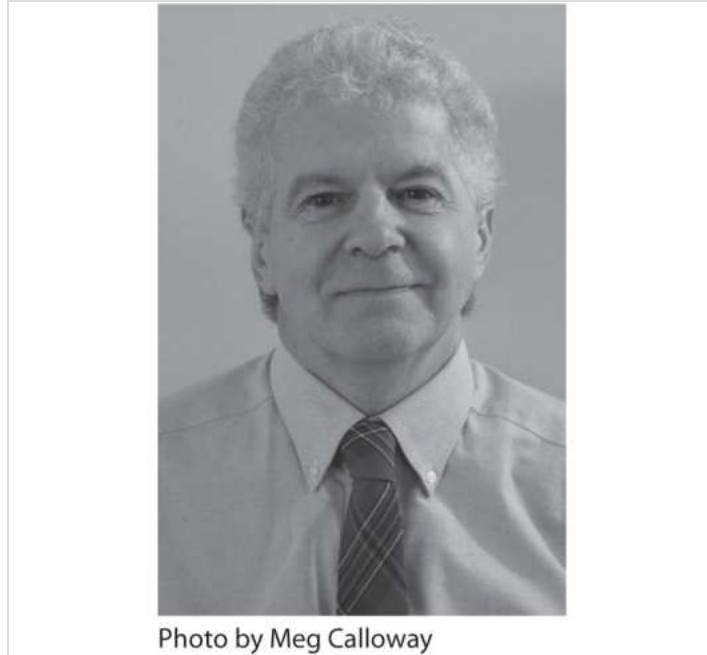


Photo by Meg Calloway

## ABOUT THE COVER ART

***The Visit*, 1995, by Oglala Lakota artist Arthur Amiotte.** Amiotte creates collages that tell the story of a people and culture in transition. The black and white photograph at the lower center of this collage shows Amiotte's great-grandfather, Standing Bear (who was also an artist), his wife Louise, and two granddaughters circa 1918. Standing Bear participated in the Battle of the Little Bighorn when he was seventeen. In 1890 when he was touring Europe with Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, he met and fell in love with an Austrian girl, Louise Rieneck. They married the following year, and she returned with him to the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, where their family blended Lakota and European ways. Standing Bear spoke only Lakota; Louise spoke German, English,

French, and Lakota. For more information, see *Transformation and Continuity in Lakota Culture: The Collages of Arthur Amiotte, 1988–2014* (Pierre: South Dakota State Historical Society, 2014), with essays by Arthur Amiotte, Louis S. Warren, and Janet Catherine Berlo.



*The Visit*, Arthur Amiotte 1995  
(b. 1942). Acrylic and collage.  
Gift of Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt  
Whitney / Buffalo Bill Center of  
the West, Cody, Wyoming, U.S.A.



## Avoiding Plagiarism and Managing Sources

Most students are aware that plagiarism can be committed on purpose, but unintentional or accidental plagiarism is also problematic. Keeping track of source material has always been tough, and technology has made it easy to cut text from an online source and copy it into your paper. You may have intended to modify or acknowledge it later but then forgot where it came from. Omitting a citation of a source by accident is still a breach of academic ethics. Here are four steps that you can use to help avoid plagiarism.

### Step 1: Manage Sources Efficiently

Many academic professionals and students take notes and keep track of sources using index cards. Write one piece of evidence—a quote, a fact, an idea—on each card along with the original source of that data. This can also be done electronically, by creating a single file for each source that you consult and housing all of these files in a folder called “Sources.”

### Step 2: Use Sources Properly

Using sources properly as you take notes and incorporating them into your writing is another crucial component of the research and writing process. You will not be able to cite your sources properly if you don’t know which note is a quote, which note is a partial paraphrase of another author’s point, and which one is paraphrased fully.

### Step 3: Acknowledge Sources Appropriately

There are some general rules about what types of information require citation or acknowledgment and what types do not. Widely accepted facts or common knowledge do not need to be cited, but another person’s words or ideas (even if not quoted verbatim) require a citation.

### Step 4: Cite Sources Completely and Consistently

Historians and others writing about history have adopted the citation guidelines from the *Chicago Manual of Style* (CMS). The citations are indicated by superscript numbers within the text that refer to a note with a corresponding number either at the bottom of the page (footnote) or at the end of the paper (endnote). Here are just a couple brief examples of CMS-style notes:

Book: David Brion Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 73.

Journal Article: Alden T. Vaughan and Virginia Mason Vaughan, “Before Othello: Elizabethan Representations of Sub-Saharan Africans,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 54 (January 1997): 19–44.

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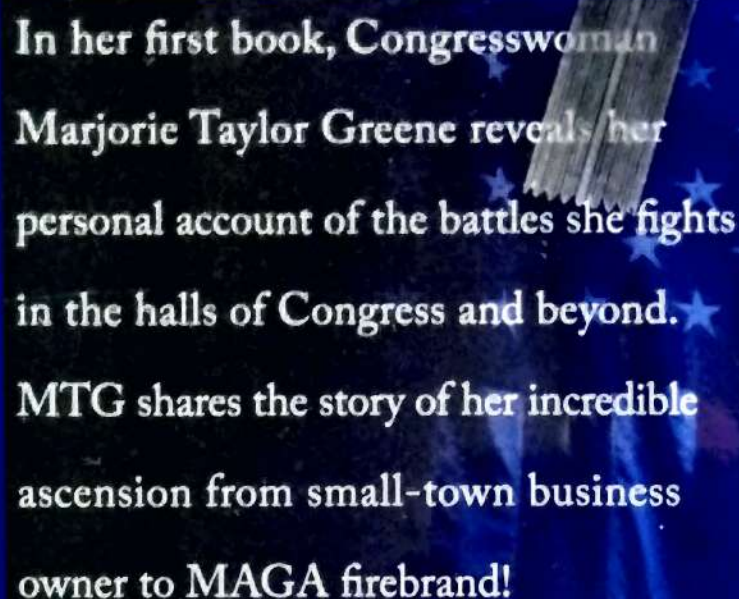
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*This book is dedicated to my father, Robert David Taylor. A forgotten American who never finished college, he served in the Vietnam War and became a millionaire through hard work because he lived the American dream.*



*"Marjorie Taylor Greene has been one of the most fierce warriors in Congress for America First and all it stands for. Despite the onslaught of attacks from the Marxist Democrats and Fascists in the Media, Marjorie refuses to back down and never stops fighting. She stands with the PEOPLE, NOT THE POLITICIANS. Her America First credentials are forged in steel, and with fighters like her, we will Make America Great Again."*

—President Donald J. Trump



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## FOREWORD

SINCE ELECTED, MARJORIE'S HOME HAS been swatted, and her family—my grandchildren—have been attacked and harassed in public and online. Marjorie's own life has been threatened. I always knew it would be hard for my daughter when she was elected to Congress. But I didn't realize just how tough these past few years would be.

I will tell you firsthand, it's always those closest to the ones being attacked who take it the worst. That pain and worry is multiplied when the person on the receiving end is your child. Despite it all, Marjorie has always kept fighting, refusing to back down.

You probably know Marjorie as the outspoken firebrand who speaks her mind and isn't afraid to speak the truth. I know her as the little girl who changed my life on May 27, 1974.

When Marjorie was born, her father Bob and I had \$500 to our name, tucked under the bedroom rug. During the Jimmy Carter years, we lived in rental houses and apartments, trying to save and keep up with inflation (sound familiar?). Twice, we had just enough gas money to get to Bob's parents' house in Michigan, where we slept

## FOREWORD

on the sofa bed until we could figure out our next move (sleeping on a sofa bed can be really motivating!). It was tough for us, like so many other families. We didn't have much, but we had each other. We had our family.

Bob worked hard; I mean really hard to provide for our family. After years of trying to find steady work in construction, he decided to go out and start his own business. Over the years, through hard work, grit, and determination, Bob built a thriving business in the state of Georgia and eventually built the house on the lake we called home for years to come. And with Marjorie's little brother joining us two years after she was born, we were truly living the American Dream.

Marjorie was always a "daddy's girl." She had Bob wrapped around her finger. I wasn't close to my own father, but watching Bob and Marjorie's relationship was everything I dreamt of with my own dad . . . I look back and am so thankful for those memories. He was the most precious father. And he always pushed Marjorie one step further in whatever she did. Sometimes, I thought his pushing went a little too far. But now I know Bob's insistence is exactly what helped prepare her for the battles to come.

Shortly after Marjorie was elected, Bob passed away from cancer. You can imagine, on top of the relentless attacks, smears, and falsehoods by the Democrats, media, and people online, this was a very difficult time for our family. The man who led our family, the man who poured blood, sweat, and tears to put a roof over our heads and food on our table, had gone to be with his Creator.

Throughout the treatments, hospital visits, and in-home hospice care, Marjorie was right there with us, clenching her father's hand as he neared the end of his life, just as he had clenched hers in the hospital 47 years before.

## FOREWORD

To the public eye, she remained the strong, fierce woman that you have come to know. She had to—for her kids and for me. But I knew the loss of her dad pained her deeply. During that difficult time, I knew the Lord was arming her for the battles you and I see her face every single day in the Halls of Congress.

Since the day my husband died, life has been difficult. With inflation and rising costs, I decided to downsize and sell our family home of 35 years, which my love Bob built for us. Not only that, the price of utilities and gas has gone through the roof, and we all know it is scary to even plan on your next trip to the grocery store.

I have many senior friends who are on a fixed income that barely covers the cost of what they need, much less want. It is heartbreaking to know a holiday is coming up and you know people who can't afford to buy presents for their grandchildren. Even milk, butter, and meat have become expensive luxuries.

On top of the financial struggles those of us on fixed incomes face, I see the very fabric of American values threatened: Our culture is threatened by wokeness, where boys are told they are girls, where young children are being taught sick graphic sex lessons in schools by groomers, and where people are told they are bad just because they happen to be white.

Every day, it is harder to recognize the America in which we raised our children. But Marjorie is on the frontlines, refusing to stay silent, always speaking the truth, and fighting back—the way only a mother knows how.

Bob and I raised Marjorie to speak her mind and speak the truth. That's too much for some people, and that's okay. There are too many politicians out there who just say what they think people want to hear. I'm proud of my daughter, Marjorie Taylor Greene, a woman in politics who breaks the mold, moves public opinion, and

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has been one of the most effective members of Congress in anyone's memory.

The fight for the heart and soul of our country and a return to God is too important. And I'm so thankful I live in a country with a fighter in Congress like my daughter, Marjorie Taylor Greene.

—Delle Taylor



# Blue Jeans and Big Dreams

EVERYONE HAS THEIR FAVORITE PAIR of blue jeans.

We have our preferred brands and go-to styles. You can wear them to school, a date night, a game, a party, a dance, or to work, whether you're changing the oil under a lifted truck on the job site or going into the office. You can even wear them to church. Some of us slide them on while standing up, balancing from one foot to the other; others wiggle into them while lying on the bed, sucking in to zip up the zipper and button the waist.

Blue jeans are a staple for all Americans at all times.

And no matter who you are, that favorite pair fits just right and feels so good. Once you have them on, you are unstoppable. That's what it feels like to be an American. Unstoppable. Or at least that's what it *used* to feel like to be American.

I'm telling you about blue jeans because decades ago, when big corporations took their manufacturing overseas, those iconic blue

jeans we wear began arriving from nearly every country *but* America. With their cheaper labor costs, India, Mexico, China, and others could make them for so much less. This meant corporations selling American labels discovered they could make more money buying denim manufactured overseas. Like with so many other industries, globalist, America-last policies have decimated the textile industry, and American manufacturers, one by one, have died out.

At the time of this writing, the district I represent in Georgia is home to one of only two remaining factories in the United States making classic denim jeans with actual blue indigo dye. The factory in Trion, Georgia, like the entire manufacturing industry in our country, is hanging by a thread.

This factory is a perfect example of an American manufacturer hanging on and finding ways to compete with the global economy. As the primary employer in their area, the taxes this company pays, which are based on their revenue from denim and other fabrics, supply roughly 80% of the tax base in the county. In other words, this factory pays for 80% of the area's public schools, water treatment, fire department, law enforcement, and other important services the entire county depends on. It's easy to imagine what would happen if this factory closed down and joined the graveyard of factories littered across America.

## A Portrait of America

Most of rural America once looked like Trion, Georgia, with a factory providing jobs and supporting much of the infrastructure through taxes on their revenue and supplying quality, American-made goods. Workers then bought goods and services and, in turn, paid taxes. In

## BLUE JEANS AND BIG DREAMS

short, factories like these made America's economy number one in the world and were the strength and security for small-town America.

Gradually, over the past fifty years, Washington, DC, has partnered with big corporations, and together, they've created trade policies that sold Americans out. America's manufacturing steadily went overseas, and as the factories began to shutter, so did our jobs, resulting in pure devastation for American families.

Let me paint a picture of what this devastation looked like for many Americans as the factories closed. Dad worked at the factory, and even though he did not hold a college degree, he earned a living wage and, as the traditional breadwinner, supported the entire family. Feeling defeated and discouraged, Dad was forced to look for a new job—and in hard economic times, we all know that's a challenge. He often couldn't find one, but when he did, it usually didn't pay enough, which meant Mom had to go to work, too, or they just had to do without. They lost their security, spending power, cars, and maybe even their house. Then Mom and Dad fought about money all the time, and perhaps in despair, Dad started drinking. Marriage, money, and alcohol problems erupted into desperate families that had to relocate to search for hope.

Their son or daughter enlists in the military, seeking opportunity, and is sent to fight in a foreign war on the other side of the world, where they get injured. Whether in their body, mind, or both, they sustain injuries and are never the same. They return home with PTSD, addictions to painkillers, or suicidal thoughts only to find that veteran's benefits leave them under-resourced and without prospects.

Multiply this across hundreds, if not thousands, of other families, and suddenly, the entire tax base of the town or county collapses.

When a factory, like our real denim manufacturer in Trion, Georgia, disappears from a community, it creates a domino effect. Without their contributing tax dollars, essential public services are discontinued or underfunded. Next, new industries don't move in because of the lack of infrastructure and increased poverty, which means no new jobs are created. If new businesses do open, they often don't last long as the people in the community can't afford to spend money there. Aside from a few essentials, like a gas station, that can hang on, the once-vibrant town is now a shell of its former self. Broken and poverty-stricken, the entire community and many individual families are decimated by the loss of a factory.

Why does this happen? Politicians and bureaucrats in DC enacted policies that promoted a big, global economy and served corporate greed, empowering them to make the cheapest possible goods at the lowest labor costs to maximize shareholder profits. As a result, these policies have gutted rural America. The men and women in Washington have absolutely *no* idea what it's like in these towns or how to manage the American people's tax money. They've never had to make the smart decisions or hard calls necessary to survive in business, resulting in them racking up over \$32 *trillion* of debt. Their America-last policies have destroyed small-town USA by eliminating our manufacturing base and taking American families with it.

Once we lose those factories and jobs, they never really come back. Nowadays, you can drive all over the country and see gutted towns with closed factories. They're like skeletons, reminiscent of an America that was booming, strong, and growing, paying our people to *work* and promoting traditional values.

That America, the one I love, is all but gone. It's hanging by a thread . . .



Or is it?

The factory in Trion has survived on hard work, grit, and tenacity. For example, they've expanded what they produce; instead of just blue jeans, they now make fire-resistant work clothes for the oil industry (which liberals have also targeted for extinction because of their climate-change insanity). But the folks in Trion honestly don't like me talking about them. They're proud people and want to make it on their own, just like the other hardworking Americans I represent in Georgia and around the country. Many are uncomplicated, down-to-earth people with good common sense. They don't give up, don't want a handout, and will keep trying, innovating, and fighting every step of the way to preserve the way of life that their parents and grandparents made possible.

America-last policies have tried time and again to strip these people of their dignity, resources, and freedoms. And, despite all the stupid things Washington DC has done, Americans continue to hang on, endure, and find ways to thrive. Call me a hopeless romantic, but I believe in these people—because I am one of them.

## A Tradition of Hard Work

My family and I lived the American dream even when it seemed part of a nightmare. I certainly wasn't born with a silver spoon in my mouth, nor were my parents, but we're a success story. We made it thanks to lots of hard work and no small number of tough choices.

My dad, Bob, met my mom, Delle, in college. Dad had already served in the Vietnam War and was a combat veteran in the Navy. He was attending Northern Michigan University, paying his way by doing construction work, when he met my mom, just a young

freshman attending Wesleyan College. They hit it off immediately, got married, and dropped out of school, getting an early start on a family and an abrupt introduction into the adult world.

It was the 1970s, and America was embroiled in many controversies, including a deep recession with high inflation. Dad struggled to find steady construction work, and eventually, he started his own business, Taylor Construction Company. My mom was only nineteen when I was born on May 27, 1974, just a year after *Roe v. Wade* had made abortion legal in America. While many young women her age were entrenched in the feminist movement and pursuing college and careers, my mother chose to become a mom instead, and I have always admired her more than she knows because of that.

My father jumped in wholeheartedly and was involved in every aspect of my care, whether it was cooking breakfast before school, taking me to job sites, coaching my teams, or telling the greatest bedtime stories of all time. He provided me with a resolute assurance of one of the most powerful forces in the world: a father's love. Mom and Dad also provided me with my best friend, my brother David, who was born two years after me.

When I was born, my parents didn't have much money, only \$500 rolled up in aluminum foil hidden under a rug. They didn't have insurance, either, so they paid out of pocket for the whole hospital bill. In fact, growing up, we were so poor we ended up moving thirteen times, from apartments to rental houses and not one trailer but two. All the while, Dad looked for work and mastered the requirements of owning a business—bidding the jobs, sourcing the materials, and eventually hiring reliable helpers. When I turned fifteen, my father built our house.

Thanks to the failures of Jimmy Carter, I lived out my early childhood during hard economic times in America. But I'll forever

be grateful for how my parents talked about everything in front of us kids as they navigated each challenge that was thrown their way. Whether around the table during a meal or riding in the car, they constantly discussed what was happening in our country and how it affected our family and our company. My parents kept an eye on politics; they understood it was a matter for a small business. As Washington's idiotic policies made it harder on small businesses, my parents would stay one step ahead of problems. They watched the news, and they knew how they needed to vote.

We discussed the family business a lot—problems on job sites, hiring and firing, managing the money, and more. I soaked it all up, and, as a result, my understanding of politics and business was founded at our dinner table. Little did we know at the time how much I'd end up needing it! Thanks, Mom and Dad!

As you can imagine, they talked about money *a lot*, mainly because, in the beginning, we had so little. If they were going to make it, they had to be incredibly strategic with what we did have. Don't get me wrong—these weren't academic conversations, and they didn't always agree. They had debates, and yes, sometimes arguments, about what to do, but they *worked it out*.

As I sat in on these conversations, I naturally became the "why" kid—you know, the one always asking one annoying question after another. I was hungry to *understand*. As my parents patiently answered my many questions, I began to understand the world around me. But, more importantly, I was learning about the family business and how it was affected by the economy, which was influenced by politics.

By far, the biggest lesson my dad taught me in business is that the customer is *king*. You served your customers when you did an excellent job, provided excellent service, and offered an excellent product.

With everything in them, Mom and Dad believed that whatever you do, do it right, and if you mess up, *make* it right. Everything was always done to the customer's satisfaction *before* asking for payment because that was how one built a good reputation and stayed in business. From school to working in the family business to running the family and eventually serving as a member of Congress, this lesson of serving with excellence was ingrained in me. I have taken it with me on every step of my journey.

## Building the Future

Before I knew it, I was off to college at the University of Georgia. While there, I met Perry Greene, and—like my mom—we married young. I was just a baby of twenty-one. Perry, using his accounting degree, found a job auditing for Ernst and Young. I was the first person in my family to graduate from college (remember, my parents dropped out to become . . . well . . . parents) and earned a business degree. After graduating, I didn't go to one single interview—instead, I chose to bring what I'd learned home and went to work for Taylor Construction Company.

I dove into working in accounts payable and receivable, where I learned another valuable lesson: If you want to understand the inner workings of a business, do the books! Yet anyone who has ever been involved in a family business understands that you never do *just one job*! You do everything, from answering the phone to running supplies to a job site to even unclogging the toilet when the need arises.

After a few years, my parents were ready to retire, so Perry and I developed a proposal to buy Taylor Construction Company. That's right; they didn't give it to us, we had to *buy* it. A legal contract was

prepared, signed, and we spent years paying them off. In 2002, we became the owners of Taylor Construction.

When you own a small business, you intimately understand how *everything* affects your business because your business is not just your livelihood; it's your *life*. Interest rates would affect our customers' ability to get loans, and supply issues could easily ruin a job. For example, if the price of lumber or another material skyrocketed after a bid was submitted and the contract had been signed, we were on the hook for the additional costs. The labor force, the weather, or a pandemic are all factors that can threaten your small business's existence.

During the recession of 2009, many of our construction company competitors went out of business. Some friends and subcontractors in related industries didn't make it either, and it was also brutal on Taylor Construction. We'd gone through many growth phases, and, in 2009, we found our company was too big to survive. We had to make tough decisions about who would stay and who we had to let go. There's nothing worse than laying off someone you know and value simply because you can't afford to keep them—all while not knowing if they'll be able to find more work.

We ran Taylor as we witnessed companies around us disappear due to America-last policies. Local suppliers, from whom we bought materials, went out of business because they couldn't compete in a global market. They'd sourced their materials locally to buy American, but cheaper materials from overseas meant they couldn't compete on price, and *boom!* Window manufacturers, makers of siding, and suppliers of roofing material were all gone! And with it went their jobs and the hopes of finding a new one. Taylor Construction could have been among those names, but somehow, we survived through God's grace and lots of hard work.

Forgotten Americans. That's what I call many Americans who were failed by the America-last policies passed in Washington. They're the factory workers left jobless when their work went overseas, those who lost their jobs in recessions, and those who had their lives destroyed during the pandemic because of communist-like shutdown policies and forced COVID-19 vaccine requirements.

They're regular people like you and me—you know, the ones without a golden parachute, and our government has failed them. They didn't have trust funds, they worked hard for everything they had, and they lived for their jobs or small businesses just like we did . . . only to find it still wasn't enough.

Just look at the entire American steel industry. Andrew Carnegie, one of the wealthiest and most generous men in history, made a great deal of his fortune through steel. Unfortunately, globalism all but destroyed American steel. While it revitalized a little under President Trump, America-last policies made it nearly impossible for the United States steel to compete against places like China, utterly devastating a once-vibrant industry.

I also experienced the impact of regulations firsthand. As a small business owner, I had to be good at managing people and also become a *master* at handling red tape in order to survive. Believe me when I say I am an advocate for safety and best practices, but the federal government puts so many senseless, stifling regulations on American businesses.

During the COVID shutdown, as a construction company, we were classified as essential, but the government employees who were supposed to inspect our sites weren't working. All work ground to a halt, and there was nothing we could do for our customers or our employees. We were supposed to be able to work and keep our people employed, but because the government was shut down, so were we.

The shutdown for COVID was arguably the first time we embraced communism in America—extremist policies imported along with a virus straight from China.

As I write this, I'm on the COVID Select Subcommittee investigating COVID's origins and our government's role in using tax dollars to fund gain-of-function research on this deadly virus. Once called xenophobic and dismissed by the so-called "experts," many details conclusively paint a picture of this virus's origins and mishandling. However, I'll spend more time on COVID later.

The combination of bad decisions (like the ones our government made regarding COVID), globalist policies which relegated many to Forgotten Americans, and inexperienced politicians who'd never run a successful company have all damaged this once-great land of opportunity. But a few have fought back tenaciously, survived, and found ways to thrive through each challenge—one of whom inspired me to run for Congress!

## Make America Great Again

President Trump was the first politician who made sense to many Forgotten Americans because he didn't talk like a politician. Watching Donald J. Trump, then just a successful American businessman on the 2015-2016 Republican Presidential Primary stage, standing out and outshining sixteen other seasoned political candidates was thrilling to me, and I wasn't alone. For the first time in a long time, a man was running for office who stood for our beliefs, spoke like a regular person, and championed the America-first policies that so many of us believe in—despite the fact that even the Republican party had not stood for them in years.

We elected President Trump because he stood out in all the right ways. He understood us and how America-last Washington had sold us out. For the first time, we heard a man with an incredible record of real-life success explain a plan to Make America Great Again. He declared that he would drain the swamp of all the corruption and rot that engulfed Washington in every department of the federal government. President Trump stood against the never-ending foreign wars that America forced its way into, where we sent our loved ones to fight for another country's border, only to return home wounded, scarred, or in a flag-draped coffin. He spoke on debate stages, at rallies, and on his famous Twitter account about creating a better tax plan, stopping government-run healthcare, cutting the massive amount of red tape and regulations strangling businesses, bringing back American manufacturing, stopping China, rebuilding our military after Obama policies weakened it, and, most of all, building a wall to defend America's border from a daily invasion of unknown people and an unknown amount of drugs.

Then, as President, he signed into law the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, which helped all income brackets but especially the middle-class and working-class Americans. IRS data shows the effects of tax credits and other reforms to the tax code: filers with an adjusted gross income (AGI) of \$15,000 to \$50,000 received the greatest benefit of a tax cut of 16-26% in 2018. Filers who earned \$50,000 to \$100,000 received a 15-17% tax cut, and those earning \$100,000 to \$500,000 saw their personal income taxes cut by approximately 11-13%. The wealthy who earned more than \$1 million per year saw less than 6%. This was exactly the *opposite* of what Democrats claimed, saying that President Trump's tax plan would only help the rich, like him.



## BLUE JEANS AND BIG DREAMS

For us at Taylor Construction, the business tax cuts enabled us to reinvest in our business and provide bonuses to our employees. Many American companies benefited because we kept more of the money we worked so hard to earn. This extra money, in companies' as well as peoples' pockets, increased spending power, drove growth, and created economic stability. And most importantly, it gave us all hope for the future.

Sadly, America is in danger of losing President Trump's Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, which is set to expire in 2025 after the next presidential election. And I can tell you for a fact that if we have a Democrat-controlled White House again, we can expect Democrats to raise taxes because that is all they talk about. Democrats believe that Washington has a revenue problem, when in reality, we all know that it's not a revenue problem; Washington has a spending problem.

## Real-Life Experience

I may only have a bachelor's degree in business administration, but it's fair to say I have a Ph.D. in reality! Owning and operating a business will teach you more lessons than the greatest colleges and universities in the world—there is simply no comparison. The same lessons imparted to me as a second generation entrepreneur, a committed business owner, and a servant to my community are what we need more of in Washington.

As a business owner, you must solve the problems that no one else can. You are always the last to get paid. This means you must pay the company bills and payroll before you can even think about paying yourself. You, and only you, are the one who is responsible at all times and legally liable under the weight of the law, no matter how much insurance you have.

During bad economic times, you stay up at night thinking about what you have to do to survive and ensure you can pay all of your employees. You understand you aren't just responsible for feeding your own kids—you're responsible for feeding all your employees' kids and keeping a roof over their heads, too. Our fiscally responsible decisions and dedication to excellent customer service set Taylor Construction above the rest and helped us survive tough economic downturns.

I truly believe that the same approach can be applied to government. Congress must take a fiscally conservative approach to the budget, start treating the American people like customers, and provide them with excellent customer service. Excellent customer service to the American people is exactly how we can begin saving this country. Excellent customer service builds trust, provides solutions to problems, and, most of all, makes customers—the American people—happy!

Our government has served itself, not the people, which is the opposite of what our Founding Fathers imagined for our country. We must return to a better way of running our government because our country faces many enemies, both inside and outside. The good news is that Americans are great people and understand how to work hard. It's time for all of us to fight back, just as President Trump did!

Now, I will stand with anyone who is like-minded and who will stand up against the communists in the Democrat party, the predators who want to sexualize and mutilate our children, the climate alarmists who threaten our nation's future, and the Deep State trying to forever take power out of the hands of the American people.

In the pages of this book, we're going to take a look behind the veil together, and I'm going to tell you a few things you might not

## BLUE JEANS AND BIG DREAMS

know. Some of it is bleak and frightening, but I will tell you this: I have hope for America. I believe we can be great again and that our best days are ahead of us. If we come together, defy apathy, vote, and continue America's tradition of hard work and values, we can take our country back. I will not let them silence my voice or that of the American people.



## January 6

ON JANUARY 3, 2021, I was sworn into office, and the next day, on January 4, 2021, I flew on Air Force One with President Trump. I was honored to accompany President Trump to hold a rally in my district in Dalton, Georgia. The Georgia Senate seat election was the very next day, and we were giving one last push to save it. I was in awe of President Trump. Despite being under so much pressure that comes with serving as President and working to try to uncover election fraud from the November 2020 election, here he was, giving an all-out push to get out the vote for Georgia.

Before I was sworn in as a freshman in Congress, I began the effort to object to Joe Biden's nomination. Beginning in December, I was busy organizing in the lead up to January 6. I was constantly on the phone with other Republican members of Congress, planning our objection to Joe Biden's election—a grassroots response fueled by rampant irregularities and questions about the 2020 election.

Many didn't realize it, but this objection to the electoral votes was the same thing Democrats had done to the past three Republican

presidents. In 2016, Representatives Sheila Jackson Lee and Barbara Lee led a failed objection to President Trump's victory. Before that, Senator Barbara Boxer objected to President George W. Bush's second electoral win in 2005, which came four years after the Congressional Black Caucus objected to President Bush's first win. The only difference between the Democrat objections and ours was that we had massive numbers and Senators involved. Many more members of Congress and Senators objected than had been seen before. I believe Democrats could see our efforts and the resulting momentum and were terrified that we could be successful. You see, if both chambers have the numbers to question the electoral votes for a state, those votes are not counted. And we thought we had enough to challenge in a few key states.

Matt Gaetz and I had been assigned to handle the debate over Michigan. The amount of work to prepare for this was unreal, and we had worked tirelessly. As the debate began, with the first state on our list, Arizona, our session was suddenly interrupted.

The sergeant at arms announced the House floor was under lockdown!

We on the House floor had no idea what was going on outside the Capitol. I was utterly shocked by the riot that spun out of the January 6 protests. I simply couldn't believe it, and while everyone else in America was watching it on TV, we had no idea what would happen that day.

In the middle of a lawful debate, we were presented with a choice: leave now and try to get back to our offices and staff on our own or stay while they locked down the chamber to defend it. As a brand-new member of Congress, I wasn't sure I could find my way back to my office on my own . . . so I decided to stay.

As we began to access news of the riot, we immediately thought that a group like Antifa was behind it, as Antifa and BLM riots were the only violent ones we had ever seen. In the years leading up to 2020, our country has heard the Democrats and the media call violent riots from groups like those “peaceful protests” as they burned, looted, and attacked law enforcement. So, our natural assumption was that more left-wing violence was happening at the Capitol.

It has since come out from videos that not only Antifa and provocateurs but many federal agents and undercover agents were in the crowd. At the time, we had no idea that Trump supporters got wrapped up in the Capitol breach, only that they were there peacefully protesting.

Many of us decided to stay in the House chamber, while the Secret Service swept away Nancy Pelosi, Mike Pence, and other top leaders. Those of us who remained were on our own with just a handful of sergeants at arms.

As we hunkered down, we heard a gunshot. I would later learn that it was Ashli Babbitt being murdered just outside the speaker’s lobby. The House chamber erupted into a mass of confusion, and I witnessed first-hand the difference between how Democrats and Republicans handled the threat. From the moment we became aware of the riots, the difference between the parties became crystal clear. While the Democrats reacted in weakness and cowardice, our nation’s Republican members of Congress earned my respect by responding with courage. Many of the Democrats were simply going crazy! Some were outrageous. Most of the Republicans were calmer and more level-headed. We were all assuming we were under attack from the same violent rioters that nearly burned down Washington and almost broke the security barricade in an attempt to kill President Trump at the White House.

As supporters of the Second Amendment of the Constitution, some members carried concealed weapons and were ready to be good guys with guns, defending themselves and others if need be. Some created weapons from items around them, like the stand from a hand sanitizer dispenser or broken-off pieces of furniture on the House floor. They were ready to protect us and our House.

This is where I first met Congressman Clay Higgins from Louisiana. "I don't know what's going on," I told him. I'm 5'2" and not very big, have never engaged in any physical violence, and have definitely never been involved in anything like this before. I was terrified, thinking that the same people we saw on TV night after night attacking police officers had just breached the Capitol.

Clay reassured me, "I'm going to stick right by your side. You go with me." He was one of the armed Republican members of Congress exercising his Second Amendment rights that day. I'd never thought much about it before that, but we constantly deal with death threats, and it's right and appropriate for members of Congress to be able to carry a gun, even on the House floor. Clay is a former member of law enforcement, and I trust men like him to protect themselves—and others—responsibly with a gun.

When Clay said he'd look out for me, I breathed a prayer of thanks to God that someone of integrity recognized how afraid I was and was willing to step up to protect me. Clay still knows how grateful I am for him that day because I've told him so many times!

When tear gas was deployed inside the Capitol, we were instructed to reach under our chairs where emergency kits were stored. Within each kit was a ventilator device with an electric fan that provided oxygen as soon as you pulled the hood out. The plastic was so thick that I couldn't see through it, and at that moment, I realized I couldn't smell anything. It didn't seem wise to put that



thing on my head. If I had to run for safety or were attacked, I'd be in the worst position possible—unable to see or hear over the fan. Many of the Democrats obligingly put theirs on and some were lying on the floor, hysterical.

The House chamber was in complete and utter disarray.

At one point, the crowd had begun banging on the door, loudly trying to push the door open. Finally, the military and police showed up, decked out in full equipment and armed with rifles. Boy, were we glad to see them! We were very grateful to have help to get to a safe location.

One of the soldiers declared, "We're going to get y'all out of here." They had a plan, but several of the Republican Congressmen said, "We're going to stay right here and defend the House chamber." As they began barricading the door with furniture, I noticed not one Democrat was willing to stay to defend the chamber.

The sergeant at arms and Capitol Police had planned escape routes to direct members of Congress to safety through secret passageways in case of an attack on the Capitol. The soldiers ushered us out in a group, which quickly became chaos as they led us downstairs, down hallways and stairs, trying to keep us safely away from the protesters. But protesters were everywhere, and they had to change our path multiple times.

I ended up losing Clay as we ran—literally *ran*—down the halls. I saw that it was a problem that so many of our representatives were older and physically unable to run. How do you get them to safety when they cannot move quickly because of age, physical ailments, or lack of physical fitness? Oh, and many were hysterical, with the plastic bags over their heads in fear of tear gas and the little electric fans running so they couldn't hear, either. Just imagine Jerry Nadler trying to run for safety!

It was a *disaster*. I couldn't believe the absolute chaos.

The Capitol was supposedly one of the safest places in our country, but that was proven wrong when a group of people took over the Capitol and exposed just how vulnerable it was.

I later learned that the Speaker of the House at the time, Nancy Pelosi, had failed to secure the Capitol by not bringing in the National Guard in the weeks leading up to January 6, 2021. Even worse, she had her daughter, a filmmaker, there to capture the day's events. What a great coincidence they just happened to be filming a documentary.

Sure enough, only a few people breached the Capitol, while most just walked in through open doors—making one of the biggest mistakes of their lives!

## Unusually Cruel

The people who just walked through open doors are now being prosecuted—often based on who they voted for, the hat they were wearing, the flag they held, and the fact that they believed in their First Amendment freedom of speech. For the first time in American history, we have seen the political persecution of American citizens. This has been a nightmare all its own.

Congress is to have full oversight over the District of Columbia; it's funded through Congress. As members of Congress, we can tour anywhere in the District and be let in. I sent letters to the mayor, Muriel Bowser, demanding access to inspect the jail, which were largely ignored. The mayor of DC refused access to me and several other members for nearly a *year*. Congressional colleagues of mine, including Louie Gohmert, Matt Gaetz, Paul Gosar, and I were

denied entry multiple times—and we were called trespassers by jail employees.

Despite our persistent efforts, it wasn't until November 4, 2021, that I was able to tour the DC jail for over three hours. And, even then, they stonewalled, delayed, and played every other cheap trick in the book to keep us out. They gave us only fifteen minutes to arrive for the tour and even tried to block us from seeing the January 6 defendants. But eventually, we got access.

What we saw was nothing short of cruel and unusual punishment.

In my report of our findings from this tour, titled *Unusually Cruel*—which you can find online—I detail what we saw in the jail. We witnessed many disturbing things, but for this purpose, let's stick with the roughly forty inmates housed there for January 6-related charges and the inhumane conditions in which they're being held.

As we tried to gain access to the section where the January 6 defendants were being held, we were told no and that our tour was over. I responded, "No, the tour's *not* over. The whole point was to see the whole jail and the January 6 defendants." They tried to stone-wall us again while claiming they had nothing to hide. "If there's nothing to hide," I countered, "then we should be seeing it."

It was a *fight*, a constant rolling argument with the puppets on site and the bosses pulling the strings. I stood my ground, determined to get back there, and, once I did, it became obvious why they didn't want to let us see the J6 defendants.

The J6 defendants were held in a previously closed down section of the jail. The cells were small, often with just a toilet, sink, and cot. In my report, I describe, "The walls of the rooms had residue of human feces, bodily fluids, blood, dirt, and mold. The community showers were recently scrubbed of black mold, some of which

remained.”<sup>1</sup> U.S. Marshals had recently inspected the area and written a damning report about the jail. So, the warden made the pre-trial J6 defendants scrub and clean before we visited.

As the inmates noticed our presence, about forty of them began to flood forward with hopeless eyes. Many were crying, and one even asked to hug me! Then, they formed a line to shake our hands, chants of “U-S-A” ringing out.

Defendants revealed their lack of access to their attorneys, families, or even proper nutrition while being held. Every single one of the men I saw that day were PRE-TRIAL! Not one had been convicted of any crime yet they were denied bond and held as political prisoners. In addition to the lack of access to their attorneys, they were also denied religious services, and even basic hygiene like haircuts. Instead of a prison barber trimming their hair, they were given a liquid product, Nair, which dissolves hair. They were told to rub this on their heads and faces. Many were held in solitary confinement all but a few hours a day, which was an improvement over *twenty-three* hours a day when they arrived! In the brief few hours they were let out of the cells each day, they were made to choose between going outside, calling family, calling their attorneys, or taking showers. One defendant shared that he had been in solitary confinement for two hundred days, at first twenty-three hours a day, and then reduced to “*just*” twenty-two! The air circulation was so bad that human feces polluted the air. Medical care was spotty; from a broken finger to pre-existing conditions such as celiac disease and others, no one received proper care. In the case of Leroy Coffman, who was seventy-one at the time, his forearm had turned purple and his thumb *black*. Fellow inmates feared he’d lose his arm because he had been denied medical treatment.

In the wake of their lack of access to religious and legal services, the defendants held their own religious services. Some tried to represent themselves legally, writing dozens of pages of legal motions—with no access to a law library—on notebook paper. They were treated like *prisoners of war*, one sharing that he was punched in the gut for singing the national anthem. Yet they still sang “The Star-Spangled Banner” at 9:00 p.m.

In the DC Gulag, the defendants asked us to sing with them. One man held up their flag for all of us to honor. It was a hand-drawn American flag with blue and red ink on a piece of paper, and he held it high with pride. That night, they sang our national anthem with more conviction than I’ve ever heard in my entire life. Their voices rang out with emotion as they pledged their allegiance to the very government that was persecuting them. They sang about the country that once was, all while being locked up and persecuted by a now tyrannical government.

I encourage you to read the report personally and hear more eyewitness accounts.

Here is an excerpt of what I shared with the defendants that day:

“I was upset about the riot on January 6. I don’t call it an insurrection—it wasn’t—but I was upset. But I’m here because I genuinely am worried that you all are being treated poorly, and it’s a human rights abuse. It’s an abuse of your civil rights, and you should be presumed innocent before proven guilty. And I believe in a good justice system and that you should be treated fairly, just like the rest of the people here that I saw tonight who are being treated very well.

I think that should be extended to every single person regardless of politics or skin color or what you’re being

charged with. We've heard terrible things, and I want you to know that Congressman Gohmert and I have refused to back down on this issue.

The America we know is not a racist country. On the contrary, we want people to receive fairness in the justice system."

Please let me remind you that these weren't people convicted of violent crimes; they were pre-trial, convicted of nothing! In America, we are innocent until proven guilty, but these people were being held as though they'd already been convicted of violent crimes in a trial.

I thought this kind of politicization and unusual cruelty only happened in places like Russia or China or some totalitarian regime. The January 6 defendants' treatment was absolutely sickening! This should not happen in our country!

But it did.

Since I learned of the injustice at the DC jail, I have been the leading voice against the political persecution of the January 6 defendants. In the context of the riots of the years before, I believe that what is happening to American citizens, who were upset over injustice, is beyond wrong. While I do believe that each person charged deserves justice under our law, what we are seeing with J6'ers is nothing even close to fair; it's not even humane.

I have worked as hard as I can to defend these Americans' constitutional rights. But, unfortunately, the more I have learned about their treatment, the only words that came to mind were *cruel* and *inhumane*. It's revolting and un-American.

The charges leveled against them are over the top and ridiculous. Their human rights are being abused just *miles* from a Capitol that's

supposed to stand for the rule of law and equal justice. Yet it has been perverted for a political agenda.

I am not involved directly in the cases of the January 6 defendants; I'm not a lawyer, and I don't think that's the right place for me. However, I can and will continue defending their rights and working against corruption and abuse within the federal government targeting them for political reasons.

One of the most atrocious aspects is they have been held in a pre-trial state. As I'm writing this, many still haven't been to court. They are being held without bail—some on nonviolent charges. These are not people who fought a police officer, resisted arrest, or killed someone. They walked up the Capitol steps, entered through an open door, walked around inside while sometimes videoing themselves, and as a result, they've been charged with crimes such as trespassing and disrupting Congress. While they await trial, many are unable to see their spouses and children as they are no longer held in the DC jail but have been transferred to jails and prisons all over the United States. After my tour, the mayor of DC refused to let any more members of Congress tour the jail until Republicans took over the majority, at which point I led members of Congress from the Oversight Committee to the DC jail. Unfortunately, we don't have enough members of Congress willing to take a hard stand required to end the political persecution of J6 defendants. And while I still hear horrible stories, I am determined to exercise our rights within DC to ensure the humane treatment of these political prisoners.

## Don't Lose Hope

I want to leave you with some more of the words I shared with these mistreated January 6 defendants:

“It’s wrong to abuse people. We all have our civil rights, and they need to be protected. And here’s something else you need to know: It’s a hard time for all of you, and it’s a hard time for most people, especially being incarcerated, but don’t lose hope. Don’t lose hope!

You know who you are, a child of God, and He loves every single one of you. He made you, formed you, and knew you before you were born, and that’s the greatest gift. He’s got a plan for every single one of us. You know you’re not forgotten; you’re appreciated. And you’re loved, and your families love you. They miss you, and your friends love you. And many people talk about you and pray for you. . . . We can come through this time in our country, and hopefully, we can all come back together, and we’re not divided by that.”

I ended our time together by praying for them—and here, I pray for our country. We stand on the brink of losing one of the amazing facets that make America distinct, a shining beacon of light in the world. If we sacrifice equal justice under the law and presumption of innocence until someone is proven guilty by a jury of peers, we face a justice system turned on its head and politicized. Corrupted. *Ruined*.

The Democrats think their only way of winning is by locking up their political opponents. They want to put President Trump in jail for life, which is a virtual death sentence, but they have expanded their communist tactics to pursue anyone who supports him or stands in their way. Now it’s everyday Americans who are held in horrible conditions for their political beliefs. Compared to over 95% of BLM rioters’ charges being dropped, these people are being used as the public example of what happens when you stand up to tyranny.



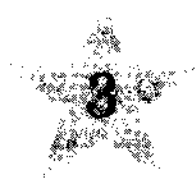
## JANUARY 6

This will not happen if I can prevent it.

The events of January 6 have been mischaracterized by the Democrats and their mouthpieces in the media, a circus made of the proceedings, and these people cruelly treated. It must stop! It *will* stop—for we won't rest until these people get equal justice under the law.

They will not be forgotten. I will never forget.





## Kicked off Committees.

I NEVER INTENDED TO GO into politics; I just wanted to be a mother to my kids and run our company. Yet I continued to watch the breakdown of the rule of law, horrible injustices, and people pressured into calling deviant behavior good, and knew someone must do something. And, as that old saying goes, it's a dirty job, but somebody's got to do it! So, I stepped up because I wanted my children to inherit America as the great nation we all know it can be again. But we're going to have to fight for it!

Which is why, on January 21, 2021, I filed articles of impeachment against Joe Biden. It was the very day Biden was inaugurated President—and I filed them on the exact issues we are currently investigating in the Oversight Committee. I submitted that Joe Biden had been using his position of power to give numerous members of his family advantages in their business dealings. Specifically, his son Hunter, who had benefited from his father's position of power to make millions on corrupt business deals in foreign countries.

Previously, Hunter Biden's laptop had been panned as "Russian disinformation," which the legacy media had tried to cover up during the election. Even though Hunter had been under investigation, the media had managed to largely keep this news out of the hands of the voting public. From government interference on social media platforms such as Twitter<sup>2</sup> to Deep State intelligence officials signing off on the laptop as fake news,<sup>3</sup> this material was buried repeatedly. But it should have prevented Biden from being elected, and it absolutely should've been grounds for his impeachment since he somehow managed to get elected anyway.

The coverup was extensive and revolting. As a member of the Oversight Committee, we subpoenaed Biden family bank records with more coming—so much more! Tracking the Biden family criminal enterprise and how they were influence-peddling Joe Biden, particularly when he was vice president, has been a massive undertaking. But I was also on target back then, and it spooked the Democrats.

It was a huge deal when I filed the articles of impeachment on Biden's first day in office on January 21, 2021. And it was no coincidence that Nancy Pelosi kicked me off *all* my committees two weeks later. While she claimed it was for content posted on Facebook or other social platforms I'd made in the past, the real reason was punishment. I had the nerve to file the articles of impeachment against our corrupt president, and I was too close to the truth. So, they would do anything they could to silence me, destroy my political career before it had hardly even started, and prevent me from opposing their crooked narrative.

After being removed from my committees, I shared in a press conference, "I'm fine with being kicked off of my committees because it'd be a waste of my time." I went on to share that I didn't respect what our government had become, a case in point being

## KICKED OFF COMMITTEES.

the retribution I experienced for filing articles of impeachment. I couldn't respect our rampant spending, the incredible burden of debt we're putting on our children and grandchildren, and America-last policies that have outsourced our manufacturing and jobs overseas. I went on to apologize for anything I felt I may have done wrong, and I also said CNN spreads more conspiracy theories than QAnon.

I've always been a hard worker, and I wouldn't stop because Pelosi and her cronies in the media tried to annihilate my career. I declared that it was okay because now I could talk to a *whole lot* more people, and I'd put that time to good use.

Personally, I think the plan backfired on them!

## On the Record

When I was kicked off my committees, the Democrat-controlled House was busy passing all of Joe Biden's ruinous agenda without a hint of resistance. Republicans weren't getting anything done on committees anyway, and they didn't care what we had to say. So, even though I was new to politics, I knew that being on a committee as a Republican didn't matter. I viewed being kicked off my committees as a strange kind of gift—the gift of time.

It was like my chains had been broken, setting me free. I could now travel the country, fighting for America-first policies and spreading the message about what Republicans *should* be doing. I traveled everywhere, gave speeches, and raised money for other candidates who would champion conservative, America-first values.

I also spent a great deal of time on the House floor simply *learning*. I learned parliamentary procedure, how bills were debated, and I attended hearings. I would often sit in on the Rules Committee as

I wanted to understand how bills made it to the House floor. I even was able to introduce amendments to bills at the Rules Committee.

Finally, the day came when I had the opportunity to put one of the most impactful lessons I had learned into action. I was sitting on the House floor watching the Republicans and Democrats debate a bill. The person sitting in the Speaker's chair—I had no idea who because they were wearing a mask—called for a voice vote on the bill. Republicans said nay, and Democrats said yea, and since Democrats were winning everything, the speaker with the mask announced that the bill had passed.

I was shocked. I had my voting card in hand, apparently unneeded. The voting card is like a driver's license with your picture, name, and other information on it, and we're supposed to use it in a little machine to record the vote, but this vote didn't need that card. I was also surprised because there were about five Republicans on one side of the room and five Democrats on the other—out of the 435 members of Congress.

I hadn't voted. How had the bill passed? I was confused, thinking I'd missed something, and I called the Republican floor staffer over and asked about it. "What just happened?"

He told me they'd just passed a bill.

"But I didn't vote . . ." I replied.

"Oh, yes, ma'am, but most of the bills here in Congress pass by voice," he explained.

What I didn't know, until that moment, was that passing a bill by voice didn't record the individual votes, which means that there's no record of whether you voted yes or no or present—or just didn't vote. I couldn't believe it! Done this way, the American people have no record of our job performance because they can't know our voting history—which is precisely why they do it that way.

## KICKED OFF COMMITTEES.

I began to ask questions, and I learned there's a parliamentary procedure that any member of Congress can use to ask for a recorded vote or roll-call vote during the debate of any bill.

And, just like that, I had a new purpose in Congress.

Since the Democrats were the ruling party, they got everything they wanted because they were all voice votes. Biden's extremist agenda was flying through the House uncontested. Nobody was doing anything to stop it or even slow it down—yet. I dedicated much of my time to sitting on the floor of the House of Representatives, watching as bills were debated, and when it came time to vote, I would call for a recorded vote.

With all my free time, I stayed on the floor for every bill I could and asked for recorded votes. It kind of became my thing, shocking representatives on both sides! The Democrats, like Nancy Pelosi and Steny Hoyer, were upset because it started messing with their schedule. They had been passing bills in record time. One after another, the bills came up and were passed by voice so they could move on to the next one. But every time I called for a recorded vote, it brought everything to a halt.

The House of Representatives had to stop while the Speaker's office sent out a call to all members of Congress to report to the House floor for the vote. Every single member of Congress was notified that we had been called on to vote. That meant everybody had to stop what they were doing; committee hearings, fundraising, lunches, and more would all cease as members of Congress made their way to vote. Jerry Nadler had to wake up from his nap and walk down to the House floor!

Nancy Pelosi had passed House rules for COVID, which resulted in each vote taking at least forty-five minutes or longer.

In comparison, as I write this, with Republicans in charge of the House, we have five-minute and sometimes even two-minute votes!

After the vote, everyone would return to what they were doing, and the House would begin debating another bill. Since I did not have to run off to a committee meeting, I would sit there, and as soon as they passed the bill by voice, I would call for a roll call vote . . . and the same process repeated all over! I was seriously throwing sand in their gears, and it made the Democrats mad!

Steny Hoyer was so upset he marched down to Kevin McCarthy's office and demanded that he make me stop. Kevin just laughed about it and said, "Well, I'm not the one who kicked her off her committees! She's got nothing to do." They, in essence, had created this situation.

For a long time, I kept this up almost by myself. But something odd began to happen; the Republicans also started getting upset, which was very interesting to me. Sure, they didn't like their schedule being interrupted, but I uncovered that many did not want their votes to be on record! With every recorded vote, everyone knows if their Representative voted yes or no on a particular bill. I learned a lot of the Republicans in Congress are actually *horrible* moderates who did not want to have their voting record on Joe Biden's agenda exposed to their constituents!

## Chairwoman of the Committee of the Whole

On one side, Democrats were mad at me for slowing down Joe Biden's extremist liberal agenda, and on the other side, Republicans were chewing me out for putting them on record. In fact, one senior Republican spent nearly an hour trying to talk me out of calling for recorded votes. She flat-out explained that people did not want to be put on record and that I was making it very difficult for some



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of them. What she didn't know, however, is that all this opposition made me want to do it even *more*!

You see, I have this weird idea that representatives in Congress are to *serve the American people*, and they owe them a record of their job performance. So, no, of course I don't think they should be allowed to hide behind a voice vote. They owed it to their district and the entire country to have their votes recorded.

While it made many people mad, I doubled down! I decided that I was going to call for as many recorded votes as I could. Republicans shouldn't be afraid to show people their voting records, and it turns out that members of the Freedom Caucus aligned with my beliefs. They came to understand what a powerful tool it was when, at one point, I was the only person in Congress slowing down Joe Biden's agenda simply by asking for recorded votes. Together, members of the Freedom Caucus and I created a floor schedule and took turns during the entire 117th Congress, demanding recorded votes on as many bills as possible. I started an effort to make every bill as difficult on the Democrats as possible while calling my fellow Republicans to be accountable for their votes. As a result, we had over 550 bills on record.

Not only did calling for recorded votes slow down the Democrat's agenda, it also caused a few of their really bad bills to fail, such as Cori Bush's bill to allow felons to vote in our elections, including while they are in jail. Her bill had passed by voice, but luckily, I was there to call for recorded votes and forced Congress to vote for her bill. It turns out that even Democrats didn't want to vote with her for her absurd bill to allow felons to vote! The bill went down with 119 Democrats voting alongside 209 Republicans—all voting *no* against her bill. Had I not been there to force a recorded vote,

BLM Congresswoman Cori Bush's bill would have passed by voice and likely made it to Joe Biden's desk.<sup>4</sup>

The whole process revealed to me why Congress is so broken. I remember watching a vote pass by voice that was for over seven million dollars in spending. It passed with maybe fewer than ten members of Congress saying yes or no on the floor. I couldn't believe how irresponsibly the House was using the American people's dollars! It shocked me that so many representatives could spend Americans' hard-earned money so frivolously by simply saying yes or no without all of Congress being involved or being held accountable on the record.

I know many people who work incredibly hard, sometimes even two or three jobs. They pay their taxes and struggle to get by, and here is Congress, throwing their money around without any regard. Broken practices, such as the voice vote, have crippled us with so much debt that I'm not sure we can ever dig out from under it. And it wasn't just the other party; Republicans were also playing their role.

Since I had been kicked off all my committees, I declared myself the unofficial chairwoman of the group calling for recorded votes, which we called the Committee of the Whole. If they were going to take me off my committees, I'd make one for myself—and I don't think they liked it very much!

## Consequences for Standing Up

My solo efforts in the Committee of the Whole lasted about six weeks before, thank God, the Freedom Caucus members joined me because I was spending eight to ten hours a day sitting there on the House floor by myself. The Democrats hated me, but so did half the Republicans, and I became a pariah for that session of Congress. They tried to shame me and destroy me in the media.

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I felt like I had to be there when we were in session, fighting my own private war for the American people and trying to expose the corruption around me.

Everywhere I went, I was hated and scorned in Washington, DC. People yelled at me as I walked and cornered me in airports. I received regular hate mail (which has never stopped) and was attacked on social media daily, with people saying horrible things about me and what they wanted to do to me. I would trend nearly every day on Twitter because of the attacks. Meanwhile, one of the worst things imaginable was happening in my personal life—my father was dying of stage four brain cancer, which had metastasized from his untreated melanoma.

But I was doing what I thought was right. I had been elected by the people of my district, I had a job to do, and I owed them my very best. Since I wasn't serving on committees, I would do anything I could to stop Joe Biden's agenda. He and his radical Left cronies were destroying our country, and I did anything possible to slow it down. When terrible bills like the Equality Act came, I would motion to adjourn and literally stop Congress. Motioning to adjourn is rare, and many representatives will never do it. I think I motioned to adjourn around six times, just trying to slow the destruction.

Most of the people around me were career politicians, whereas I didn't look at it as a career; I already had a job. This is not how I earned my paycheck, and it wasn't something owed to me by the system. I never wanted to be in politics, but I ran for Congress because I was angry and disgusted about what was happening in our country. If I could do something to stop it, I would.

If Congress were a business, it should have filed for bankruptcy long ago because no company I have ever seen could exist the way our federal government is run. If someone were to run a business like

we run our government, they would fail, undeniably. The only reason the federal government has not collapsed is because it has control of the Federal Reserve, can print as much money as they want, and change the debt ceiling whenever they need more money to blow.

Career politicians don't understand how their idiotic policies ruin the lives of Americans. Their irresponsible spending has created insurmountable debt, and they do it all at the expense of forgotten Americans left behind by globalist policies and America-last agendas. It must stop!

As a result of the stand I have taken, I am attacked everywhere I go with the exception of my home district or the red states of the country. Everywhere else, there's always some random middle-aged, nasty, white woman who is brainwashed by the View and has nothing better to do than say horrible things to me from beneath the mask on her face. And then there are the miserable middle-aged white men, who must hate themselves because they've been trained to believe their white skin and male gender is ruining everything, who will walk by me calling me a "cunt" or "bitch." Additionally, I don't make as much money as a member of Congress as I did when working for my construction company. In fact, it's the biggest inconvenience of my life.

Yet, my purpose is to do the job that needs to be done, which is to force Congress to serve the American people with excellent customer service and run the federal government like a successful business. In spite of the attacks by miserable people, most Americans actually agree with me about Congress. The way Congress works is broken, and it's time for a change. I am honored to be the voice calling for it. I have found that if we want the truth to come out, we must step up and set the record straight.



## Setting the Record Straight

BETWEEN JANUARY 6, CALLING FOR recorded votes, and overall being too close to the mark, I quickly angered people. As a result, I came under fire like never before. The Democrats and their allies in the legacy media embarked on a campaign to ruin my reputation and assassinate my political career. I can't count the number of lies told about me in the press. I was tried and convicted in the skewed court of public opinion, often without the opportunity to defend myself. Nancy Pelosi soon kicked me off my committees.

Some lies and misrepresentations they told were so outright insane and opposite to the truth—it simply astounded me! But one of the first and most obnoxious was about Jewish space lasers. Yes, you read that right!

Around the time I was kicked off my committees, an article came out declaring I had blamed the wildfires in California on these lasers.<sup>5</sup> This was something I'd once said in a sarcastic social media

post years before I was elected, and it was completely misrepresented in the article. Before I knew it, “Jewish space laser” and my name began trending on Twitter. I couldn’t believe it—I thought there was no way everyone would treat it as anything but the joke it was. But they didn’t.

On November 17, 2018, I created a post announcing that there were seventy dead and over a thousand were missing from the horrific wildfires in California. I went on to share that I was praying for everyone involved but also wanted to focus on the “coincidences.”

California had just announced that they wouldn’t let PG&E, the big energy company whose ill-maintained power lines were believed to be the cause of the wildfires, fail. A perfect example of the government bailing out a big, failing company, just as we’ve recently seen with the bailout of some big banks. I had been researching PG&E stocks, which had tanked all week, and watched as they rallied right after California made the announcement.

During my research, I found it interesting that Roger Kimmel, who was on the board of directors for PG&E, was also vice chairman of Rothschild, Inc. I was so politically naïve I knew *nothing*—nothing more than someone who listened to talk radio. I didn’t know a thing about the Rothschilds other than they were a big, wealthy family. I certainly didn’t think a thing about their ethnicity or religion.

I put the Kimmel connection together with the fact that PG&E had a long history of financial contributions to Jerry Brown, the former governor of California. It was easy for me to draw a connection between the Democrat governor of California and his decision to bail out this utility provider from whom he had received tons of donations. What a coincidence, I mentioned sarcastically, that Jerry Brown had just a few months earlier signed a bill protecting PG&E,

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allowing them to pass off the cost of wildfire responsibility to its customers through rate hikes and bonds!<sup>6</sup> PG&E routinely was sued over the wildfires, but now they could pass those costs on to their customer.<sup>7</sup>

I wasn't done. I also mentioned the "coincidence" that the fires were burning in the same areas as the projected \$77 *billion*-dollar high-speed rail project being built, clearing land for Brown's pet project, for which Dianne Feinstein's late husband, Richard Blum, was the contractor. With that much money, I quipped, we could build three southern US border walls!

I was shining a spotlight on the unholy union between the government, politicians, and big companies. Americans needed to see that these people were all in bed together, with good old boy politics making people billions on a deal where they scratched each other's backs.

Around this same time, people posted on social media that they had seen lights, like blue beams, actually starting fires, and they even had videos. When I mentioned this in my post, I was simply calling attention to these posts, even clarifying that I did not know anything about its validity. However, I did go on to draw attention to the fact that PG&E partnered with a company called Solaren on space solar generators starting in 2009, which I found fascinating. Solaren harnesses the sun's energy and then, using satellites, beams it to receivers on Earth. Cool technology, right?

But I wondered what it would look like if they *missed* the receiver. Mistakes happen, especially with new inventions. How many times did the Wright brothers crash airplanes before eventually flying? Mistakes and failures are part of new inventions and technology. So, what would it look like if they missed the receiver when they were

sending the sun's energy to Earth? My post was speculation, simply asking rhetorical questions. I wondered, could it cause a fire? If it did, it wouldn't look good for Solaren, but it also wouldn't look good for their partner, PG&E.

To top it off, whoever bought PG&E stock when it was low, right before the state bailed them out, would do *incredibly* well on their investments. Of course, to get that info ahead of time, you'd need to know someone, and we've already seen there were a lot of powerful, wealthy people interconnected here.

I ended my post by saying I hoped the Solaren people had good aim!

From that post where I showed people this unholy union and sarcastically posed some uncomfortable questions, they created a political hit piece saying that I'd claimed *Jewish space lasers* had caused the fires!

Rothschild is a Jewish family, which I didn't know at the time of the post. So, they used the tired old liberal line of "racism" here to add to the misrepresentation of what I was saying. Never mind that I am the very opposite of an anti-Semite, having donated to the Temple Institute in Israel, a fund that helps rebuild the Jewish temple on the Temple Mount in Israel. There is not an antisemitic bone in my body, but they played that card in addition to the laser angle just to make sure I sounded not only like a complete idiot but also a bigot.

Although the lie-filled article came out years after my original social media post, the Left lost their minds over it. Kevin McCarthy even condemned me, along with many other Republicans. They asked me to visit the Holocaust Museum in DC so I could be "educated" about the horrors of the Holocaust—never mind that I'd actually been to Germany and seen the camps when I was a young



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woman! We had toured the museums, and I personally saw the disgusting gas ovens.

My Savior is a Jewish carpenter who died on the cross for my sins, and I have no antisemitic sentiments whatsoever. Yet, this article robbed me of my dignity, credibility, and chance to go to the Holy Land as a freshman in Congress. You see, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) invited every freshman member of Congress to go to Israel . . . except me. I didn't get to go because of this slanderous article.

My actual social media post, which no one apparently bothered to read, said nothing antisemitic whatsoever. It was insulting that they believed this ridiculous article instead of what I'd actually written.

The article was a hit piece, pure and simple.

When you hit close to the mark, it stirs up the hornet's nest. They get scared and strike—they try to assassinate your character, ruin your career, and outright cancel you. This all happened around the same time I was removed from my committees. They needed a hit piece to try to destroy my political career, and discovered they could use a years-old post, twist my words, and make me appear like an antisemitic fool. So, instead of arguing with me about the corruption within the California government, they made up a lie about Jewish space lasers.

And people believed it. They believed it because they didn't know me. They believed it because they were part of the establishment in Washington who didn't like me making waves. I was calling attention to corruption in California, bringing the Biden family to the forefront, and, remember, I was the one who filed the impeachment documents against Joe Biden on his first day in office.

Each inflammatory article against me has been a constant attack on my character and career to get me to shut up and stop pointing out the rampant corruption in government. But I will *not* be silenced, and I refuse to let them duct tape my mouth shut. This country is too great to let the crooked bureaucrats who infest the swamp destroy it and the American people they are supposed to represent.

I've been called an antisemite more than once for attacking George Soros, who spends billions of dollars buying politicians to keep our borders open and forward his globalist Marxist insanity. Soros has his hands in so many pockets he probably can't even keep track of them all, but they have the gall to attack Clarence Thomas for not disclosing gifts.

Being called antisemitic is usually a death blow in politics. You can't survive, which is why they launched that nuclear weapon right before I was kicked off my committees and started attacking me and leveling baseless accusations. But it didn't work! Despite how freely the Left tosses around the "racist" card, thankfully, not everyone took them at their word. Orthodox Jews reached out to me, befriended me, and some even donated to my campaigns. Since then, I've spent years trying to repair the damage this defaming article and similar ones did to me.

Despite the mocking t-shirts, buttons, stickers, and other items referencing Jewish space lasers that have been sent to me, the Left's political assassins couldn't take me out. Their lies have no basis, and I don't play the usual Washington political game with special interests and lobbyists.

I simply won't let them win.

The truth of who I really am, and my voting record, proves that I am no anti-Semite. I have one of the most pro-Israel voting records

in the House and, when it came time to vote for Israel's real space lasers, I voted to fund them. So, it turns out I actually support Jewish space lasers.

## Dark Money

The ridiculous attacks I experienced regarding the California corruption social media post certainly aren't the only times the Left has tried to take me out. Free Speech for the People, a Democrat dark money group, wanted to get me off the ballot, so they filed a lawsuit against me. Funded through various 501(c)(3)s and outside organizations, they filed a lawsuit for my primary election in 2022, claiming I violated the insurrection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. They needed five voters from my district, so they approached the Democrat Chair for the district, who then joined the lawsuit alongside four other Democrats.

I spent nearly a *million dollars* in legal fees to fight them, and I made history once again. As I write this, I am the only member of Congress who has sat on the witness stand under oath, accused of insurrection, and questioned about January 6. They grilled me for hours! The questioning happened just one month before my primary election in May 2022.

It was a show trial, and they looked like clowns as they spun their twisted narrative. A few things they said stood out as being dumber than the rest. First, they said I got my inspiration from *Independence Day*, a 1996 action movie featuring Will Smith. The stupid lawyer even played a clip from the movie, which he wanted to use as evidence against me!

After he played the clip, he asked me if I knew the movie. I thought maybe I'd seen it years ago with my kids, but then, with

no evidence whatsoever, he started claiming that it was my favorite movie, and it's where I got my inspiration. The judge shook his head and put his face in his hands.

The lawyer made himself look like a complete idiot! The second truly absurd thing that happened during this clown show was when I was questioned about 1776. The lawyer described a social media post I published about when America issued the Declaration of Independence. The lawyer was trying to accuse me of inciting insurrection at the capitol on January 6 by using the term 1776. What he missed was that I wasn't talking about war—I was talking about our country's history of standing up to *tyrants*, men like Joe Biden. (We had objected to Joe Biden's electoral college votes, some of which I believe were fraudulent in a stolen election.)

"You mean '1776' like that?" I said, pointing to the Georgia state seal, which was mounted on the wall directly above the judge's head. I said I knew he wasn't from around here, but we have 1776 on our state seal. That arrogant New York attorney showed what an ignorant ass he really was to our Georgia courtroom.

The judge found me not guilty of inciting or planning an insurrection, and my name stayed on the ballot. Yes, it cost me nearly a million dollars in legal fees and a great deal of stress; however, it was worth it. I was not going to allow some nasty left-wing progressive group to come to Georgia and take away the rights of the people in my district to vote for me. At the end of the month, I overwhelmingly won my primary election.

## Pariah No Longer

I have often been an enigma to both Democrats and Republicans, as neither seems to know what to do with me! But, during my time

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in office, they have learned I am sincere when I speak about corruption, the rule of law, and a genuine conservative agenda. They have called me an extreme right-wing insurrectionist, a QAnon Congresswoman—and those are the *nice* things!

But what have I said that is so extreme to them? I boldly declared that Congress failed under President Trump. We had a Republican majority, yet they didn't fund the border wall or repeal Obamacare. They didn't end abortion and instead funded Planned Parenthood for \$500 million. After January 6th, I stood unapologetically supporting President Trump and would not back away from him. I would tell them to their faces that, whether they liked him or not, he was the leader of our party, and the American people supported him.

I've been labeled every hateful name in the book for wanting to secure our southern border, end the murder of innocent unborn babies, help women be mothers, protect our children from being sexualized by pedophiles, and stop life-ruining, barbaric medical procedures on minors. I've stood for America-first policies and against sending our manufacturing and jobs overseas to save a buck. I've raised the alarm over our out-of-control spending and debt, caused by both Democrats and Republicans, because no company could ever stay in business under the practices with which our country has been governed. I've argued relentlessly that America should be pushing for peace in Ukraine, not funding another foreign war defending another country's border while ours are wide open.

They've done everything they can to stop me, including "permanently" banning me from Twitter for almost the entire year of 2022 for telling the truth in a new era of censorship sponsored by big tech being in bed with a corrupt big government. I couldn't fundraise or respond to the insane attacks against me during my re-election to Congress.

The media has tried to crucify me, acting as the mouthpiece of the Democrat party, and some Republicans joined in as well. Those opposed to my down-to-earth, practical views spent the first two years of my political career trying to destroy me but failed because I had the support of the people—and because I did not back down, even when times were most challenging. No matter what, I will never stop fighting; in fact, I will fight harder than any of them can keep up with! I have traveled the country, held rallies, and made speeches everywhere possible. I have sat on the House floor, calling for recorded votes for hours on end, days at a time. I have paid outrageous legal bills and fought the lies against me that defied all truth and common sense.

Despite everything I have faced, there's one thing that tells me I'm doing the right thing: people support me. My fundraising shows it. The first quarter after they kicked me off my committees, I believe I was in the top five in the entire House of Representatives for fundraising—not because of special interests but because of ordinary Americans in my district and beyond. I've beaten them all, defeating their narrative of lies, with the help of like-minded Americans, both in politics and at home. So, you see, the voters told their representatives to support me! I stood up for them, and they told their representatives to get behind the agenda to make our country great again.

My opponents have done everything they can to eliminate me, try to kill my political career, smear me personally, and lie about my character. And it wasn't just political assassination on the agenda; I am the subject of constant death threats. A man pleaded guilty just a few months ago for planning to murder me and is awaiting his sentence as I write this. They've even tried to turn law enforcement against me! It's called "swatting." They call the police, either claiming I am suicidal or pretending it's me on the phone saying I'm suicidal

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and just killed someone, and the SWAT team is dispatched to my home. Seven times, once just the night before I wrote this, they called the SWAT team to my house, ready to shoot someone—*me*!

Yet, I somehow find myself one of the more politically powerful and influential members of Congress. I don't say that to brag but to show that they can't silence me. And more—they can't silence the *American people* I am sworn to represent! The people support what I'm saying because they know I am fighting for *them* and the issues they care about most!

Under a Republican Congress, I serve on three committees—Homeland Security, Oversight, and COVID Select. I'm privileged to be part of the group investigating Joe Biden for the very same issues I brought articles of impeachment against him for when he was inaugurated. I'm also part of the group shedding light on lies and misinformation spread by people like Dr. Fauci during the pandemic. We're trying to hold our government accountable for (mis)handling the whole thing and want to track down the true origins of COVID—not from a wet market, but from a Chinese lab.

Despite their attempts at political destruction, I now find myself not a pariah in the Republican party but a person who has gained the respect of many of my colleagues. I have paid my dues, literally and figuratively—one of the few to do so—to the tune of hundreds of thousands of dollars! I consider paying the NRCC dues very important; this way, I am doing my part to help other Republicans get elected. I believe our only hope as a nation is to get more qualified, conservative-minded individuals in office to push back against the America-last agenda that is ruining our country.

I attribute my growing respect within the Republican Party to the voters who have supported me. Over and over, the polls show that I am doing the right thing for the American people. Other

representatives have started to notice. The voice of the people is important, and, while often forgotten, most of our country lives between the Left Coast and the big city liberals of DC and New York.

Yes, I have called my fellow Republicans to account, but it's not just to attack for no reason. It's to hold all of us accountable to the values that built this country—values from which we've strayed. I have also supported many, and I am glad to bring my voice to aid theirs as they fight for the conservative principles that will save our country. We are the party that will revive America, and I want all of us to be successful.

I believe I have a role to play in continuing to shape the Republican Party into what it must become in order to stand up against corporate interests, globalist policies, and the America-last idiocy that has destroyed our factories, killed our jobs, broken our families, and weakened our country. President Trump proved that we *could* return our lost jobs and investments to the forgotten parts of America and the people Democrats have left behind.

Fighting back against the establishment is not going to be comfortable or easy; we are going to have to push. I knew I would likely not make friends at first, but I've got plenty of friends back home, and they're telling me I'm doing the right thing with their votes and donations.

People must know that the Democrat narrative cannot change the truth. They have to know that we can fight back against the lies, misinformation, and political assassination attempts that the Deep State uses to sabotage any voice that threatens its power. No one is beyond the law; we are all to be treated equally, despite what we've seen in some high-profile cases.



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Justice will be served, and the American people will have a voice. That voice will include mine as long as I am here to speak for them—and I won't let the legacy media stand in the way of getting the word out. Let's look at them next, because they are the mouthpiece for the Democrat party, and communicating with the American people is a whole other story when you must also fight the media itself.



## The Mouthpiece of the Democrat Party

WHEN I FIRST RAN FOR Congress, the Atlanta Journal and Constitution did a profile piece on me. They do articles like this for many new candidates—where you're from, your career, what seat you're running for, and your overall beliefs. It was fair, not bad at all. I'm pretty sure it has been one of the only nice media pieces on me since!

Once you are a declared candidate, the opposition party does their research to see if you're a credible threat, and they quickly built a dossier on me. I wasn't some moderate Republican who would play the game; I was an America-first, MAGA, Christian conservative—and, worst of all, unapologetic about my views. When they saw who I was, they got to work, because, as we've all seen, the legacy media is the mouthpiece of the Democrat party.

I ran for Congress against eight Republican men and won my primary with 40.3 percent of the vote. Candidates must have 50

percent, which meant we would have a runoff.<sup>6</sup> During the runoff, I beat another Republican by over fourteen points, and that called it. With those numbers, no Democrat could win my district. Winning the runoff essentially won me the election, and the Democrat candidate dropped out before the general election was even held.

That's when the firestorm began as the press turned up the heat, knowing I was coming to Washington.

A friend warned me, "Marjorie, when you come to Washington, the legacy media is going to come down like fire from heaven. It's going to be scorching fire on you, and they're going to do everything they can to destroy you."

My friend was wrong—about one thing, anyway. The firestorm started before I even arrived in Washington, DC!

The mainstream media is very powerful, and they do the Democrat's dirty work by shaping people's opinions. They try to control the narrative by covering (or failing to cover) specific events or covering the material in a biased or even misleading way. They deliberately label people, creating a caricature of someone that is entirely false. This is what they did to me.

The media decided to paint me as a racist, conspiracy-theory-believing homophobe—not to mention antisemitic, Islamophobic, and whatever other words they could look up from the Left's playbook of common lies. Once they labeled me as a hate-filled bigot, they made sure to include those labels *every time* my name was mentioned. I was always introduced in pieces with labels such as, "Far-right conspiracy theorist Marjorie Taylor Greene. . . ." I never saw my name in legacy media without a list of labels surrounding it. This was done so their audience wouldn't forget exactly who they'd painted me to be, and it served to sway opinions.

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The labels they put on me were for a character that doesn't exist. I am not who they say I am.

The press has learned that if they can destroy you in the court of public opinion, where you don't need facts to get a "conviction," they can beat you by ruining your reputation, potentially even ending your career before it's begun. Powerful corporate media companies will use their shows, social media, and articles to assassinate your character. They lie, misrepresent, and fabricate whatever they want, often without repercussions, as they control the narrative.

But I'm different from most politicians in a significant way: I didn't come to Washington for a career or to make friends or gain influence. I wasn't there for superficial reasons. I came to Washington to change the Republican party and save this country by *doing my job*.

Unlike so many others taken out by the press, their attacks didn't stick. My family, friends, and district knew the truth, and the attacks rolled off my back. The amount of effort they put into attacking me told me something: I was over the target, and I was a threat to them!

Few conservatives have had the strength to punch back against the media. President Trump did it regularly, but I was determined to hit back against their lies. After filing articles of impeachment on Joe Biden and getting kicked off my committees, I called them out on the lies they sold to the American people every day. I declared that, although they had labeled me a conspiracy theorist, *they* were the real conspiracy theorists. I went on to explain that CNN was no different than QAnon, and that the story they tried to sell about Russian collusion was a lie they'd spread far and wide., I began calling them "legacy media conspiracy theorists" to their faces. I like that term better than "fake news" because "conspiracy theorist" is what they

hit me with. They spin tales and sell lies on their powerful platforms, swaying the opinions of voters to help achieve the Democrat party's goals and fundraising efforts.

I punched right back by exposing their lies!

Journalism was once a great art and respected trade. Tragically, there are very few real journalists today. Our Founding Fathers gave us a tremendous gift when they wrote in freedom of the press as an American right. Yet our ability to use the freedom of the press to hold our government accountable has been stripped away. Political activists and intelligence agents posing as journalists use the power of the pen to hide under the protection of a free press while destroying America.

Most members of Congress are terrified of the media; if they get a bad news story, they go into panic mode. The media's articles have caused people to change statements, their position on a topic or bill, and even their votes. I'm not like that; I don't care what the media has to say. They lie about people all the time—just look at all the false information they spread about President Trump from the moment he became the Republican nominee for president in 2016. Not to mention the salacious lies they have spread about me!

If they didn't know it already, Republican voters learned they couldn't trust the legacy media and their coverage of President Trump. As a result, conservatives across the nation, including everyone in my district, understood what "fake news" was, giving me an advantage. By calling them out on their lies, President Trump paved the way to fight back against the fabricated media narrative of conspiracy theories. The press has an agenda; you cannot believe what you hear on the nightly news because it's not the news; it's just their "story." Their "truth" is really the talking points laid out by the Deep State and the Democrat party. That is why they all say the same

words and messaging on any given topic. The Washington Press Club and media editors send the same 4:00 a.m. talking points and questions, and like obedient little soldiers, they type, say, and spin the tales that make headlines.

Had I not learned from President Trump how to handle the media attacks, I, too, could've been destroyed. But he showed us the model for taking on the press—and winning! By the time I ran, people understood that if the press attacked and called me names, I was doing something right, and they would like me. The louder the media says something, the less believable it is. We now check to see how they're misrepresenting people and facts.

As people investigated the various media lies and found out what I *really said*, they found they agreed with me! Oddly, it's turned out to be a blessing that the legacy media so clearly tipped their hand (and lies) with President Trump. Now we all know we cannot take reporting at face value but must learn the facts ourselves.

But being attacked and torn apart, even when it's by liars, hurts. I've been called every name in their book, and they've gone after my family, friends, employees, and even my neighbors! The press tries to grill them frequently. "Do you agree with her statements?" they'll ask. Or, "How do you feel about her being a racist?" They ask horrible trick questions, but everyone who knows me has turned against them. Whenever these so-called reporters reached out, my people would refuse to talk to them, and now they hate the press.

In the face of these attacks, my friends and family have bonded and drawn closer together. While they protect me from libel and slander, they also need to protect themselves. Given the chance, the legacy media would print their names and their relation to me while twisting their words and using them to lie about me some more. A few of my friends found out—the hard way—that the legacy media

would smear them in their stories and never print or show their full statements. Now they don't trust the media, and they refuse to have anything to do with them, and I don't blame them one bit. I don't think anyone trusts the legacy media anymore, either.

## Mom Didn't Raise a Racist

One of the most common lies is that I'm a racist. When the media started using this tired old lie, which they try with every conservative, it really upset my mom, who helped set the record straight. My mom responded that it was ridiculous and went on to explain, "A Black minister baptized you when you were a baby. Growing up, every day, you played with a little Vietnamese girl who flew out on one of the last orphan planes from Vietnam and was adopted into a loving family. Your two other best friends were Korean, a brother and sister. You played with two brothers across the street, who were Black, and a Jewish girl from down the street. They were your best friends, and you had more minority kids than white kids in your group." She went on to point out that my ex-husband and I vacationed with our best friends and their kids, who were African-American and lived across the street. We loved that family dearly and helped raise their girls just as they helped raise our kids.

My entire life, I have never judged people or chosen friends based on their skin color or identity. I like people for who they are, not what they look like. The media wasn't operating on proof when they called me a racist; they rarely do. It's a tired old trope and a default tactic with them.

They called me antisemitic because I attacked George Soros, who happens to be Jewish. The attacks I've made on Soros are because he's destroying democracy with his politics, not because of his ethnicity



or religion. Never mind that nobody has called the Left antisemitic for their relentless attacks on Sheldon Adelson and his family.

They like to say that conservatives are fascists, but have you ever seen such blatant, power-crazed government overreach as these blue states' and cities' response during the COVID pandemic? My criticism of Soros or, during the pandemic, vaccine passports was not antisemitic because it has nothing to do with the people of Israel or Judaism. My criticism is about the policies of Soros and against the actual fascist behavior of the Democrat communists forcing segregation of the vaccinated and unvaccinated.

My voting record reflects my true beliefs and sentiments. I've always voted to stand with Israel; we have voted to fund the country. I am one of Israel's biggest defenders in the House, and I have openly fought the Squad over their support of Hamas, Hezbollah, and Palestinian terrorism against Israel. They're the real anti-Semites, but you'll never hear the media say that about them, despite their antisemitic statements and voting records. Take Rashida Tlaib's comments at an American Muslims for Palestine event where she proudly proclaimed "you cannot claim to hold progressive values yet back Israel's apartheid government."<sup>9</sup>

The media also likes to label me homophobic because I advocate for the Protect Children's Innocence Act, which is my legacy bill. I'll share more details later, but for now, understand it's the most important piece of legislation I've ever introduced and may ever introduce in my lifetime. This bill makes it a felony for anyone to perform so-called "gender-affirming care" on kids under eighteen; the bill will protect children from harmful puberty blockers, horrible hormone treatments, and genital mutilation surgeries such as mastectomies, hysterectomies, castrations, and so forth. It will also allow the victims of these transitions to sue the people who did this to them once

they are old enough to realize what they've done to their bodies and are experiencing the terrible physical consequences of this medical malpractice.

I don't attack people for being gay, and honestly, I don't want to know what consenting adults do sexually with each other, but I definitely oppose the trans agenda with everything in me. They're grooming and sexualizing children, and that's precisely what pedophiles do, pure and simple. This doesn't make me anti-trans or homophobic; it makes me *a protector of our kids*. I am a mother, and that is what good mothers do. We protect our kids from any form of evil or attack. As Christians, we are commanded to protect innocent people from evil, and our children are the most innocent among us.

I'm not attacking anyone's sexuality, but the choices you make as an adult are entirely different from the choices made as a minor. They cannot vote, smoke, drink, or even get a tattoo. I will work to protect our kids at every turn in addition to opposing the attack on women's rights and safety that is trying to put biological men in women's sports, bathrooms, locker rooms, and prisons. Again, this doesn't make me transphobic, but it does mean I am a modern-day feminist, and I will defend women's and girls' rights; after all, I am a woman and a mother of two daughters. Every parent of a little girl should realize that biological males have no business in women's private places.

It's time to call these men who pose as women and sneak into places they don't belong precisely what they are: Predators who are determined to sexually assault women and girls, defeat women, and ultimately replace women. They aren't women, and they're the greatest threat to women's rights and womanhood!

It's incredible how far we have sunk that we must make these kinds of statements, but I believe it will only get worse if we do

not stand up to these lies about gender and the assault on women and kids' safety. For example, in the rules of the 117th Congress, which Nancy Pelosi introduced and Democrats voted to pass, we weren't allowed to use words like male or female, man or woman, boy or girl, or family names like mother, father, brother, sister, aunt, uncle, grandmother, grandfather because those words are offensive to Democrats.<sup>10</sup> When Democrats are in charge, they literally make lies about gender the rules of Congress!

I do not oppose LGB people; I oppose what this tiny special interest group does to everyone else and the danger it poses to vulnerable groups. And I oppose the way the Democrats have embraced the destructive policies that are attacking our kids and women. That's the truth.

### Do Your Homework

They like calling me a conspiracy theorist, not just in regards to the idiotic Jewish space laser hit piece and fallout, but also in connection to school shootings. School shootings are real and horrific; they're a testimony to our schools' vulnerability as soft targets and a terrifying, deadly reminder of the depths of what evil and mental illness can lead to. We must work to understand and solve the core problem that causes a person to shoot innocent schoolchildren, teachers, and administrators.

The legacy media pundits didn't do their homework or know my story, but then again, maybe they did. In 1990, after then-Senator Joe Biden had helped make schools gun-free zones, and thus easy targets,<sup>11</sup> I was in a small graduating class of approximately 120 people in Forsyth County, Georgia. I was used to seeing guys at my school with their hunting rifles in the backs of their trucks, and it

was common for principals to keep guns in their offices. Most school administrators may have had a gun for safety until Biden and other Democrats took that protection away.

On September 6, 1990, one of the kids attending my school rode the bus and brought three guns to school in a duffle bag. No one thought to check the bag for guns because these shootings weren't happening yet. The student was mad at two other boys who had bullied him, and he planned to kill them that day.

During first period, he pulled out his first gun and tried to take over the classroom! One of the coaches was there and reacted bravely, tackling him to the ground and knocking the gun away. As they fought back and forth, the student was able to pull a second gun from his bag. He fired the weapon and took control of the classroom and the school. We were all held hostage as he threatened to kill everyone there if anyone left.

The only person with a gun that day at my school was a mentally ill, angry, bullied, troubled teenager who was intent on taking at least two lives.

My class was down the hall from the room this boy took hostage, and we learned the terrifying news from teachers. We didn't have cell phones, and we couldn't call for help or search for news. We sat in fear, wondering, "What if he comes down here?" Our windows didn't open wide enough to escape, there was no campus officer, and the principal no longer had his gun. What would we do, hide in the closet? Our lives were held at the whim of a mentally disturbed boy for five grueling hours while we feared for our lives and listened to helicopters circle overhead.

I could see police officers and others running by the windows, and we knew they had the school surrounded, but no one could stop him without putting everyone at risk. There was no good guy

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with a gun or any type of security to prevent illegal guns from being brought into our school.

At sixteen, I discovered what it was like to be a victim of so-called gun violence in schools. I learned that day that I never wanted to be at the mercy of a bad guy with a gun while good guys were prevented from carrying guns. I realized that we have a Second Amendment right to protect ourselves, and others, with our guns. This is particularly important when the Democrats want to take that safety away by removing the guns that protect our kids from our schools.

I also learned that day that every child, teacher, and person in our schools deserve the same protection we give our politicians and banks. Our children are our most precious resource—they're the future! We owe it to each child to protect them at least as well as we do our money in the banks or precious gold, silver, and jewels! Yet the very people who want to take guns out of the hands of the good guys' are the ones who hire private security, enjoying the taxpayer-funded protection of good guys with guns such as our Capitol Police and Secret Service. Just look at hypocritical politicians like Joe Biden and Nancy Pelosi with their security teams. You can see how much they enjoy the protection of armed guards with rifles while they work to remove AR-15s from private citizens, refuse to harden schools, and demand that schools remain dangerously soft targets by staying gun-free zones.

We were lucky that day in high school—they were able to talk our disturbed schoolmate out of killing anyone. After five hours, his medication had begun to take effect, and the side effects made him sleepy. Thankfully, he was so tired that the authorities were able to convince him to put his guns down and give up. No one died, thank God!

My dad was the first person I saw as I finally left the school, and I'll never forget how scared he looked. We locked eyes, I ran to him, and he hugged me tightly. There are no words for the relief I felt at finally being *safe in his embrace*.

I have carried that experience with me every day since. As a mother, I worried daily about my own children's safety while they were growing up attending gun-free schools. I prayed it wouldn't happen to them and mourned for the families affected by every horrific school shooting America saw on the news.

I'm passionate about defending our Second Amendment rights and our kids. Before I ever thought of running for Congress, I visited Washington several times to lobby as a citizen, asking members of Congress to protect our gun rights—and our kids. I would eventually campaign on this point, telling my personal story from the eleventh grade.

As I went before Congress, frequently as a lone citizen lobbyist, I faced *huge* money groups like Moms Demand Action, March for Our Lives, and Every Town for Gun Safety, Michael Bloomberg's big group that he established in 2014 with a 50-million-dollar pledge.<sup>12</sup> He has reportedly donated over \$270 million to causes and candidates pursuing strict gun control laws.<sup>13</sup>

Many of these groups have a seemingly never-ending supply of money donated by wealthy millionaires and billionaires. They enjoy security with guns and their children attend fancy private schools, which are rarely at risk of random school shootings, unlike the gun-free public schools all our kids attend. The gun-grabbing activists come to Washington with every resource, from lawyers to handlers, and even have the matching t-shirts you'd expect from a group-think-controlled political action regiment. They swarm Capitol Hill in large groups as they lobby representatives' and senators' offices,

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while holding ongoing demonstrations and press conferences. The media eat them up, giving them free coverage, and rightfully so. I've never seen the NRA, or any other pro-Second Amendment group, organize large groups of their members to do citizen lobbying and activism on Capitol Hill.

I've interacted with many of these groups, first as a citizen and Second Amendment activist and now as a representative. This is where I met David Hogg, a former student from Parkland High School, the scene of a horrific school shooting. The lie from the media is that I attacked him; I didn't attack him. Instead, I walked next to him while asking him some tough questions, and it was all on video. By this time, David was out of high school, over eighteen, and being used as a tool of the most powerful gun-grabbing groups. It's interesting we could have such different reactions to our close calls with school shootings, but I shouldn't have been surprised, given his political family. They groomed him to be an activist and actor for the Left immediately after the Parkland shooting. Ever since then, he's made a financially rewarding career for himself being a paid spokesman and prolific fundraiser.

We could have learned from early situations like the one at my school. I wonder how many kids have died because they took the guns that protect our kids from the people who could keep them safe and turned our schools into killing fields by making them gun-free zones. We need to repeal the Gun-Free School Zone Act, putting the decision on how to protect students back in the hands of states and schools.

I've seen many excellent proposals for keeping our kids safe. It is vital to harden schools and limit access only to those allowed there. Funding a TSA-style security system would be immensely expensive, but other options, such as retired police officers and veterans

serving as armed volunteers, would be a fantastic idea. Additionally, we could train teachers and staff members who are willing to carry while working with local law enforcement to provide school resource officers for districts to hire. There are many possibilities, and many schools have done their best to create security systems to prevent school shootings.

Research shows that the best way to stop a bad guy with a gun is a good guy with a gun,<sup>14</sup> but right now, the crazy people of America know that if they go to a school to murder children, schools are soft, easy targets. The twenty-eight-year-old woman (who identified as a man) who shot up the school in Nashville knew there would be no guards. Probably influenced by the medications and hormones she was taking to transition, she saw an opportunity to strike where she could do some real damage.

As a matter of fact, according to her diary, she kept a detailed account of all her plans and training to kill innocent children at a Christian school. Her diary told a disturbing story of how she believed the boy inside her would come out when she went to heaven. None of us will ever comprehend why she believed she must murder innocent people and little children in order to go to heaven and turn into a boy. If you understand God, it just doesn't work that way. As a matter of fact, that is how Satan works; he deceives the minds of the weak and broken and convinces them to commit all kinds of sins, even the unthinkable—killing innocent little children—and that leads directly to the path of eternal damnation, not heaven.

If we don't protect our schools and look at why people decide to become mass murderers, we're going to have a hard time stopping these shootings. In the case of the Nashville shooter, she was on medications and hormones. One study showed that between 1900 and 2017, 59 percent of shooters were people diagnosed with mental



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health issues or had acted in threatening ways before the shootings.<sup>15</sup> People struggling with their mental health are not inherently dangerous, but we must look at the connections behind these shooters and the role of medications like SSRIs and other treatments.

We should've learned a lesson the day my school was held hostage by a would-be school shooter, but Joe Biden, and other politicians in Washington, DC, refused to learn that lesson. Instead, they continued with their gun-free school zones, and they ensured it was signed into law. This left children all over the country vulnerable to dangerous individuals with psychological problems, convinced that an evil act of murder could somehow deliver the result they were looking for. We must make our schools safe instead of mindlessly swallowing the media's narrative as they try to pin gun violence on white men and legal gun owners.

### Hand-in-Glove

I could spend an entire chapter just talking about the various lies the media has told about me, but I think you get the idea. So instead, let's look at how the media's influence directly benefits the Democrat party. The media coverage of conservatives like President Trump and I aren't just political hit pieces; these awful stories are a gift on a platter to the Democrats, both in coverage and in funding.

When the media runs their hack stories, it helps groups like the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) make money from their famous slogan, "Make hate pay." For instance, let's say the legacy media writes a horrible story about me. The Democrat consultants in the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC) use these lying news stories to write fundraising emails, newsletters, social media posts, and calls to their political action committees

(PACs). They use the fake image they create of me as a racist, anti-semitic, homophobic conservative to scare Democrat voters into donating money.

This makes the legacy media not just the mouthpiece for the Democrat party but also their fundraisers! They lie about me, slander me, mischaracterize me, and then sell this load of crap to the American people (at least the ones who still watch them). Next, when the DCCC and other fundraisers call, these misinformed and frightened people donate to Democrats they think will “stand up” to me. It’s not hard to demonize me in the fundraiser because the media already used all their labels to mischaracterize and attack me every time my name is mentioned.

They tried to do this in my district during my 2022 primary election when I ran against Marcus Flowers, a Democrat and Black veteran. I easily won, but he ran on every hate label the media had used to portray me, calling me a racist, homophobic, antisemitic, hateful person—he just used the media’s lies repeatedly in his campaign. He raised around \$15 million with this technique,<sup>16</sup> but he couldn’t win even then! While it didn’t work against me, imagine this same story played out in election after election across our country.

The legacy media, with its salacious lies, is a big help to the Democrat party; their never-ending stream of hit pieces against me should be registered as in-kind donations to all the various Democrat political arms and candidates because of all their defamatory stories. And the same should especially apply to President Trump!

I recently had the opportunity to appear on 60 Minutes, the longest-running news magazine program in American history. Leslie Stahl, a trailblazer for women in journalism, media, and television for nearly fifty years, did the interview. Love her or hate her, she’s had an amazing career.

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I wasn't going to do it initially, but my communications director Nick Dyer talked me into it. They recorded hours and hours of footage as Leslie asked me many questions as they accompanied me to my office, hometown, restaurants, and even a GOP event. Then, they cut it down to a thirteen-minute segment of an hour-long program, beginning with Leslie calling me all the nasty names the Left and their friends in the media have been calling me.

"Looks like a typical troll in my Twitter feed," I responded to Leslie. "I just don't care. I don't let name-calling bother me or offend me." Ironically, she later told *me* that I needed to stop calling people names, which made me laugh at her hypocrisy.

Her biggest complaint? I call Democrats pedophiles for sexualizing children. Yet, that's *exactly* what pedophiles do—and that's why my Protect Children's Innocence Act is so vital. Leslie laughed at me, which tells me they don't get it. They don't understand that sexualizing minors is wrong.

The 60 Minutes crew did a decent job reporting about my childhood and career before I entered politics. They showed me working out and going about life, but there was so much they didn't show. For example, Leslie and I actually got *along*. She apparently liked me, and many of her questions were pleasant, but they didn't show much of that. I was just grateful that I held my own even in the significantly cut and edited thirteen-minute piece they aired.

After the interview, I found it fascinating how people came out to support me, but it was also interesting to see who had a problem with it. Franklin Graham's support was a big compliment—and he was attacked for saying something nice about me.<sup>17</sup> They attacked Leslie Stahl for interviewing me;<sup>18</sup> I think the unstated rule of the Left is not to give me a platform where I can debunk their deceptions but instead just misquote and lie to get their headlines.

The women on *The View*, of course, attacked me in their typically nasty fashion almost weekly. I find it funny that the people who come up to me and say the most hateful things are usually white women, maybe ten years older than I am, typically still wearing a mask and sometimes towing a neatly dressed husband behind them. They'll come up to me in airports or restaurants, usually in DC, and tell me I'm a horrible person. They'll call me horrible names. I always ask them, "You watch *The View*, right?" Sure enough, they pretty much all do. Some of the most hateful people in America are "educated" fifty- to sixty-year-old affluent white women, bored enough to watch *The View* and be spoon-fed filth by nasty women every day.

## Bright Spots

I don't want to make it seem like everyone in the media is terrible. While Fox News overall hasn't been a positive experience for me for the most part, I've enjoyed going on Tucker Carlson, who had me on Fox Nation and *Tucker Carlson Tonight*. While Fox has not wanted much to do with me, which I've never understood, Tucker and a few others have cared enough to get their information on me straight. Unfortunately, even though Tucker Carlson was number one, not just on Fox News but out of everyone, Fox News fired him. We all know Tucker will be back, probably by the time this book is out.

I have heard, but it's not verified, that I'm on a blacklist with Fox News (other than a few opinion shows), which is the exact opposite of journalism. No media company should be in the business of censorship, but if a company has a member of Congress blacklisted, then that's exactly what they're engaging in—censorship.

Not only did they fire the number one host of their company in all primetime shows, but they also canceled Don Jr. After not having

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him on air for a year, they asked Don to appear and talk about his father's indictment the day it happened. They canceled on Don five minutes before his segment. Apparently, they had someone more qualified to speak about his father's indictment.

In spite of all that, they all talk *about* me. Imagine if they just talked *to* me.

Podcasts and radio shows have been better, and I have been on Real America's Voice, Charlie Kirk, Alex Jones, Donald Trump Jr., OANN, Newsmax, and others. But I would appear on more news shows as well, and maybe, one day, I will.

I see everybody who works in the Capitol media frequently, and, honestly, I've seen them work hard. I have a lot of respect for hard work. I just wish many of them would put their hard work into real journalism instead of political activism or be brave enough to stand up to their communist editors and ditch the Press Club's talking points. Even though they attack me, I will fight for their First Amendment rights, because if we don't have freedom of the press and free speech, we've exchanged our representative democracy for totalitarian communism. This is honestly happening far too much in our country; just look at the Left's attempts at censoring whatever they deem "misinformation."

Even when I don't agree with someone, I can appreciate those who work hard. Into my second year of Congress, I saw how hard some reporters work—sometimes physically running to catch up and talk to someone, asking questions on the fly while recording. And sometimes, they will literally run to the next interview! I'm not sure if they need to spend more time in the gym to squeeze in their workouts or if their jobs give them all the workouts they need!

I'm not vindictive, and I do not hold grudges, so I began appreciating some of the media members' hard work and their ability to

dig for that next story. I am nice to them, and I try to take time to stop and answer their questions. I can say that things have become slightly nicer between some press members and me. I think maybe a few have even begun to respect me!

It probably began when I gained real power and influence within my Republican conference. Perhaps they realized that they hadn't killed my political career like they'd set out to do, and the reality was I was gaining influence and beginning to move the needle. It was forcing my party to change around *me*, rather than DC changing me, that made me newsworthy.

Or perhaps it was doing a bus tour in my district with the press at the recommendation of Nick Dyer. I was mad at him (again) and didn't want to do it. "Take them with you the whole day," he suggested. "Allow them to follow you around, talk to everybody you talk to, and see you at home in your district—and how people treat you. I want them to see you as a real person."

I came *unglued* at Nick! He wanted me to spend an entire *day* with those who treated me poorly. How could he ask this?

He persisted, I finally agreed, and he set it up.

My mom always taught me to put my best foot forward, so I decided I would give it a try—one time. After all, what more could they say and lie about that was any worse than they'd already done? The least I could do was go about the day, being myself at home in my district, with the people I love.

So, I got on a bus with many media members, several who hated me and said horrible things about me. I ate with them, met people with them, and talked with them. And I did it with a good attitude! I wanted to see them as real people, and I wanted them to see me the same way.

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I decided that, even if they treated me like garbage, I would just be myself around them. I was honest and unabashedly myself the whole day. I tried to be sincere, and I still talked about everything I would've usually spoken about if they weren't there. But I also dared to be transparent and authentic with them.

And do you know what? It went pretty well until this guy, Rick Folbaum from Channel 9 WANF in Atlanta, decided to be that fake news jerk the rest of them had always been. We were at a stop, and I had just voted for myself in the primary before returning to do a press conference with the media members of the bus tour. He turned his microphone on, the camera was rolling, and he began accusing me of all the stupid common lies they tell about me. He immediately charged me with things like being a QAnon conspiracy theorist, leading the insurrection on January 6; and all the rest of their tired old crap.

I *unloaded* on this guy! I chewed him out quite effectively, and the people in the crowd began to cheer and chew him out, too. I wasn't going to take it anymore; I had been nice to him all day, showing my authentic self and letting them see a solid glimpse into my life. They had met the people of my district, who are good, hard-working Americans. And here, right in front of my supporters, he dared to treat me like that? I simply wouldn't take it! But I'll be honest; it felt pretty good to give it right back to him.

I could tell the impact of having the press along. Even though they still might not like me, they spent time with me, got to see my district, met the good people who live here, and saw the incredible support that I have. After spending nearly two years attacking and lying about me in their news stories, perhaps they learned I'm not the monster and character they created in their stories. Their lies didn't damage me a single bit or convince any of the voters in my

district of any conspiracy theories about me. In fact, the media just continued to discredit themselves with their vicious name-calling and lying attacks:

More importantly, whether they like it or not, the media needs to understand that I represent the views of many Americans. It was wrong when Hillary Clinton labeled us all “deplorables.” We make up roughly half of the nation, and the Democrats and the media cast us all aside like we no longer mattered. I hope the media realizes that when they treat me poorly with baseless name-calling, it makes those who voted for me and support me feel as if the media is treating them that way, too.

I have told them, to their faces multiple times that, despite the terrible things they have said and the names they have called me, I am one of the only members of Congress who would defend their rights and the freedom of the press to say those things. Unlike Democrats, like Joe Biden, I will protect that constitutional right because it preserves the First Amendment, which Joe Biden and the Democrats want to demolish to stop the spread of supposed disinformation, misinformation, and anything else that doesn't align with their twisted narrative. Whether the Left admits it or not, that is an Orwellian tactic, and the members of the media should be genuinely afraid that one day, Joe Biden or some other Democrat administration's misinformation police will come after them for saying the wrong thing.

## Fight for Freedom

I'm in Washington to do a job—and that job even involves fighting for freedom of the press for those who say the most hateful things about me. I will protect their voices, even if they don't like me, tell



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lies about me, call me names, and say the most horrible things about me.

One of the most disappointing and frustrating things is that the press spends most of their time reporting the weaponized government attacks on President Trump while entirely ignoring the actual crimes committed by Joe Biden and his family. Joe Biden has classified documents irresponsibly stored everywhere, from Chinatown in Washington, DC, to his garage floor next to his Corvette.<sup>19</sup> Yet, President Trump is charged with thirty-seven absurd charges, ignoring the Presidential Records Act, which allows former presidents to possess classified information. Everyone is so sick of the hypocrisy!

While they froth at the mouth on MSNBC about all things Trump, they completely ignore actual facts revealed through a whistleblower and an unclassified 1023 form that proves that Joe Biden took a \$5 million bribe while he was Vice President of the United States to get Viktor Shokin, the Ukrainian prosecutor, fired when he was going after Burisma, the oil and gas company on which Hunter Biden sat on the board.<sup>20</sup>

I know all of this to be true because I serve on the Oversight Committee and was forced to read the redacted unclassified 1023 form in a SCIF by Joe Biden lackey, FBI Director Christopher Wray. And one of the redacted parts said there were seventeen audio recordings of Hunter and Joe Biden! That alone should infuriate a free press—the FBI Director protected his boss, the president, and refused to comply with our Oversight Committee subpoena! Instead, one quick story and back to Trump, Trump, Trump!

Imagine our country if the legacy press told that story as much as they regurgitated the Trump attack conspiracy theories? We would be a different country and perhaps kinder towards one another.

Despite everything, I don't call the legacy press "fake news" that much anymore, as strange as that may seem to many conservatives. Many media members, who have met with me face-to-face and got to know me a little, have stopped their baseless attacks, but not all of them. I always hope for the best in people and that those working in the media will return to trustworthy journalism. I hope they remember how precious our free press is and that its purpose, from our Founding Fathers, is to tell the American people the truth about what happens in our government, without political bias, so the American people can hold their government accountable.

We should never forget Eric Snowden, a whistleblower who released classified information from the NSA that exposed the US Intelligence spying capabilities and their ability to spy on everyone about everything. Snowden revealed no one's communication was private, and it still isn't.

The most remarkable example of freedom of the press and the need for government transparency is Julian Assange, who released sensitive and confidential information that exposed many sins of our US government. The information released included 57,000 messages from the Pentagon, FBI, FEMA, and New York Police officials. Assange claimed these messages showed a nuanced understanding of how the tragic events on 9/11 that killed over three thousand Americans led us into a nearly twenty-year war in the Middle East. Assange also released a video by then-Army soldier Bradley Manning showing US Apache helicopter attacks in Baghdad that killed at least nine men, including a Reuters news photographer and his driver. It's odd that today, Julian Assange is jailed, facing prosecution by the US and other countries, while Bradley Manning (now a transgender "woman" named Chelsea Manning) lives a free life here in

the United States, even though Manning is the one who gave Julian Assange the video.

Assange shared information that shocked the world about America. In the famous WikiLeaks file, Assange released documents on Iraq and Afghanistan detailing civilian deaths, the hunt for Osama bin Laden, and Iran's backing of militants in Iraq, in addition to over 250,000 diplomatic cables from the State Department, dating from 1966 to 2010, revealing all kinds of classified information about the US, now known as Cablegate.

It's hard to understand how Assange can release Cablegate, yet our government still won't release the John F. Kennedy assassination files,<sup>21</sup> and the FDA hid Pfizer vaccine safety data for seventy-five years until a judge ordered it released.<sup>22</sup> This is definitely a fight for the truth.

As alarming as the Cablegate revelations were, the leak that likely did Assange in was the release of nearly 20,000 Democratic National Committee emails and another two thousand emails from Hillary Clinton's campaign manager, John Podesta. Among many insights, like how the Democrat presidential primary was stolen from Bernie Sanders, the emails also told how DNC Chairwoman Donna Brazile had given the Clinton campaign debate questions in advance. When it comes to elections, never forget: Democrats cheat.

Ahh, but Russia, Russia, Russia!

Tucker Carlson is the most recent person punished for pushing too hard against the Deep State or the legacy mega-media company Fox News. With journalism that's rarely seen and in brave fashion, Tucker used his nightly primetime show to tell the American people, and arguably the world, the truth about every topic. He covered woke corporate policies like ESG, dared to talk about voting machine companies, absentee ballots, and stolen elections, and told

the truth about how America had no business funding and waging a proxy war with nuclear-armed Russia in Ukraine. To the shock and anger of the establishment in Washington, DC, Americans agreed with Tucker Carlson. Tucker told the truth too much. His coverage was destroying the stale old messaging tactics and decades-old PSYOP (*psychological operations*) tactics deployed against Americans by the Deep State. It's the Deep State that really runs Washington and the legacy media.

No company fires someone like Tucker Carlson. He was raking in obscene amounts of ad dollars night after night while consistently maintaining a massive lead as the number-one show on cable news.

Tucker Carlson was also one of the only people in the legacy media who would interview me, allowing me to share the work I was doing in Congress and tell my side. Never attacking, he let me tell the truth, which I appreciated more than he could know.

Tucker now does his show on X, formerly Twitter, his content garnering between 30 million and 250 million views on each post. These numbers are proof that Tucker's thoughts are precisely how Americans think and feel, not the way the legacy media tells them to think and feel.

The right to a free press is one of the most amazing things about our country. I genuinely hope that one day more brave people inside the legacy media will use their right of a free press to inform the people about our corrupt government. Still, I'm sure the fate of Julian Assange and Tucker Carlson stand as glaring reminders not to stray from the 4 a.m. talking points.

One of the beautiful things about our country is that, even though we may not agree with everyone, we recognize they have the right to say their piece. Our right to freedom of speech is precious,

## THE MOUTHPIECE OF THE DEMOCRAT PARTY

and we should be upset about the attacks the Democrats have made on these freedoms, ironically, in the name of preserving democracy.

And I will do my job to protect that right.

After all, Alex Jones was right about one thing: It really is an information war, and the truth is worth fighting for.



## The Real Racists

ONE OF THE OLDEST PLAYS in the book of both Democrats and their buddies in the media is the racism card. When objecting to a Republican, if they don't have anything of substance to say, they just default to calling us racists. The reality is that the Democrat party's focus on identity politics shows that they are the racist ones; they use race, gender, and a host of other labels to divide America. They put value on someone's identity politics, not based on their character, competence, or merit.

There's a word for people who do that: racist!

I'm tired of watching the Democrat party blatantly use people and groups as leverage to gain more power and then fail to benefit those people. They talk such great talk about protecting minorities. Still, no one did more for minority unemployment than President Trump, who was called a racist constantly by the legacy media and the Democrats.

Everything is "racist" for the Democrats. In Georgia, you're required to have an identification card or Social Security number to

receive government assistance like welfare or PeachCare. You must show your ID to get assistance, yet Stacey Abrams and others have tried to fight what they call Jim Crow voting laws—namely, that you have a valid ID. So, they claim that voter ID is racist and suppresses the vote. Yet most states have requirements, just like Georgia, and no one complains that those are racist. To me, it's the opposite; Abrams' argument is insulting to Black Americans' intelligence, insinuating that Black voters aren't capable of getting an ID card, which is ridiculous.

This is par for the course and shows how much the Democrats look down on minority groups like African Americans. They see them as tools and insult their intelligence regularly. To me, it's a slap in the face and should show the whole country that Democrats are a racist group who use skin color to achieve their goals.

## The Racism of Identity Politics

Identity politics take away from individuals and attempt to categorize everyone. By destroying the individuality of a person, you take away their freedom. The Democrats have gotten very good at turning people into mindless herds of sheep that they can control. These good little followers won't ask questions or think critically because they like the government taking care of them, even though the government does a horrible job of taking care of them.

The Democrats want to turn us into a communist nation where the government takes care of people and controls everything, where the government is God, maintaining your standard of life and meeting all your needs. That is *not* America—we believe in God, and we believe that the people have the power, not the government!



## THE REAL RACISTS

The Democrats' identity politics is insulting. I listen to Vice President Kamala Harris, who was selected because she's a minority woman of color. Depending on where she is, sometimes she's Indian, and sometimes she's Black. She was educated in Canada, but if she's speaking to a mostly Black audience, she puts on this affected accent like she was raised in a Black community in the South. How insulting is that? The only thing worse is when Hillary Clinton does it!

It astounded me when Joe Biden picked Pete Buttigieg for Secretary of Transportation because he knows *nothing* about transportation! He's as unqualified for that post as Hunter Biden was to work for a Ukrainian oil and gas company. Yet because he's a married gay man with adopted children, he portrays another group Democrats seek to use.

And don't get me started on Admiral Rachel Levine, formerly Richard Levine, who is now the assistant secretary for health. Previously, Levine was a doctor in Pennsylvania who mandated that senior COVID patients be put back in their nursing homes . . . while taking *his* mother out to live in a hotel! The first transgender admiral (not because of service in our Navy but in the US Public Health Service Commissioned Corps), Levine's policy led to 12,500 nursing home deaths, accounting for a sickeningly high percent of Pennsylvania's COVID deaths.<sup>23</sup> The incompetent decision is bad; taking his mom out right before issuing the policy is terrible! Now this failure is in charge of our government's pediatric decisions, including transitioning, puberty blockers, and hormones, which he believes are the right treatments for children with gender dysphoria.

I believe in hiring qualified people of high character. But Joe Biden and the Democrats have demonstrated that your sexual preferences

and identification mean infinitely more to them than your abilities or record.

## A Big Lie

The funny thing is that when people today talk about the parties and racism, they are inclined to go with the Democrat narrative (spread by the legacy media) that Republicans are the racist ones. The problem is that the record doesn't back that up. Stretching back to 1829, the Democrat party was on the side of slavery in the Civil War; they were involved with the KKK and its founding; they were the party of segregation (just do a little research into Joe Biden's segregation voting record); and they opposed civil rights. They've been on the wrong side of every issue of identity in politics, and nothing has changed.<sup>24</sup>

The Republicans were the party that freed the slaves when Republicans in Congress voted for freedom.<sup>25</sup> Democrats treated slaves as property, including within the Supreme Court, and it took a civil war to gain their freedom.<sup>26</sup> Just go ahead and look at the party lines of the Supreme Court at that time!

Identity politics is the greatest manipulation and marketing tool in modern-day politics because it's a completely hollow package they can sell. Democrats want to put you in a category and then claim they identify with your issues. But once they have you under their thumb, what are they really doing for Americans? They say they're here to help and protect, but they only want control. And control takes away freedom.

In America, we are free. There aren't any slaves here anymore—and there have not been for generations. At least not legal slaves. Democrats use our country's history of slavery to drive a racist wedge

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into politics, promising free government handouts and always dangling reparations while trying to erase their own party's real history of slavery, the KKK, and racism.

America is not the land of guaranteed outcomes; it's the land of opportunity. If there's enough opportunity for a Black community organizer from Chicago to get elected President *twice*, it doesn't matter what color you are, what gender you are, or whether or not you're born into poverty. You can study, work hard, apply yourself, and succeed.

People want a handout, but those who really want to go to college find a way. They don't just go if they have scholarships; they work their way through. Others join the military to serve our country, and when they get out, they pay for college with the GI Bill. You can even go into the National Guard and be a reservist, and the military will still pay for your college education! And guess what? You can still be successful even if you don't go to college with the age-old trick of hard work.

Success in America was never the result of a handout; it was the result of hard work. The Left has completely forgotten this concept. They want success to be something the liberal elite allocate, in this case, based on the color of your skin or your gender identity. That is not American!

This alphabet soup of labels—the more letters you add, the better—they use to categorize people by their sexual preferences is nothing short of perverse and inappropriate, especially in front of children. Sexuality is a *private* matter, and making it a public identity is wrong. It should never be how someone identifies themselves, except perhaps on their dating app. Sexuality doesn't belong on a school or job application, and we shouldn't be walking around carrying public labels that identify us by the way we like to have sex.

It's gotten so bad that Democrats are sexualizing *children*. Children aren't mature enough to have sex, and we certainly don't need to be trying to force them into sexual identities before they're even legally of age. We call those who sexualize children *pedophiles*. The Left can call it being a "minor-attracted individual" and come up with a flag all they want, but it's still completely wrong and disgusting.

Democrats have been force-feeding kids this label soup for some time, and the number of kids identifying as trans is sharply rising because they're confused. They are so young they can't get tattoos, smoke, or drink, yet the Left wants them to make lifelong gender preference changes *now*, under eighteen. No way! I will fight against sexualizing children to my last breath.

Identity politics is rooted in Marxism and the belief that identifying classes is necessary to understand and combat oppression among minority groups, but this just serves to divide us. The Pledge of Allegiance talks about us being "indivisible" because we come from a belief that all men and women are created equal—by *God*. So, if God created us all the same, why do Democrats seek to divide us?

United we will stand; divided we will fall.

## SCOTUS on Trial

The Supreme Court of the United States is currently made up of six justices appointed by conservatives and three appointed by liberals. Thanks to President Trump appointing Brett Kavanaugh and Amy Coney Barrett, we have had one branch of government that has continued holding back the tide through sound judicial decisions. This court does not pander to the Left, and that has them enraged. In the last year or so, we've seen decisions that have frustrated and angered

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Democrats, the most notable of which might be the overturning of *Roe v. Wade*, which put abortion decisions back in the hands of the states.

As I write this, the Court has ruled that affirmative action promoting race as a college admission standard rather than merit is unconstitutional.<sup>27</sup> The Left went wild, including Michelle Obama, who I'm quick to point out was First Lady not once but twice when her husband was voted President of the United States. There are racist idiots in the country, but there aren't enough of them to keep a charismatic African-American man from getting elected to our nation's highest office. He wasn't voted in because of affirmative action but elected by this country's vote, which included a high percentage of white voters.

A recent poll from ABC—not known as a bastion of conservatism—showed that 52 percent of Americans approved of the Supreme Court decision not to use race in college admissions.<sup>28</sup> Only 32 percent disapproved, but as a country with a two-time African-American president, we can say that we don't need affirmative action.

TV personality Joy Reid, who got into Harvard because of affirmative action<sup>29</sup>, was, of course, upset that it was being taken away. But just ask yourself, what would happen if colleges admitted the kids who had worked the hardest, studied the longest, and done the work to get in rather than students who simply met a quota? It's the equity versus equality debate, and I'm sure it won't go away any time soon.

## They Don't Care

The irony is that the Democrats don't actually care about the things they say they care about. If they cared about racial justice, they wouldn't be working to trade with countries that still have slavery. (According to a recent report there are over fifty million slaves in the world today.<sup>30</sup>) They advocated for "the science" during COVID, but they deny the science of sex (there are only two arrangements of sex chromosomes) and refuse to define what a woman is. They say they stand for women's rights, but they welcome biological men into women's sports in unfair and flat-out dangerous ways. Successful athletes like LeBron James posture about racial topics yet don't blink an eye at the injustices in China, a major source of pro basketball revenue.<sup>31</sup>

The hypocrisy is thick, and it sometimes comes out more often than others. While claiming to love our country, people like Cori Bush are quick to criticize the 4th of July. Her tweet read, "I'm sorry, but anyone happily waving American flags right now is either a gleeful white supremacist or is gleefully uninformed."<sup>32</sup> She demanded reparations while griping about our country for things that happened over two hundred years ago. This is the same Cori Bush who voted to send \$113 billion to Ukraine,<sup>33</sup> where they have actual Nazis in their army.<sup>34</sup>

Ben and Jerry's, makers of politically charged ice cream, quickly jumped on the bandwagon, demanding we return the stolen land on which the country is built to the indigenous peoples. As one tweet pointed out, they have yet to contact the tribe that owns the land on which their HQ is based to return it. "Do as I say, not as I do," right?

But the biggest hypocrite of them all is the Big Guy, Joe Biden himself. During the 2020 election, Biden told Charlamagne Tha

God's radio audience that if you voted for Trump, then "you ain't Black," in a Southern preacher voice.<sup>35</sup> His record of racist statements and votes stretches back his entire (lengthy) political career.

In 1977, Biden opposed desegregating schools, stating his kids would grow up "in a racial jungle," and coordinated with segregationist senators to oppose school busing.<sup>36</sup> Ironically, Kamala Harris landed a blow on him during the 2020 presidential debates when she blamed him directly for her negative experiences as a young girl.<sup>37</sup> Yet when offered a chance to be his VP, Harris jumped at the opportunity to join her oppressor.

Biden showed how he really feels about African Americans when he made a braindead statement regarding Barack Obama, calling him "the first mainstream African American who is articulate and bright and clean."<sup>38</sup> He's backed up his beliefs with one idiotic gaffe after another. Still, the legacy media ignores these and other tasteless comments, for example, claiming Latinos reject COVID vaccinations because they're worried about being deported.

What if Donald Trump had said these things? He'd be vilified and attacked from every corner. What if I had said these awful things? I don't even want to imagine. Any conservative would be politically destroyed for any of these comments, but as a Democrat, Biden gets a pass from his party and the media.

But why do Americans give him a pass? It's obvious that the legacy media ignores the Democrats' racism. Discerning American voters must recognize that the supposed party of racial justice and inclusion is seeding divisiveness and disunity with its actions, all while claiming to be enlightened. Their identity politics serve only to label and divide, and if we want a real chance for everyone in America to thrive again, it's time we get the real racists out of office.







## Protect Children's Innocence

IN 2021, THE DEMOCRATS TRIED to bring legislation to the floor called the Equality Act under the guise of fighting racism and discrimination. This disgusting bill would make it law that biological men would be seen as women. Embracing the trans agenda and attacking women's rights, it would allow them to be in our bathrooms, undress in our locker rooms, and ruin our sports, destroying Title IX.<sup>39</sup> The bill would further force all medical providers to perform abortions, calling it "women's healthcare."<sup>40</sup> The so-called Equality Act was one of the worst and most offensive bills I've ever read.

The Democrat party seems intent on destroying women's rights and killing unborn children up to the day of birth—and then making taxpayers foot the bill. This is so ironic to me, as the Democrats try to position themselves as the champions of women's rights. There is nothing equal about the Equality Act attacking women, removing their safe places such as locker rooms, and killing unborn women

(and men) before they even have a chance to breathe. Taking away someone's right to life doesn't seem very equal to me at all!

The debate was intense, with Republicans opposing this terrible bill and standing against the negative impact on women and girls nationwide. I was surprised (but not really) that so many supposed champions of women's rights, Democrats like Marie Newman, who was across the hall from my office, would condone a bill that was such an affront to our gender.<sup>41</sup>

I'd never really paid much attention to which representatives were near my office because we hardly ever saw anyone come in or out of the doors. Marie Newman's office had a sign on the door that said nobody could enter because of COVID. The sign had a number on it, so I thought no one was in. But I got to know her, in a way, fighting this Equality Act.

I "met" Marie when she tagged me in a Twitter post. It was a video of her, with her mask on, looking at the nameplate by my office door. The camera panned to her door across the hall and then to her, holding a trans flag. She looked militant and aggressive, planting the trans flag next to the American flag and state flag outside her office. In the matching place I have beside my door, there is a POW flag. She ended the video by clapping her hands together as though she was all done with something. I remember thinking, usually, when you meet your neighbor, you do so in a friendly way—say, with cookies or a cobbler. But my Democrat neighbor was greeting me with an assault on Twitter and an attack on my very gender with her little trans flag. Unbelievable!

I soon learned more about Marie. She had an adult biological son who identified as a woman—about the same age as my daughters, in their twenties.<sup>42</sup> I couldn't help but be disgusted and pissed

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because she wanted to vote for a bill that would put her biological son in the same bathrooms as my biological daughters.

Women's sports are important to me, and this was personal. One of my daughters was a D1 fast-pitch softball player in college on scholarships. I watched how hard she worked to *earn* her scholarship to play softball against other biological girls and women who had also worked since they were kids in order to play college ball.

My daughter had played since she was four, was a top competitor, and was highly ranked nationally. If she had to compete for a scholarship against biological males, it would be much harder to get a scholarship because of the inherent advantages a male's testosterone levels give in muscle and size. She would also be at risk of being injured by much bigger, more powerful *male* players. My daughter played catcher and sometimes third base. The power and speed with which a male can hit the ball or collide with a catcher in a slide is a whole other league compared to female competitors.

The fact is, there are plenty of girls and women already getting hurt while facing off against biological men. We talk about the equality of the sexes, and I believe that we are all of equal value. But, after puberty, biological men are typically larger and stronger than women of the same age. Again, it's an issue of hormones, and testosterone (which female athletes cannot inject) is a significant factor in giving biological men physical advantages over female athletes. It is indeed a fact that women are physically the weaker sex.

It is not only morally wrong and unfair; it's *dangerous*, both on and off the field. The Democrats want these *men*, who are trying to make themselves feel good by beating smaller females when they couldn't win competitions against other males, to also invade our girls' privacy. The Democrats want men in the women's bathrooms and locker rooms at schools; places that are supposed to be private

and safe. Riley Gaines, a former Kentucky swimmer, and others like her are taking up the fight, championing women, and sharing stories of trans women exposing male genitals to girls in locker rooms. We've had eighteen-year-old trans women exposing themselves to middle school-aged girls of fourteen in locker rooms!

Do you know what we call that? *Indecent exposure and sexual assault*.<sup>43</sup> It's a serious crime in any sensible state, punishable as a felony with a potential of fines and up to ten years in prison in some states.<sup>44</sup> Democrats' erroneously named Equality Act would put these men in the same bathrooms, locker rooms, and even *hotel rooms* as real girls.<sup>45</sup> If you want to know how dangerous that is, just research instances of rape and sexual abuse—crimes that are getting downplayed in this trans insanity.

I thank God my daughter was not put in that situation, though a few of her friends were. The more I read about these injustices to women, the madder I get, and it turns out I was to get my chance to fight by taking on this Equality Act.

I didn't start the fight with Marie Newman, but I responded with my own tweet. I had my staff make a nice sign saying, "There are only two genders, male and female." Below that, it read, "Trust the science." I liked this because Democrats tried to position themselves as the party of science during COVID (much of which was false and misleading). To me, it's simple: God created us, male and female, with just two types of sex chromosome pairs. Either you're XX and a woman, or you're XY and a male. While some people are born with chromosomal disorders or with both sex organs, it is very rare. Throughout all of history, there has never been an argument about sex or gender. It has always been simple—male and female.

We had the sign made up in just a few hours, and together with my staff, I made a video just the way Marie had made hers—except

I wasn't wearing a ridiculous mask. In the place of a trans flag, I held my sign, which I then stuck on the wall next to my flags. I ended the video like she had, clapping my hands as though I was done with a task, and then we posted it. I posted a counterattack, making sure I was referring to Marie in a way that respected gender—as “Marie Newperson” rather than *Newman*. Let's just say she didn't like the video that much.

The Left-wing media lost its *mind*, and the trans agenda people—same people, mostly—went crazy, condemning me for attacking Marie Newperson's “daughter” (who was a twenty-something-year-old biological male). The condemnation against me was for attacking a “child” as though he were not an adult. Nonstop hate mail, death threats, and horrible phone calls flooded my office!

Marie, of course, didn't get any hate for trying to put biological men in our girls' locker rooms, where these men indecently expose themselves to minors and have even raped some of them. Oh, no, it would be insensitive to write bad stories about Marie for standing up for all those males who want to be treated as females, especially her own adult son.

## Is Justice Really Blind?

This was the opening salvo of a war, not just regarding the Democrat's disgusting bill but also for my male/female sign. It was almost immediately vandalized, and each time we'd make a new sign and put it right back up. This happened eight or nine times. Some of the attacks were weird, such as “Free Palestine” written in marker. Another time, someone began printing out and putting up various stickers that wouldn't peel off. Most of the messages were religious hate speech, attacking me for being a Christian, and others were attacks on me as

a woman. The vandalism of my property happened over the course of months, and we figured it was the same person.

I reported the vandalism and the serious death threats to the Capitol Police and the sergeant at arms. I kept asking for Capitol Police protection, but since Nancy Pelosi, then-Speaker of the House, had to sign off for members of Congress, my requests were denied. She would never sign off on a security detail for me, even while other women in Congress, like Cori Bush, AOC, and others, got security details when they received threats.

I demanded a camera, which took forever to get installed. After the camera was installed in the hallway, they caught the person on video within a week. We were notified that they'd seen the person and that Capitol Police had arrested him for vandalizing my property. But they refused to tell me who it was and dragged their feet as the case was referred to the Department of Justice. I thought, surely the guy would be fired and thrown out—that's what *should* happen, right? Well, it didn't.

Weeks went by, and they didn't tell us anything. I kept demanding to know the person's identity; after all, I was still getting death threats, and now they *knew* who was vandalizing my property. What if I met this person, unknowingly, in an elevator or hallway? I wouldn't know if this person meant me harm because the authorities were withholding the information.

Finally, I got a call from a female attorney with the DOJ. She told me flatly that they wouldn't be prosecuting because they didn't think they could get a conviction. "Explain to me," I said carefully, "why you can't get a conviction when it's on *video*? It's undeniable, and it's vandalizing my property—an attack on a member of Congress." In fact, they'd actually caught him on video *twice*.

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She replied they didn't think they could get a conviction in court. I asked if he'd at least been fired. Nope! I, again, demanded to know his identity. At that point, I just didn't feel safe, and sometimes I was even sleeping in my office. I told her that if they weren't going to keep me safe, I was going to the press and revealing their refusal to prosecute and that the offender hadn't been disciplined in any way. At this point, the DOJ attorney gave in and said she'd get me the person's name.

When I found out who'd been defacing my property, I was astounded to learn it was Tim Hysom, the chief of staff to Democrat Congressman Jake Auchincloss! I couldn't believe it; I expected some young intern or staff assistant. Instead, Hysom had been around a while, working in Adam Schiff's office for years before becoming chief of staff for Auchincloss. Schiff had performed Tim Hysom's marriage to his husband.

It bothered me that a biological male was threatening me, a 5'2" woman. It bothered me even more that the DOJ was protecting him, refusing to prosecute, and dropping charges for a crime captured on video. Clearly, I wasn't going to get justice under the law. To make matters worse, Jake Auchincloss refused to fire Tim Hysom, even though their office was only a few floors above mine, and he was caught on camera twice. Hysom worked in my building every day and walked in my office halls without any accountability.

I took Hysom's arrest warrant and pictures and made another sign, just as big as the male/female sign, and put it up in the hallway. I made it clear who vandalized my sign and even put "Wanted!" on it!

Naturally, the media put out reports that I was attacking a gay man. Yes, that's right, after he'd repeatedly damaged my property

and was arrested for it, they tried to make *me* the bad guy for harassing *him*. As far as I know, Hysom didn't face any repercussions for his actions other than some embarrassment from my sign. I already knew about the media bias, but this showed very clearly that rule of law doesn't apply when you have powerful friends—namely Auchincloss, whose father had a very high-level job with the National Institute of Health alongside Dr. Fauci, and of course Adam Schiff. Hysom's protectors likely knew a lot of people at the DOJ, and they no doubt helped protect Hysom from the consequences of his actions.

Sometime later, Stephen Colbert and his film crew got caught in my building, again by my camera, after they'd been parading around filming without permission. They were standing in front of my sign when Capitol Police caught them and kicked them out. And guess who let them in the building? Tim Hysom and Auchincloss.<sup>46</sup> Were there any consequences? Silly question!

To me, this wasn't really about a sign. This was about the fact that I was harassed, my property damaged for speaking the truth, and that someone with powerful friends could get away with a crime because he knew the people who pulled the strings. This is the climate that conservatives face when standing against the insanity of the Left and their trans agenda. That's just the tip of the iceberg because this was just my own personal introduction to this fight.

## Protecting Our Kids

One of the most fundamental biological truths we learn from the beginning of the Bible is that there are two—and just two—genders. Male and female. It's the foundation of God's creation that male and female organisms reproduce together. God created us that way, made us in His image, and commanded that we go forth and produce little



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versions of ourselves; whether we're humans, animals, or even plants, God commanded us to go forth and multiply.

I believe the current attack against gender is wholly evil, aimed at one of the most foundational aspects of God's creation. The Democrat attack on this fundamental aspect of our creation is also evil, and it's a direct attack on God and the Christian faith.

God doesn't need us to defend Him, but in fighting this destructive and unnatural trans agenda, we are fighting against an attack on our faith in God. We're defending the truth of creation in addition to women's rights. But I haven't even gotten to the worst of it. As disgusting as it is to have men in women's private spaces and men winning against women in competition (competitions that have prevented the use of steroids in order to get the same advantage these men have in women's sports), we're also in a fight to protect the most vulnerable of any human—our children.

The most frightening part of all this is the predation of our children, who are being sexualized from a young age and inappropriately introduced to adult concepts. In my mind, young children should not be exposed to the gender-twisting, sexualized depravity these people normalize and even put in books for little kids to read. Even worse, however, is that this twisting of children's minds sometimes results in the mutilation of their bodies, and I will never *ever* be silenced or stop fighting against people who harm children!

Due to the frightening nature of this fight and the life-altering stakes at play, I have written a bill called the Protect Children's Innocence Act—my signature legislation. This could very well be the most important thing I do in my political career, and it's not hyperbole to say that it may be one of the most vital pieces of legislation in decades.

At its core, the bill makes it a class C federal felony for anyone—doctors, nurses, therapists, or anyone else—to be involved in any aspect of a child under eighteen receiving gender therapy. Erroneously called “gender-affirming care,” the Left has tried to call radical mastectomies, hysterectomies, castrations, puberty blockers, and hormone treatments a “right” for children—*children!*—who want to transition to another gender. The bill would prohibit any federal funding of any organization or other entity that would perform genital mutilation surgeries. There’s nothing “affirming” about castrating a small boy or performing a hysterectomy on a little girl. It is child abuse!

These procedures have life-long repercussions, and young people who transitioned are beginning to come forward to testify about the trauma, pain, and damage they’ve experienced in the name of gender-affirming care. These precious lives have been damaged, or even ruined, by these procedures. Because the trans movement has such a loud voice for such a tiny sliver of the population (not to mention the full support of the child abusers in the Democrat party), we must take a stand *now*, drawing a line in the sand. Adults may do absurd things to themselves, but they must *not* be allowed to mutilate our children!

The Protect Children’s Innocence Act received nearly fifty co-sponsors, and conservative media outlets and personalities got on board to promote it.<sup>47</sup> In addition, we obtained significant support and endorsements from groups like Turning Point, CPAC, and Heritage Foundation.

I also invited a courageous person for the introductory press conference, Chloe Cole—before she became famous for her condemnation of gender transitions for minors. Treated with puberty blockers from the age of thirteen, Chloe had gender dysphoria and wanted to

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be a man. She later had a double mastectomy in her mid-teens, but that was before she began to realize the tragic mistake she'd made.

Chloe was about eighteen when she bravely spoke at the press conference and told the story of taking puberty blockers and the horrendous surgeries she endured. Living in California, her parents had no right to stop it, and the state offered no safety net. Bear in mind, children's brains don't fully develop until their early twenties, and they can't make life-defining choices alone—they're just kids. No one helped her in her confusion and crisis, and by the time she realized that she was born a woman and needed to *be* a woman, she'd already been mutilated by overzealous health professionals and betrayed by a broken and abusive system.

Chloe began by speaking out on social media and has become more vocal about the dangers these horrible procedures pose to minors. She was incredibly moving in her first full public speaking appearance, telling her story in front of the Capitol as I introduced a bill designed to protect girls and boys like her from the predators who are sexualizing and mutilating our children.

The Protect Children's Innocence Act is so important because Democrats are attacking *children* and destroying their sense of identity and gender. They're trying to normalize the sexualization and grooming of minors—and make us accept it as normal. Not only that, they're also trying to take away parents' rights to protect their kids, especially in states like California and Washington. Those states are branding themselves as "trans child sanctuary states," but what they're really doing is taking away parents' rights and mutilating children! They're destroying people's lives before they've hardly even begun. Some states are taking children *away from their families* and putting them in foster homes. At the same time, they undergo these mutilative surgeries and treatments!

Already a multi-billion-dollar industry, the predation of our children has become big money under the guise of healthcare. It disgusts me that hospitals and large medical organizations that may receive federal support are targeting our most vulnerable group.<sup>48</sup>

You would think that every sane conservative or even moderate in government would get on board with protecting our kids, but I'm shocked and saddened to say this is not the case. Some of the best conservatives in Congress are not rushing to defend our children from true evil.

I'm a big believer in states' rights. Still, when a state's terrible laws disenfranchise parents, separate families, and abuse children with undeniable child abuse procedures, we must pass federal laws to protect our kids. The states' rights issue has become one of the biggest arguments against my bill—ironically from some of the most conservative members of Congress. Members of the Freedom Caucus, who I believed were solid conservative Christians and would be the *first* to protect our children, balked against the bill because it would supersede states' legislation that permits this inexcusable child abuse.

It's up to voters to hold their representatives accountable and demand that we take action to stop the damage being done to our children. It's not okay to hide behind calling it a states' rights issue; we must take action to put a stop to this *now*.

## Pedophiles

One of my most controversial statements came out during a 60 Minutes interview. I boldly called Democrats who promote the abuse of children in this matter *pedophiles*. Is that strong language? Definitely! But according to Merriam-Webster's dictionary, the definition of pedophilia is the "sexual perversion in which children are the

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preferred sexual object,” and that is *precisely* what this is. Sexualizing children is absolutely perversion. Of course, every Democrat takes exception to this bold declaration. They sexualize children and take power from parents to protect their kids. It must be stopped.

Pramila Jayapal introduced a resolution she would love to make into federal law, a Trans Bill of Rights, giving children the right to transgender surgeries—paid for by the American people, of course. Sure, they can't smoke or drink, or sometimes even drive yet, but she wants them to be able to decide, as children, to transition to another gender—and for you and me to pay for it! Additionally, she wants transgender people to be assured of having housing, jobs, medical care, and trans education.<sup>49</sup>

Together with the Equality Act, this Trans Bill of Rights is one of the most dangerous pieces of legislation I've seen. These disgusting efforts to promote pedophilia and the abuse and disfigurement of our children are genuine threats, and they're not going away soon. That's why it's so important to protect our kids and do anything we can to prevent these laws!

Sick and perverted people are coming for our kids. There's not only a flag for trans but also for those calling themselves “*minor-attracted*.”<sup>50</sup> Yes, you read that right—they're trying to normalize being *sexually attracted to children*! Soon, will people be able to justify their pedophilia by claiming it's a lifestyle choice, like being gay or trans? That thought terrifies me for our kids. Think I'm exaggerating? In 2021, the San Francisco Gay Men's Choir sang a song with the lyrics, “We're coming for your children.”<sup>51</sup> Look it up—it's frightening. They speak of tolerance, but they're singing of preying on children's sexuality.

Just look at Washington State and recent legislation signed by Governor Jay Inslee, Senate Bill 5599, which destroys parental

rights and enables our youth to participate in self-mutilating gender surgery.

The fight for “trans rights” is an agenda promoted by the Left and the Democrat party, and it is not just about tolerance; it’s about conversion, sexualization, exploitation, and mutilation. In the face of this threat, the Republican’s lack of coordinated, urgent response illustrates everything that’s wrong with the Republican party right now. Will we let the issue of states’ rights prevent us from stopping this insanity and the threat to innocent children? We need to step up!

The Left speaks of tolerance, but they have no tolerance for our rights or our children’s. They do not respect our beliefs or the values of Christianity. They have no respect for marriages, families, or what these gender-bending ideas do to people. They have no respect for our children and are paving the way for pedophiles to groom them, sexualize them, abuse them, and mutilate them. How long until Democrats try to make “minor-attracted” a legitimized lifestyle choice? Well, you won’t have to wait very long. In Minnesota, a trans lawmaker introduced a piece of legislation that would include pedophilia as a protected sexual orientation.

This will not stop.

So, the question is, will *we* stop them? Will we make laws that will protect our kids . . . or permit their exploitation? Will we preserve their innocence or expose them to perversion and predation?

Make no mistake; this is an attack on the core foundation of our society. They’ve already worked to destroy marriage, but now they’re attacking our identity. It’s an attack on girls and women, children, and even against God and His design of human beings.

The devil attacked Eve in the Garden of Eden, and Adam wasn’t there to help or protect her. Isolated, she wasn’t strong enough to resist

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his lies and temptations. I am a strong, independent woman who has proved my capabilities. Still, I definitely know that men brimming with testosterone are bigger and stronger than I am (notice, I didn't say smarter or more valuable). Being stronger wouldn't have helped Adam against the devil, but now people in a position of strength have a responsibility to protect women and girls because this is an attack directed right at us. They want to take our sports, our culture, and our *safety*.

I believe that Satan hates women and our ability to produce life, and it is no mistake that attacks like the Equality Act and the Trans Bill of Rights destroy women and our safety. They want girls to think they must be big and muscular to be strong, like men, and they want boys to think they need to be effeminate to be sensitive and caring. It's just not true. We don't need to be each other's gender; we can each be who God created us to be.

In the wake of COVID, we had protests in which Antifa destroyed the rule of law. Antifa, and other similar groups, are already on board with drag queen story time. They lead counter-protests, fighting conservatives and Christians standing up against this sick insanity. I hate to imagine these anarchists rioting in the streets, trying to terrify and intimidate people who resist the trans agenda.

There are already calls for violent trans protests and attacks. Audrey Hale, the twenty-eight-year-old trans woman who attacked a Nashville Christian school in March of 2023, had a manifesto in her car when she shot and killed three adults as well as three nine-year-old children.<sup>52</sup> The Left wants to blame white supremacist gun owners for mass shootings, so the legacy media tried to cover up Hale's motivations for the shooting. But the evidence points to a troubled young woman who blamed Christians enough to go on a senseless, murderous rampage. Angry trans mobs have also attacked

people like Riley Gains, trying to silence their free speech when it's against their agenda.

What adults do together sexually is their business—and should be kept to themselves. Interestingly, many gay people also agree with me that targeting our kids is wrong. Groups like Gays Against Groomers and the Log Cabin Republicans have publicly sided with us against the sexualization of children and the Equality Act.

I am not passive or tolerant when they try to come after kids and mutilate them. That is abject evil; I will fight it with all I have! This is not just Left vs. Right; this is good against evil. Most Democrat voters agree that children should not be sexualized, groomed, or have transgender surgeries as minors. Independent and Republican voters strongly agree, showing that we can come together on this issue and protect our kids.

But the radical Left, which I am convinced is evil, is out for complete control of the Democrat party, and they've made trans issues their top agenda item. Joe Biden, who lied and ran as a moderate, has taken the matter up himself and has promoted sexualizing and disfiguring children under the guise of gender-affirming care.

This is perhaps *the* battle of our generation, and the entire leadership of the Democrat party has sided with the pedophiliac child abusers that want to mutilate children. We must protect them! What they do after turning eighteen is their own business as adults, but until that age, no child needs to be transitioned, sexualized, or abused. No hormones, puberty blockers, hysterectomies, or castrations—no violence against kids should be acceptable.

Yet Republicans continue to be weak, refusing to take a stand because they're arguing about states' rights or are afraid they will offend someone. This is a prime example of why we're losing our country. Republicans are constantly weak regarding the health of our



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children, refusing to fight against the most insidious enemy we've seen in our lifetime, the Democrat party.

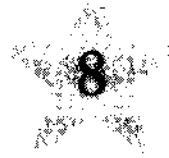
If Republicans do not stop this transgender movement right now, it will grow into one of the most evil things we've ever seen in history. One report said that the number of kids who identify as transgender has doubled in five years. While only 0.6 percent of adults identify as trans, it's supposedly gone from 0.7 percent to 1.4 percent among kids aged thirteen to seventeen.<sup>53</sup> Unfortunately, that's not going to slow down anytime soon, as more kids are exposed to this gender-bending lunacy.

In a decade, we'll see so many young people in their twenties and thirties with *life-long* medical problems from the mutilating transgender surgeries, damaging puberty blockers, and hormone treatments. They'll be people like Chloe Cole, who regretted what she'd done but now receives hate speech for speaking out. They're called "de-transitioners," and few seem to be listening to their warnings right now. Unfortunately, by the time more people are suffering from these procedures, it will be too late to save them the pain and suffering Chloe and others have gone through.

Can we, in good conscience, let our kids go through this when we could prevent their exploitation, sexualization, grooming, and mutilation? These aren't just words—this is what is happening now every day.

I won't be silenced; I will do whatever I can to fight this evil, and I welcome everyone who will join me to oppose this child abuse with the legislation that can close the door on the trans agenda and protect our children's innocence. As the Bud Light fiasco showed us, the American people are going to have to be the louder voice.





## House Freedom Caucus

THE HOUSE FREEDOM CAUCUS (HFC) is filled with many good people, many of whom I like. I will always be thankful to the House Freedom Caucus for supporting and joining my efforts in roll-calling votes and putting Congress on record for the first time in years. I really enjoyed being a member of the HFC when we fought against the Democrat leadership that ran the House like a communist dictatorship. We were unified to fight the Democrats and their immoral, America-last policies.

But sadly, things changed for the 118th Congress after I, along with Jim Jordan and over half of the Freedom Caucus, supported Kevin McCarthy for speaker.

The effort to go against Kevin McCarthy started last Congress (the 117th Congress) or possibly before. The plans had been made before we won back the majority in 2022, and, at one time, I supported it. As a new freshman in Congress, I was repeatedly told to remember that Kevin McCarthy kicked me off my committees on February 4, 2021. And I believed the HFC leadership, members,

and certain Conservative Partnership Institute members who kept reminding me.

More than a year later, in the summer of 2022, I was talking with Devin Nunes, who heard me say Kevin McCarthy kicked me off my committees. He reacted quickly, telling me that was not true, explaining he was in the room watching Kevin McCarthy yell at Steny Hoyer not to kick me off committees. Since then, other Republican members in the room have confirmed that Kevin McCarthy didn't kick me off my committees.

Discovering the truth in the summer of 2022 changed my perspective of McCarthy. I dislike being lied to, and I had been lied to repeatedly. I realized this was an effort by the HFC to make sure I hated Kevin McCarthy and aimed my fire at him and Republican leadership. I came to understand that is how the HFC works. Every meeting and conversation is filled with messaging that Republican leadership is the enemy and you're a sellout or RINO if you dare work with them.

When I found out I had been lied to, I had a realization. I wanted to serve my district and my country and change the Republican party to one that will serve America first and best. As only 1 of 435 members of Congress, I couldn't do that alone. I needed to start networking among the other Republican members of Congress—not just a small, inclusive group, but all of them. I came here to serve my district and my country, and I couldn't do that by serving a small inclusive group within the Republican party. That's not what I came here to do.

In the second half of 2022, while still maintaining my strong conservative values and voting record, I spent months networking among Republicans and talking with Kevin McCarthy. I was able to explain

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how the base feels, discuss ideas, hold strategy sessions of how to win the majority, and share ideas about why our Republican party needs to be more conservative and more America First. To my surprise, he agreed with me much of the time.

After the general election in November 2022, we had won a razor-thin majority of 222 seats. Bob Good reached out to me, sharing he had formed an HFC group and was organizing an effort to stop Kevin McCarthy from being Speaker of the House. Bob asked me to commit to voting against McCarthy for Speaker in order to attend their meetings. I replied that I could not commit to that and would not participate in any of the meetings. I knew these plans had been laid long ago, and the only basis of the plan was “Never Kevin,” which is no plan at all. Just like “Never Trump” is not a plan but continues to be a bad problem in the Republican party.

I chose to support Kevin McCarthy for several reasons. Kevin McCarthy was the only Republican that consistently told the conference that he wanted to be Speaker and was the only Republican that ever made all the necessary steps to become Speaker of the House. This included an agenda and setting fundraising records to win the majority throughout the '22 cycle. To even have a shot at the gavel, you must prove you can win it, and Kevin McCarthy proved it. Whether you agree with every Republican member is not a requirement; it is winning a minimum of 218 Republican seats that gets you a shot at holding the gavel.

As the minority leader of the 117th Congress, he led us to victory. Kevin was also the only one who had earned the majority of support of Republicans from every shade and every ideology. This support garnered respect from Republicans for his hard work and efforts to win a majority and the gavel that gave every Republican power, including HFC members.

It must be recognized that President Trump plays the biggest role in Republican races; his endorsement is the golden seal that tells conservatives which candidates they should vote for. Smaller groups, like the House Freedom Fund, fundraise and support Republican candidates as well. But even the most ardent Never Keviners like Scott Perry, Lauren Boebert, and Bob Good took hundreds of thousands and even millions in their campaigns directly from and through the help of Kevin McCarthy.

Yet the Never Kevin group gave no thought, no care, and no respect to the fact that without Kevin McCarthy's leadership, record-setting fundraising efforts, campaign support, and teamwork with the rest of the leadership and the NRCC, none of us would have the gavel. Nor would we have the committee power, subpoena power, budget and appropriations power, control over the NDAA, ability to write the five-year Farm Bill, and freedom from Nancy Pelosi's reign from hell.

It was only after the November 2022 election, and the Never Kevin group had been officially formed, that Andy Biggs announced that he was running for Speaker of the House with no plan and no agenda. Not to mention, our razor-thin Republican majority was less than two months away from taking power, and Biggs had no ability to fundraise.

As much as I like Andy Biggs and share his conservative values, you would have to be a fool to believe this was a serious effort or plan to become third in line to the president. Holding the gavel includes organizing the entire managerial structure of not only the Capitol but also all the House committees—and this was all less than two months away. Not to mention, Speakership would require Andy Biggs to raise enough money for every Republican member to get re-elected and win more Republican seats going into a presidential

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year. Being on the bottom tier of fundraisers, Andy had no evidence to show he was capable of raising the money it would require to win an even bigger majority in 2024.

I announced weeks before the Speaker's vote that I supported Kevin McCarthy for Speaker and spent many interviews and social media posts explaining why. I always explain and defend my position once I've made a decision. I felt it was the right thing to do for my district and the country, all in hopes of swaying others to see the playing field as clearly as I could.

Republican voters from across the country had just worked so hard to win us the majority. I was not willing to gamble with Speaker votes and risk losing the gavel to Democrats because a group of my friends practically took a Never Kevin blood oath. The Never Kevin group was cemented together by past grudges dating back to when the Freedom Caucus unseated John Boehner stopped Kevin's first attempt at Speaker, ultimately making Paul Ryan Speaker of the House.

Political terrorist plots by the House Freedom Caucus have had very few victories, but making Paul Ryan Speaker of the House was all Freedom Caucus. And to this day, Paul Ryan's Speakership is the one that most conservatives despise. This was another reason I would have no part in the Never Kevin group; it was only based on hate for Kevin McCarthy, and they had no real plan.

The House Freedom Caucus members and I share many of the same conservative dreams. We align on how Congress should be run and what conservative principles we should strive for in Congress. Most Freedom Caucus members and, actually, most Republicans in Congress (including Kevin McCarthy) agree on important issues such as:

## MTG

- Balancing the budget
- Reducing our national debt
- Reducing the size of our out-of-control, over-bloated government
- Reducing our dependence on foreign countries like China
- Improving US economic strength
- Building strong, secure borders
- Providing safe, good education for our children
- Protecting the lives of the unborn and children all the way to adulthood
- Becoming energy independent, and maintaining American energy independence

These issues, I believe, should be the basis of our Republican party's platform.

None of this can be achieved by a small, insurgent group of approximately twenty House Republican members aggressively attacking their own conference. The reality is that it takes 218 members of Congress voting yes to pass anything in the House. Insurgent attacks only lead to division, resentment, mistrust, and eventually hate among the conference. No, the only way to achieve this worthy Republican platform is by aggressively winning the White House, the Senate, and as many seats in the House as possible. I had come to this conclusion quickly in my freshman year after being part of the insurgent group.

In late November of 2022, it was easy for me to see that the type of legislation we produced, committee work we took on, investigations we led, and the agenda we set for the American people was the work of the whole conference together. The conference has to be led by a Speaker, who can do the hardest job of all—get Republicans to



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agree with each other. I saw no need to be part of a Never Kevin plot doomed to failure; I only saw the need to roll up my sleeves and get to work in my conference to achieve my agenda. This meant doubling my efforts to get President Trump back in the White House, win the Senate, and win as many seats as possible in the House in 2024. This didn't make me a RINO; this made me one of the biggest elephants in Washington, a real Republican hell-bent on shaping the Republican party to be the party that saves America—no matter who I have to fight to get there.

While over half of the Freedom Caucus supported Kevin McCarthy for Speaker, the leadership members of the HFC were angry at me, and oddly, just me. They talked amongst themselves about kicking me out and even met with me about it.

I was shocked and couldn't understand why I was their target. In the HFC, either you hate Kevin McCarthy and fight leadership at all times, or you're not being a good obedient HFC member. Hating leadership is the Kool-Aid they offer, and it's passed around like communion at every HFC meeting. But for some reason, the core group, which is mainly the HFC board members, was just mad at me. Not Jim Jordan, who was nominated multiple times during the speaker's race by HFC members. Had he been Speaker of the House, Jim Jordan could not have served on the House Judiciary Committee and instead would have had to focus ninety percent of his efforts on fundraising around the country, a role he expressly did not want. There was no ire directed towards Mark Green, Warren Davidson, or any more than half of House Freedom Caucus members who supported and voted for Kevin McCarthy. Nope, they were mainly just vehemently mad at *me*.

But why just me? After all, this is a group that does hold grudges even though the HFC is founded on Christian principles, and

forgiveness is a pillar of being a Christian. Even though I have forgiven, I don't think many of them have.

Perhaps for the first time, they found themselves at the losing end of a battle because I was on the other side. Or maybe they felt betrayed by my audacity to develop an opinion of my own and act on it outside the groupthink of the HFC. One way of saying it could be that I developed a tolerance to the Kool-Aid, and it didn't affect me anymore. I have always been an independent thinker who makes decisions based on the reality that lies before me, the potential of the wins that lie ahead, and the tools I have available.

The HFC had cheered me on until the Speaker race, which went a historic fifteen rounds in the first week of our majority in January 2023. Before the race, the House Freedom Fund used my name and likeness to raise tens of millions of dollars to elect conservative members of Congress—a role I gladly allowed and freely gave without asking for anything in return.

I played the top role next to Jim Jordan in fundraising for HFC candidates (including the new freshman who are now HFC members) and the chairman and board members (who I had also voted for); they were some of the top beneficiaries of money that was raised in my name, while I selflessly received almost nothing. I must admit, it doesn't feel good to be treated like an outsider after happily supporting everyone else in fundraising to get elected and re-elected.

After the speaker's race, HFC meetings were uncomfortable. I didn't like the side glances that came my way or being treated like an outsider. And when I asked for support from the HFC on bills and ideas, they were quickly tossed to the side.

I could never understand why I could not get the House Freedom Caucus to support my bill, the Protect Children's Innocence Act. My bill would make it a felony to perform genital mutilation procedures

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on anyone under 18, giving minors puberty blockers and hormone treatments, and would protect parent's rights to stop the evil and barbaric practice of amputating teenage girls' breasts and castrating adolescent boys. I repeatedly asked for HFC to take an official position in support of my bill, and they repeatedly refused.

The only explanations I ever received were from Scott Perry and Chip Roy, who both argued that these horrific surgeries and permanently damaging medical treatments were a "states' rights" issue, not a federal one. I argued each time that this had to be a federal issue; parents in states like California were having their children taken away by the state when they tried to intervene and stop the evil trans-medical community from barbarically destroying their children.

But this wasn't the only time I disagreed with Scott Perry, the Chair of the HFC, and Chip Roy, an HFC board member. I was a new freshman in Congress and a new member of the Freedom Caucus when I first fought with Chip Roy. I argued with him, urging him to object to Joe Biden's electoral college votes like over 130 other Republicans did, including Kevin McCarthy. Instead, Chip Roy voted to validate Joe Biden's presidency and now supports Ron DeSantis for president. He clearly doesn't like my favorite president. While I believe everyone can choose who they want for president, I can't understand his lack of support for my bill to stop the genital mutilation of children. It is not a states' rights issue, it's a child abuse issue, and while we have plenty of federal laws on child abuse, we need this one, too.

Scott Perry also argued with me, claiming it is a states' rights issue. Again, it is not. However, Scott Perry also voted for gay marriage in late 2022, just before the general election. (I voted against it, along with many Republicans, including Kevin McCarthy.) It was an outrage among many House Freedom Caucus donors that the

chairman of the Freedom Caucus voted for gay marriage. Instead of standing on principle and voting against it, he apparently was more concerned about his re-election chances and voted for it. Oddly, there was no motion to kick *him* out of the Freedom Caucus or remove him from the chair. When the bill was brought back to the floor from the Senate, he voted against gay marriage, but that was after he had won his re-election.

Yet the biggest tell-tale sign that the board of the HFC didn't care about rules, quorums, order, or conservative and constitutional principles is this: They called for an impromptu meeting at 8 a.m. on June 23, 2023—a fly out day—and held a vote to kick me out of the Freedom Caucus because I called Lauren Boebert a bitch to her face in a private conversation on the House floor. They did this without a quorum being present and after some members had left after speaking against their proposed vote. I wasn't even there to defend myself or give my side of the story. Hours later, while in the House chamber conducting our last votes of the week, I found out about their vote on Twitter. Not one single HFC member came up to me to tell me.

When I saw the news, I walked over to another HFC member and asked if the vote had happened, and he confirmed it did. He shared that Scott Perry told everyone in attendance that he had tried to reach me, but I never returned any of his calls or texts. The truth was I did not have one single call or text from Scott Perry on either of my phones, both of which I had on me at that very moment. The entire time we were in the House chamber, Scott Perry never walked over to inform me about what happened. Instead, he sent another HFC member over to me after votes to ask if I would talk with Scott Perry in a private room off the chamber floor.

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I was furious at that point and said no. I had a scheduled meeting with the Speaker of the House, Kevin McCarthy, and his staff to talk about my bill, the Protect Children's Innocence Act. Ironical that it was the same bill that the HFC refused to support and Scott Perry and Chip Roy claimed was a states' rights issue. There was absolutely no way I would miss an important meeting with the Speaker of the House about the one bill I care about most in order to have an unplanned talk about ridiculous, high school-level drama.

It was absurd and childish for them to try to drag me to a private room to inform me that I had been voted out after they had already done it. Especially on a hectic fly-out day. We're all scrambling to finish up before rushing to the airport to catch flights to our home districts.

This all began when I drafted my articles of impeachment on Joe Biden for causing a national security and humanitarian crisis at the border through his border policies. I asked Lauren Boebert and all the House Freedom Caucus to cosponsor my articles of impeachment. Instead of cosponsoring mine, she wrote her own and introduced them a few weeks later. She told leadership that she had to do it to help her end-of-quarter fundraising, and then she abruptly brought her resolution to the floor without ever addressing the conference or asking for support. Remember, it takes 218 Republicans voting together to pass anything. Then she tried to force it to a vote through a privileged resolution. I told the media how she had copied my articles of impeachment.

Lauren walked up to me on the House floor, demanding I clarify the comments I had made to the press, at which point I called her a "little bitch" to her face. After I told her what I thought of her, I told Lauren to shut up and that the only person recognized to speak was Anna Paulina, which ended our conversation.

That conversation took place between the two of us, and no one would have ever known what we said to each other if Lauren had not leaked it to the media. After walking away, Lauren texted a reporter at a leftist gossip blog that attacks Republicans. As Anna Paulina Luna (also a member of the House Freedom Caucus) started speaking, I sat back down in my seat next to another Republican member of Congress. Minutes later, he received a text from a reporter asking if he had heard me call Lauren Boebert a “bitch.” He asked me if it was okay to tell him, and I said yes, because Lauren was already leaking the story. I have no respect for leakers, only those who openly tell the truth 100% of the time. When I walked off the House floor, I was swarmed by the press, who, to my surprise, knew every detail of our “private” conversation. When they asked me if it was true, I answered that it was “impressively correct.” And it was only impressively correct because Lauren herself had delivered all the details by text to a liberal blog before we had even walked off the House floor.

The press love drama and gossip, and me calling Lauren Boebert a bitch became the top headline in the news that day and remained a big topic of conversation the rest of the week, even bigger than her impeachment stunt. It also became the petty little reason that the HFC decided to hold a last-minute vote at the end of that week to kick me out without ever hearing my side of the story. They only believed that Lauren was the victim, a “victim” who leaked the story to the press herself.

This situation was problematic for the HFC because Lauren Boebert is their communications chair and sits on the board but leaked to the press. But it was a bigger problem for the HFC when you look at it as a business decision. They kicked me out and kept her, and that was not a good financial decision.

## HOUSE FREEDOM CAUCUS

I was the second-highest fundraiser for the HFC and never kept nor asked for any of the money for myself. I have also paid all my dues to the NRCC and, as I write, have donated another \$100,000 to support Republicans winning in 2024. I also raised my own money to campaign with and easily won my 2022 election with 66% of the vote. I am not a drain or a problem member to get reelected, and fortunately, I represent a wonderful red district.

However, Lauren Boebert almost lost her seat in 2022 and barely won by just over 500 votes in a red district with a rating of R+7. She is constantly a big recipient of money from HFC donors, and polling shows she does not have good support from Republican voters in her district. She also asks for support from the NRCC and Kevin McCarthy's fundraising efforts while she constantly fights Kevin McCarthy and does things to upset the entire conference. Going into 2024, she will be a significant financial lift for HFC donors to support and get reelected unless she turns things around with her district. But her actions have created other problems; she has made many enemies, and they won't want to help her out of the challenging situation she has put herself in.

It's not fair to all the good, hard-working House Freedom Fund donors who contribute a lot of money to support conservatives getting elected in Congress. It is especially unfair because Lauren Boebert and I have almost an identical voting record, and at the end of the day, that is the only thing that should matter. But it didn't matter to the HFC board members and the core group of HFC that kicked me out. They should have cared about conservative votes and legislation, not silly arguments that were supposed to be private and could have been worked out if Lauren had not leaked it to the press.

The Lauren Boebert argument was just an excuse to do what they wanted to do all along—kick me (and only me) out because I supported Kevin McCarthy for Speaker.

With that said, if Kevin McCarthy ever turns back on the promises he made to me as well as the American people, I'll be the first to call it out and hold him accountable.

The problem now is that the HFC acts like an angry cult and wants to kick out its members if they don't hate who they are told to hate and do everything the cult tells them to do. The leadership board and some HFC members are so blinded by their self-righteous mission that they have forgotten that other HFC members and I share the same conservative goals and want to achieve the same great things for our country. Blinded by their self-righteousness, they refuse to recognize that we are all equal individuals with our own ideas on how to achieve conservative goals in Congress. This has also led to judging others and division. And division is wrong, just like it's wrong for the Church to be divided.

But the HFC *wants* to be divided. The same core group that decided to kick me out has always believed that the HFC functions best when it's a small group of insurgents. They don't want to be a big group. They don't want to add more conservative members to the HFC. They just want to be a tiny group with one groupthink mentality. This is the opposite of how our Founding Fathers formed Congress to work and is why the HFC will ultimately continue to fail.

United we stand, and divided we fall. We can never defeat the Democrats—the real enemy—if we are divided.

It has taken decades for our country to fall into the despair we find ourselves in now. Operating in a burn-it-all-down mentality and turning everyone against each other won't save the country. It



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will take many years of diligent, dedicated work to lift ourselves back up to be the country we want to hand to our children.

That requires Republicans to hold the majority in the House, win the Senate, and win the White House with President Trump and more like him in the years to come. That means Republicans must work out our problems and collaborate to convince the American people to trust our party to solve our country's problems.

We will never be able to solve our country's problems if we constantly fight and treat each other as the enemy instead of fighting the Democrats, who are the enemies of the American people.

I don't want to burn it all down. I love America and its people. I want to solve our country's problems. I want to save our children's future. I'll fight as hard as I can and diligently work, putting one foot in front of the other, for as long as it takes to save America.

Yet, I cannot change the system alone. For that, I need help, both at home and in Washington. I'm blessed to be on the COVID Select Subcommittee, where we are trying to make changes that will prevent the abuses and government overreach of the pandemic. Still, we cannot do it alone—every voter must stand up and be counted!





## COVID Lies and Lessons

I UNDERSTAND THE IMMENSE HEARTBREAK and devastation of the COVID pandemic on multiple levels. No one escaped the pandemic without a few scars. Most people lost loved ones and friends or know someone who did. Many who died were older adults with underlying conditions or people with risk factors like obesity, but a few were younger healthy people.

Sitting on the COVID Select Subcommittee in Congress has given me a front-row seat to the details of the debacle that killed many, terrified our citizens, and ravaged our economy. As I begin to learn what we knew and when we knew it, I'm convinced that much of this devastation *didn't need to happen*. What I've found confirmed something I had been kicking and screaming about since day one.

Like many, my parents were frightened by the media regarding COVID and stayed home. They would get the mail with masks and gloves on, take it into the garage, spray it down with Lysol, and then leave it there for three days before opening it. My dad had comorbidities—high blood pressure and heart disease—and they

were convinced that if he got the virus, he'd end up on a ventilator and die.

All through 2020, they went nowhere, getting groceries delivered to the car and barely leaving the house—including to go to the doctor. One of the saddest parts was that my dad didn't go to his routine doctor visits for his high blood pressure and cholesterol. He was afraid he'd catch the virus in the waiting room. Many doctors' offices nationwide were shut down, and some hospitals weren't allowing certain procedures. Unfortunately, my father had a spot on his chest that he delayed getting checked because he was so afraid of going to the doctor.

When he finally did go to the doctor, the doctor he saw said it looked fine. By late summer, he had strange symptoms—his energy levels were down, and he had headaches. The headaches got so bad that he would vomit. He even went to the ER several times, but they told him he had vertigo, and he just got sicker.

Towards the end of 2020, he was finally diagnosed with a Stage 4 melanoma that had metastasized to his brain, resulting in multiple brain tumors. My dad actually received the same diagnosis as Jimmy Carter, and as of this writing, Carter is still living. We hoped at the time that Dad would survive melanoma just like Carter had, and they put my father on the same immunotherapy treatment.

I won my election in November 2020, and my father had his first brain surgery to remove the tumors a month later, in December 2020. We were prevented from going into the hospital with him because of COVID restrictions and hospital policies. We couldn't be there to comfort him, encourage him, or hold his hand. We couldn't cry with him or hug him.

During surgery, they would be cutting open his entire skull to reach the tumors, and he was scared to death. The doctors told him

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that his brain may not work how it used to after surgery. Even if he survived the treatments, he knew his life would never be the same. He fought for his life—*alone*. My mom, his wife of nearly fifty years, couldn't sit with him; neither could my brother or I. My dad faced brain surgery alone, with strangers covered by masks and surgical gear, not a loved one in sight.

Many people across our country shared similar experiences due to the rules imposed during the COVID pandemic. It was devastating, cruel, and should not have happened.

My dad made it through that first surgery. The brain is so delicate, and he was definitely a little different when he came out. He couldn't read anymore, but he could still do a lot.

A few weeks later, I was sworn into Congress, but on January 12, I had to fly back to Washington. We were supposed to be with our district on recess, but Nancy Pelosi called for a vote on the second attempt to impeach President Donald Trump because of the insanity on January 6. This cruel, vindictive, and hateful woman pounced on this opportunity to punish and persecute President Trump.

Flying into Washington to vote *NO* on the impeachment came at a high personal cost. I missed my father's second brain surgery to remove more tumors, which was scheduled the same day that Nancy Pelosi forced us all to return to Washington to vote on her Trump derangement, hate-fueled impeachment number two. It was one of the worst days of my entire life; not only did I miss the surgery, but I had to leave my mom all alone because she couldn't go inside the hospital.

To my lasting grief, my Dad was never the same afterward, and by the time I got back, he was changed. I've always been a daddy's girl. He was the one I came to for advice, and I talked with my dad

more than anyone else, including my then-husband. He'd always been there for me to lean on.

My father hung on, always a fighter. He continued taking medications and the immunotherapy treatments Jimmy Carter took. He and my mom even happily took the COVID vaccines, believing they should and would be able to go out in public more if Dad got better.

But he didn't get better; he got worse. The cancer spread throughout his body quickly.

I helped my mother make the decision that it was time for home hospice care. I think that was the best decision. We took Dad home from the hospital and lovingly cared for him during the last days of his life. And when Mom was giving out, I took care of both of them. It was one of the hardest things I've ever done—and one of the best things I've ever done.

On April 11, 2021, our whole family gathered around my dad in my parent's bedroom, and we all told stories about him. My mom shared the best stories. We all laughed, cried, and remembered so many treasured times. We could hold my father's hand and feel him hold our hands back, even though he looked like he was resting peacefully. I believe to this day, he listened to all our stories and loved every minute. I also believe it helped him let go; he knew he was loved, and he heard us all tell our memories of what an amazing husband, father, and man he had been to us.

Just after midnight, my mother was in the bathroom getting ready for bed, my brother and sister-in-law were asleep, and my children had all gone home for the night. I lay on the bed next to my father and watched his spirit leave his body. It was so fast. He just got up and went. He was finally ready and went so quickly because he knew where he was going. It was the most amazing thing I've ever

seen—something I can hardly describe, but something I can see in my mind like it just happened.

In the early morning hours on April 12, 2021, my father went home to Heaven and was pronounced dead. The men that came to prepare his body were kind and gentle. They put him in a casket and draped it with an American flag because he had served in the Navy and was a Vietnam combat veteran. They carried his body out of the house in the flag-draped casket.

The following week, as my mother grieved, I helped her plan every detail of his funeral and burial. And, truth be told, I just took over. She was completely exhausted and broken from months and months of fighting cancer with Dad. It was devastating and horrible.

My father's entire cancer battle, which finally ended in his death, took place in just over five months, from the end of 2020 into the spring of 2021. It all coincided with my first few months in Congress and the worst media attacks any member of Congress has ever been through. I faced January 6, President Trump's impeachment, being kicked off committees, and the legacy media's unbelievably cruel 24/7 lying, defamatory attacks on me. Almost every single day, my name was on the top headlines. But every single moment, all I could think about was my father dying of cancer.

Those were some of the darkest days of my life, and there are no words to describe the pain I endured. But I can say without a shadow of a doubt that I only made it through because Jesus carried me and God protected me. Not a single arrow penetrated me, nor was a single hair on my head damaged. God gave me incredible strength, and I walked in His great and mighty shadow each moment.

Everything about that time still makes me angry. I'm still angry over the impeachment and even more angry that I had to leave my family during a difficult time. It was a ridiculous lie that Nancy

Pelosi forced us all to participate in. I'm also still angry at the communist policies implemented during the pandemic, taking away people's freedoms in the name of the "common good." It didn't have to be this way—for me, my father, or many other Americans.

Everybody lost during the COVID shutdown—everybody. The shutdowns were completely wrong, and the pandemic was mishandled. They knew the facts about the virus early and which groups it affected most. Dr. Fauci and others knew that masks didn't work, and he even told a friend in a personal email on February 5, 2020, that was later released from a FOIA request:

"Masks are really for infected people to prevent them from spreading infection to people who are not infected, rather than protecting uninfected people from acquiring infection. The typical mask you buy in the drugstore is ineffective in keeping out a virus small enough to pass through the material. It might, however, provide some slight benefit to keep out gross droplets if someone coughs or sneezes on you. I do not recommend you wear a mask, particularly since you are going to a very low-risk location. Your instincts are correct; your money is best spent on medical countermeasures such as diagnostics and vaccines."<sup>54</sup>

Later, Fauci began urging mask mandates even though he admittedly knew that masking didn't stop the spread of COVID. We knew natural immunity from those who survived the disease was better than vaccine protection. Still, they kept mandating and forcing vaccines and additional boosters—shots that weren't working. How many "vaxxed and boosted" people do you know who got COVID? I know a lot!



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Month after month, Americans would see famous politicians like Joe Biden, Kamala Harris, and even former President Barack Hussein Obama publicly get their vaccines and boosters on television to convince the public to get vaccinated . . . then not long afterward, those same famous pro-vaccine, vaccinated, and multi-boosted people would be in the news because they had caught COVID *again*! It was ridiculous, and we all would just shake our heads.

I got the virus in March 2020, and I was sick for about three days. Then I got better . . . and that was it. I was middle-aged and had none of the conditions that put me in the risk group for severe illness, hospitalization, or death. Thankfully, I have always kept a healthy diet and am very dedicated to exercise. Once I had it, I did not catch it again.

In 2021, my then-husband got COVID and became quite ill. His breathing sounded bad, and his blood oxygen level began to drop to nearly 90 percent. I became very worried he would have to go to the hospital. I called the doctor and got him an appointment where they prescribed ivermectin and a full protocol of vitamins. They also sent him in to receive monoclonal antibodies. This combination was a treatment that many doctors were sharing on social media, claiming success at treating COVID and saving countless lives. It worked in less than forty-eight hours. It was a miracle!

My son got COVID one month after he had mononucleosis. I'm sure his immune system was still suppressed and recovering from mono. He was in football season, and it swept through the team. Most of them hardly had symptoms, or their case didn't last long because they were all young, healthy athletes. Again, I called the doctor for my son, and they prescribed him the same ivermectin and vitamin protocol, and in a matter of days, he bounced back.

As a matter of fact, everyone I know who got COVID either had such a mild case, as I did, they just got over it on their own, or they took hydroxychloroquine (HCQ) or ivermectin along with a specific vitamin protocol that included zinc, magnesium, and vitamin D. Everyone I knew recovered well—even a few people who were very advanced in age and had severe comorbidities, including my then-husband's grandmother, who had COVID at ninety-seven years old. She recovered in a week!

I followed Dr. Fauci's advice he gave privately in his personal email, not his public hypocritical advice.<sup>55</sup> I didn't wear a mask. None of my kids wore masks. Most people I knew didn't wear a mask unless it was forced in public or to fly on an airplane. We knew masks didn't work, were filthy, forced you to breathe in your carbon dioxide, and decreased the amount of oxygen in your bloodstream.<sup>56</sup> Many of us felt wearing a mask was like wearing a muzzle.

A few people I know who had the virus got ill again, but they were very mild cases, and they handled it the same way our society used to handle colds and cases of flu: stay home, rest, get well, recover, and go back about your life. In blue states, where they strongly believed in the vaccine, they got boosted repeatedly. They huddled in their homes, afraid to go out and live . . . yet still got sick. They had very different experiences than those with natural immunity and those of us who believed natural immunity was best and that we should handle the COVID pandemic using herd immunity without lockdowns and forced vaccinations.

We may never know the total number of people affected by how we handled the pandemic—not just those who died from the virus, but the quiet cases of collateral damage, like my father's. There were missed appointments, treatments, and healthcare—all to respond to a disease, not like Americans but communists.

## A New Way to Campaign

I was campaigning for Congress in 2020 when we acutely became aware of COVID in America. I'd been busy doing events, knocking on doors, and speaking at local political groups such as Second Amendment and women's groups all over my district. Then, suddenly President Trump was in the news, locking down travel to China (and getting called xenophobic for it) and implementing other travel bans. Democrats quickly criticized him, because they resisted anything he did, but I suddenly found my campaigning paused as we implemented fifteen days to slow the spread and "flatten the curve."

Like almost every American, I had been reading up on this novel coronavirus that was getting so much coverage. We didn't know much, and a lot of conflicting information was out there, but even then, we knew that the elderly and those with underlying health conditions were getting hit the hardest. This wasn't news, exactly, because these groups are always hit the hardest, including by ordinary things like the flu.

At the time, I was forty-six and in good health, so I judged my risk was low. I exercised daily and ate right, so I wasn't too worried about it. In our construction company, we let our employees decide. Some were more worried than others.

Construction was deemed essential, so technically, we stayed open—but not really. While we were considered open, none of our job sites could move forward because the inspectors were government employees, and they were at home! All the government offices were shut down. Between missing workers and being unable to get our inspections done, no work was completed. So, even though we were deemed "essential," we were shut down.

Two of my kids came home from college, and my son's high school closed; they all lost their part-time jobs. I had to limit campaign activities, and for a while, we thought there was nothing we could do about it.

I decided to find ways to reach voters with my message. I took to Facebook Live and started recording videos constantly to connect with people in my district. I even ended up door knocking—from about ten feet away from their front doors! I'd host mini rallies in grocery store parking lots from the back of a truck, my voice amplified by large speakers people could hear from inside their cars. This gave me a significant advantage over my opponents, who had stopped campaigning entirely.

We're not easily intimidated in Georgia, and we were the first state to reopen, leading the way for other red states, like Florida, to get back to business. We weren't as shut down as many blue states and got back to work faster, so the impact wasn't as bad in Georgia.

The psychological impact of COVID isn't something we should dismiss. We all endured the shortages of toilet paper and other essentials. Still, in all the locked-down blue states and cities, people were in solitary confinement longer and seemed to experience more lasting impacts from the virus. In the more rational states, those who needed to isolate could do so, such as for health reasons. But many people in Georgia got out again, going to work and socializing responsibly. We weren't locked in our houses for a year or more by ourselves.

Consider for a moment that isolation is used as a form of punishment. We put our most violent prisoners in solitary confinement when their behavior is out of control. Here, Democrat mayors and governors all over the country were doing the same thing to Americans, supposedly for their well-being, by isolating them.

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My daughter, who was playing D1 SEC softball on scholarship, had to come home. These college kids are some of the healthiest people in the country, and there was no reason for them to be isolated. The country damaged our young people when their social lives completely ended; they had to come home from school, their sports and activities stopped, and they lost their jobs. We're only now getting the numbers for how significantly the COVID shutdown affected students who were told to teach themselves online during the pandemic. Our kids will be dealing with the loss of in-person education for years, and we may never fully understand its impact on them.

The isolation is a crucial aspect to me. Our seniors couldn't see their kids, and grandparents and great-grandparents died alone or with only staff around them and no loved ones to hold their hands. Meanwhile, we dealt with the fact that our family members were dying without us.

This loss of freedom and government overreach showed the face of communism in America, and I think people should go to jail. It seemed like a terrible double standard favored the political elite while taking away the rights of the rest of us. They took away our freedom to decide for ourselves if it was worth the risk. If a loved one was dying in a hospital or nursing home, I believe that was more important than the risk of spreading COVID.

The entire pandemic response was a gigantic social experiment that failed massively! We could see a drastic difference between the red and blue states, particularly in the rural areas. I saw it regularly as I flew from Rome, Georgia, where I lived, to Washington, DC. In Georgia, schools were open, stores were doing brisk business, and people were free to choose their level of interaction.

In what I started calling the District of Communism, ineffectual and scientifically disproven mask mandates were the norm, schools

were closed, store shelves were bare, and it was hard to find something to eat. You couldn't go to a restaurant, few places were open, and many of my meals came from a vending machine! As a member of Congress, I couldn't just hop in my car and pick something up.

And then the vaccine came out. Soon, the mandates started on that, too, and in the District of Communism, you had to show your vaccine card to go into a restaurant, store, and many other places. If you weren't vaccinated with this experimental, rushed vaccine, they prevented you from doing business or buying goods or services. I, and many others, didn't want to be a science experiment, which was my *choice*. I was free to decide, as we all should've been, but in many parts of the country, people were punished if they chose not to let them test the vaccine on them.

They transformed the capital of the District of Communism with National Guard troops, turning it into a giant military base.<sup>57</sup> Just before Joe Biden's inauguration, they locked Washington down, and it looked like a military takeover. Where was this response during the violent Antifa and BLM riots across America?

I'll be honest; it was like living in a prison! I'd never lived like that, with the strict security rules, literal checkpoints, and vaccine and mask mandates. Getting food was especially difficult because I refused to get vaccinated and, because I'm not a liar, would not use a fake vaccine card. Many people I knew paid off doctors to get a vaccine card, so I know that the vaccine numbers they brag about aren't accurate, even in the vaccine stronghold of DC.

If it weren't for the Conservative Partnership Institute (CPI), where many conservatives meet, I'm not sure I would've made it. Just a few blocks from the Capitol, it was an oasis of like-minded people where we could take off our ridiculous, ineffective masks—and, most importantly for me, *eat*! They had a menu set up, and they

provided meals for all of us lowly unvaccinated second-class citizens. I could meet with people, work, and fundraise at CPI, out from under the District of Communism's overreaching mandates. It was my home away from home! I would've slept there if I could because this was a little bastion of freedom amid all government overreaching. I never thought I'd be so glad to see a smiling face instead of a mask as I was when I walked into CPI.

Communism showed it was alive and well in America as the government and big tech restricted free speech on the internet. Twitter banned me on January 2, 2022, because I had the gall to constantly speak out about masks, vaccines, and the mandates requiring them.<sup>58</sup> And, let me point out, each of these five things has been proven correct yet was judged as misinformation at the time.

"The controversial #COVID19 vaccines should not be forced on our military for a virus that is not dangerous for non-obese people and those under 65," I tweeted. "With 6,000 vax-related deaths and many concerning side effects reported, the vax should be a choice not mandated for everyone."<sup>59</sup>

"Thousands of people are reporting very serious, life-changing vaccine side effects from taking COVID vaccines," I tweeted out another time. "5,946 deaths are reported on the CDC website. Social media is censoring their stories & the media is silent."<sup>60</sup>

A few days later, I posted, "This is why no entity should force NON-FDA approved vaccines or masks. Instead of help[ing] people protect their health by defeating obesity, which will protect them from COVID complications & death, and many other problems. We should invest in health, not human experimentation."<sup>61</sup>

Finally, I tweeted out, "The FDA should not approve the COVID vaccines. There are too many reports of infection & spread of #COVID19 among vaccinated people. These vaccines are failing

& do not reduce the spread of the virus & neither do masks. Vaccine mandates & passports violate individual freedoms.”<sup>62</sup>

These were the tweets that got me banned for a year from my personal campaign Twitter account—the one where I can raise money, put out ads, my personal opinions, and fight back when I get attacked. I still had a Congressional Twitter account. However, that account belongs to the seat of Congress, not me; it just has my name on it currently. By FEC rules, I wasn’t allowed to campaign or raise money on that account. So, for sharing the truth, I was banned *during my reelection year!*

With my free speech censored, I had a challenging time raising money for my reelection, and my opponent raised millions more than I did. I was attacked day in and day out. I couldn’t defend myself against the lies they spread (no censorship on those, naturally!) as the unholy union of government and big tech conspired to censor conservatives and control the narrative.

It didn’t work. I won reelection anyway. I didn’t get my Twitter account back until after my election when Elon Musk bought Twitter and began repealing some of the Left’s conspiracies to silence dissenting voices. Still, it’s a sad commentary on America when we resemble a communist country like China, with the state dictating censorship terms that the tech companies readily agree with.

## Never Again

I serve on the COVID Select Committee in Congress, and it feels like we spent a great deal of time rehashing things I thought we already knew. For instance, we knew the origins of the virus early on. Still, because of the lying and posturing in our government, it required the former director of the CDC, Robert Redfield, to testify



boldly that it came from a Wuhan lab. The CIA corroborated this, as did many other intelligence agencies, saying they could confirm the origin was a lab in China—just like conservatives were condemned for speaking *from the beginning*. We also know that statements denying we had funded gain of function on coronaviruses were lies, and we have testimony and documentation of the grants dating back at least to 2017 but likely earlier.

We now face difficult choices on the committee; we're tasked with helping ensure the same mistakes don't happen again in any future pandemic. Not only are we wrestling with how the virus began affecting our country, but we must also look at how we addressed it.

The same Democrats who say, "My body, my choice" regarding abortion are all about forcing the vaccines, boosters, and masks on the American people. They championed the government overreach that prevented people from working and going to school, thus wrecking the economy and stunting the development of our students.

Now, we're seeing the effects on the supply chain and inflation. The Democrats took actions to make Americans dependent on government so they'd stay home, and it has fueled record inflation. It has destroyed our economy, people's savings, retirements, and made it increasingly difficult for hard-working Americans to simply put food on the table. The communist policies Democrats pursued under the guise of coping with the pandemic have created a significant economic shift and sent us into recession. However, the Biden administration is trying to redefine the word.

Economically, small businesses may have suffered the most, with thousands shutting down and never reopening. And, God forbid, you were a small investor in real estate and had a few rental properties—the eviction moratorium made it very difficult for anyone depending on that income. I'm afraid we have yet to see the full

impact on our country from these economic policies, as big corporations are only becoming more powerful, and inflation continues to kill off small businesses. We now see bank closures like we haven't seen in many years, with bigger banks buying up smaller ones, which is dangerous for our country's financial security.

When we speak of the future impact, we cannot underestimate the effect of pandemic-era policies on our kids. Isolated and asked to self-educate, many are two years behind in their education. Their test scores dropped, many can't read, and they're going to have a hard time graduating from high school, let alone getting into college. Depression, anxiety, and suicide rates have soared—all because liberals thought we had to keep our healthiest citizens home or stuck behind masks.

It is incredibly frustrating to me that the decisions made for our kids came from people like Randi Weingarten, who is nothing more than a political activist for the Left. We let this woman abuse her power as president of the teacher's union. She was not a doctor, hadn't taught in years, and isn't even a mother—yet we let her advise the CDC on when to reopen schools. Her unscientific advice was to keep schools closed and our kids isolated at home.

The vaccines themselves are a whole other matter. We're only just now beginning to uncover the numbers of people affected or even perhaps killed by these vaccines, and big companies like Pfizer, Moderna, and Johnson & Johnson are not yet being held accountable for the impact these experimental drugs had on people. Yet these big pharmaceutical companies have deep pockets and make massive donations through lobbyists.

Many of my fellow members of Congress seem okay to just let this all go, but I am not! I'm not okay with giving them a pass; these vaccines need to be investigated, and we need to ask the hard

questions necessary to expose the dangers and problems with them. It's clear from the statistics that part of the population has suffered side effects from these vaccines, yet we're still being pressured to take these same vaccines. How can we mandate our population take these injections when there are consequences, such as myocarditis, blood clots, and other problems that can last a lifetime—or even take lives? These side effects must be studied, and we must ensure that a product is incredibly safe before we force it on people.

The Left can call my demands for studies and accountability “conspiracy theories,” but there's too much anecdotal evidence to ignore. We must ask hard questions in our hearings and not let special interests or Big Pharma campaign donations influence our judgment.

The entire pandemic and our response have been a disaster. Obviously, the biggest heartbreak is in the loss of life, and the silent victims, like my father, are even more tragic because it didn't have to happen. These weren't people who got sick and died on a ventilator; they stayed home because they were scared and because the Democrats and their mouthpieces in the media spread fear and lies. Honestly, not one life should have been lost, and it is my belief that COVID is a manmade bioweapon that murdered millions. I hope one day our government will admit that. Everyone suffered as a result.<sup>63 64 65</sup> Our economy and kids suffered, too, but we have yet to talk about the unbelievable fraud and waste.

Incredible amounts of money went to foreign countries. Fraud puts countless dollars into people's pockets—so much we don't even know the amount. And Democrats padded the stimulus bills with money for idiocy like Drag Queen Storytime, using federal funds for drug paraphernalia against Congressional precedent, bailout money

to failing blue states drowning in debt, and much more pork, graft, and waste.<sup>66</sup>

And those who stood up against this pandemic-induced stupidity? They were derided as conspiracy theorists and, worse, blackballed and shunned. Show contrary evidence on masks that they're harmful to kids? Question vaccine safety? Object to bailout spending? Anyone who dared was attacked.

Nancy Pelosi fined me \$2,500<sup>67</sup> every time I stepped on the House floor without a mask, totaling well over \$100,000. I matched my words with my actions and stood up for the people of my district, especially children, who overwhelmingly didn't want to be forced to wear masks. I felt I needed to fight the tyrannical mask mandates with actions so that parents and schoolchildren could fight the school boards forcing their children to be wrongfully masked. I believe masking children, especially young children, is a form of child abuse and extremely damaging to their development on many levels.

We knew it then. Not only did masks not stop the spread of COVID, but studies now verify how dangerous it is to breathe carbon dioxide for hours a day. Yet, they wouldn't listen, shot me down, fined me, and made me a pariah for going against the narrative. As I write this, Thomas Massie, Ralph Norman, and I are litigating a lawsuit against Nancy Pelosi for unconstitutionally fining us for not wearing masks on the House floor.

During COVID insanity, I was even bullied for not wearing a mask by many Democrats. One Democrat took it to a whole new level by bullying me and then pretending to be the victim afterward. On the same day I flew to Washington to vote NO on President Trump's impeachment, leaving my mom while my dad had his second brain surgery, I was walking down the tunnel in the Capitol,

filming on Facebook Live, when Cori Bush screamed at me. (By the way, this is the same woman, now a member of Congress, who was the leader of the St. Louis BLM terrorist mob who trespassed into a gated neighborhood and led the dangerous mob by the home of Mark and Patricia McCloskey.<sup>68</sup> They had to defend their lives and their home holding their legally owned guns. Thank God they were gun owners!) After she passed by me, Cori Bush turned back. Her voice was so weirdly deep and aggressive that I thought it was a man as she repeatedly yelled, “*Follow the rules and put on a mask!*”

“Stop yelling at people! Stop being a hypocrite!” I said back to her. I turned around, ignored her, and kept walking in the opposite direction. I called her a hypocrite because she was voting to impeach President Trump for “inciting violence,” and she led a violent mob that threatened to murder the McCloskeys and was now aggressively attacking me over unscientific and absurd mask rules imposed by Nancy Pelosi. After the incident, she went to Nancy Pelosi’s office and claimed I had *attacked* her. She blatantly lied to the Speaker of the House and the press as she spread this fiction, saying she felt her life was in danger. She railed on, claiming I was a dangerous, insurrectionist, radical MAGA Republican. Of course, the press ran with it.

It’s my word against hers, right? Well, what she didn’t know was that I had the whole thing on *video*! Fox and a few others picked it up, but they’d already run the stories and don’t retract these days. Cori Bush still got her office moved away from mine to one with a nicer view, and Pelosi needlessly provided her with an armed security detail, too. Pretty hypocritical that Cori Bush is always trying to ban Americans from owning guns, yet she is the one that leads the violent mobs and aggressively attacks people!

During COVID and now, I never backed down, and I never will. I introduced multiple pieces of legislation to help preserve our freedoms. In one, I sought to make vaccine and mask mandates illegal. I proposed removing liability protection from vaccine makers, allowing people to sue. And I introduced a bill on behalf of vaccine victims to investigate VAERS (Vaccine Adverse Events Reporting System), the CDC's self-reporting system for individuals, doctors, and hospitals.

There are over 1.5 million VAERS reports of vaccine injuries and over 35,000 deaths, which is far more than any other vaccine, yet it has never been investigated. The government funded these COVID vaccines and then mandated the vaccines on federal workers and contractors. Many city and state governments mandated the vaccines as well. If people refused to take the COVID vaccines, they were fired from their jobs or kicked out of the military, losing their ability to provide for themselves and their families. If the government uses the American taxpayers' hard-earned tax dollars to pay for the vaccines and then forces people to take them, how can it refuse to investigate over 1.5 million VAERS reports of vaccine injuries and 35,000 deaths? How dare they?

I want people to know how hard I'm fighting because someone must stand up for our freedoms in Congress. I have been relentlessly attacked, fined, and harassed—but it's worth it because I believe it's my job to fight for our freedom. It's my job, as well, to try to make sure that these abuses don't happen again because we've now seen the face of communism in America—and it's not only ugly, it's deadly. Let's look at the way communist ideology has entered our society under the guise of environmentalism.



## No Green Deal

THE GREEN NEW DEAL SHOULD terrify every single American. It amazes me that people don't realize the magnitude of change this bill proposes. It's a communist manifesto and a radical change to our government. Most think the Green New Deal only addresses climate change and taking care of the earth by reducing greenhouse gas emissions, which sound like responsible things to do. The reality is these issues are smokescreens the bill uses to cover up profoundly unconstitutional changes to our very way of life. The Green New Deal is driven by some of the most extreme, America-last Democrats in our government.

I know this because I actually read the Green New Deal for the first time during my freshman year of Congress. The best thing any voter can ever do is read bills directly. I get paid to do this, but none of us can take anything for granted these days. The American people need to know exactly what is in the proposed legislation because the legacy media certainly isn't going to hold Democrats accountable. It's up to us!

I only read part of the bill and couldn't believe the communist manifesto that was in front of me. The next day, I saw Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (AOC), who proposed the bill, on the House floor. I walked up to her and challenged her to a debate. I told her as a successful businesswoman, I wanted to debate her on her policies. She responded in a voice that sounded like a young teenage girl, with sentences filled with "like," plenty of hand gestures and eye-rolling. I explained she had no clue how to run a business and she shot back that she had been part of opening a restaurant. I told her that being on the wait staff on opening night does not qualify as any experience in what it takes to make a business successful. She ended up refusing to debate me, and it's a good thing she is a coward because I would humiliate her.

A thorough reading of the Green New Deal begins with a special report on global warming, blaming human activity as the dominant cause of climate change over the last hundred years.<sup>69</sup> It jumps right into detailing the so-called climate emergency, which features rising sea levels, increased wildfires, more severe storms, devastating drought, and all kinds of other things threatening human existence.

At no point does the report mention that climate has been changing throughout Earth's history or how the current levels of CO<sub>2</sub> compare to historical contexts that span millions of years (long before humans began using campfires to ward off sabretooth tigers).<sup>70</sup> In fact, one thing they don't tell you is that higher CO<sub>2</sub> is good for plants and will help us grow more food to feed more people. While I'm all for the responsible use of resources and conservation, I can easily find countermanding evidence about human-caused climate change that shows our planet's climate regularly changes over centuries. In short, if the climate is changing, it has yet to be proven that it is different from how Earth has changed over countless years.



## NO GREEN DEAL

Signing on to a bill means you endorse it and agree with it. When then-freshman AOC first proposed this legislation in the 116th Congress, some usual suspects jumped on board right away: Rashida Tlaib, Deb Haaland, and Ilhan Omar, among them. Others joined within weeks, and soon eighteen of the most radical Left representatives had offered their support. This number kept growing until 101<sup>71</sup> of her fellow Democrats signed on to co-sponsor this naive and idiotic piece of legislation. What was once mocked even within the Democrat party has steadily become the position of all Democrats. Each of them blame human activity for all the ills of the world and the supposed injustices in America. By co-sponsoring this bill, they're saying this climate crisis is so extreme that it warrants changing the laws of our land, which would affect energy, diet, immigration, and air travel. It would even go against the Constitution itself; in short, they want to rewrite America to fit AOC's communist fantasy.

But is human activity the dominant cause of climate change? We live on a ball of rock, water, and air that rotates as it circles a big, flaming ball of gas, the Sun. Our own galaxy is filled with planets, moons, and heavenly objects, all rotating and spinning, with gravity pulling on one another while moving throughout a universe that we don't even fully understand yet. With all that going on, anyone who thinks our climate is not going to change is a complete moron.

Throughout the ages, Earth has warmed and cooled. Some of it is related to our air. Taking CO<sub>2</sub> as an example, we're currently around 420 ppm (parts per million), up from a pre-industrial concentration of around 280 ppm but down from concentrations of 3000-9000 ppm millions of years ago when the earth was roughly ten degrees Celsius warmer than today.<sup>72</sup> Despite what you hear in the media, CO<sub>2</sub> isn't even the worst culprit among greenhouse

gasses—for example, water vapor has a greater impact on temperature. No, the truth is that the composition of our atmosphere is just one small part of our climate, but a far bigger factor involves massive, complex systems in our Sun. Sunspots, changes in output, and other solar cycles go through regular changes that can be charted back countless years, dramatically affecting Earth's climate.

In short, while there is a measurable increase in CO<sub>2</sub>, it's impossible to lay all of climate change at the feet of humans. Earth has gone through hot periods and ice ages regularly throughout its history, and we've even had little rapid coolings and warmings in the recent past, like the Little Ice Age. (By the way, no one paid taxes to a past government to melt the ice during the ice age. Carbon lies are a money scam.) We are part of a much bigger system that has operated without us for eons and will continue to do so long after we're gone, regardless of dumb politicians' schemes.

Yet AOC and others want us to believe that humans alone are responsible for catastrophic climate change. And she wants us, especially in the United States, to take on an impossible financial burden to "stop" this process by deindustrializing back to pre-1800s levels. Say goodbye to air travel, internal combustion engines that allow us to farm and transport food, most forms of energy production to light and heat our homes . . . and hamburgers because too many cow farts will raise the temperature, melt the ice caps, and flood their beachfront properties.

The Democrats want us to believe the science is settled on global warming. Still, Senator Jim Inhofe, among others, made a point of noting that he talked to scientists who disagreed with their assessment in a document titled US Senate Committee on Environment & Public Works.<sup>73</sup> In it, Inhofe refutes twelve major claims made by climate alarmists. His document is but one of many such works that

got swept under the table because it doesn't fit the narrative. Groups of other scientists have signed studies showing there is *no* consensus.

Here's the deal: the science isn't settled, and the rhetoric-laced takeover proposed by the Green New Deal and similar legislation is nothing more than a political power grab preying on the fears of the American people. It will remake America as we know it, turning us into a communist nation that puts the power in the hands of the (Democrat-run) government, all supposedly to save us from a climate catastrophe that doesn't exist. The Green New Deal is idiotic and insulting to anyone's intelligence. Yet, the Left has embraced it. Why? Because it's a path to more power, money, and influence for the Democrat party.

### Inconvenient Facts

AOC and others cite the "science" that falls in their favor, just like Dr. Fauci and others did during COVID, but for every study proclaiming human-caused climate change, others are refuting it. Take, for instance, rising ocean levels. While they say sea levels are rapidly increasing, we know they have been since the end of the Little Ice Age in 1850 and have been on a rising trend since the end of the last full ice age. AOC preaches fear that these rising sea levels will cause great harm (and cost a great deal of money), but there's no proof that the rate is accelerating—or is linked to human activities.

AOC herself tried to backpedal on her claim that the world would end in twelve years (we're already down a few!) by saying that Republicans had taken her sarcasm and dry humor for facts. "You'd have to have the social intelligence of a sea sponge to think it's literal," she tweeted.<sup>74</sup> Yet, as Fox pointed out, 67 percent of

Democrats believed her twelve-year apocalyptic prophecy, and 48 percent bought into the idea of a climate crisis.<sup>75</sup>

I'm pretty sure that if Democrats were convinced by their rhetoric, they'd sell their expensive beach houses. I don't see that happening, and these climate alarmists are still buying up the oceanfront property! In fact, not long after announcing that Meta and Facebook would censor climate deniers, Mark Zuckerberg added another six hundred acres of Kauai, Hawaii, to his list of holdings.<sup>76</sup> A little research into Democrats with oceanfront property might show which of them is putting their money where their mouths are.

Then they talk about wildfires (which are not caused by Jewish space lasers, just saying). Yes, we've had a lot of wildfires, but these aren't a new phenomenon. California has had wildfire problems since at least the Big Blowup fires of 1910, but I can tell you what makes it worse: poor forestry. Forests need to be cleared every so often, and nature self-regulates by burning up all the little stuff in the occasional fire. When we stop that process but don't clean up the forest floors—especially the areas under the power lines—it all piles up until you get a massive wildfire. Poor forest management, which includes not permitting logging and thinning of trees, has an enormous impact on forest fires, but that's not sexy. It's also a knock against blue states like California, which has been run and mismanaged by Democrats for decades.

Smokey the Bear used to tell us, "Only you can prevent forest fires." Still, we have strayed from the ideas of personal responsibility, and we have a duty to take good care of our forest. Instead, we have embraced a theology of climate hysteria. Humans cause most wildfires, so maybe we need to get back to Smokey.<sup>77</sup> No one wants to talk about the corrupt California power companies that don't make

important safety upgrades or the record number of homeless people burning debris on public lands.<sup>78</sup> No, it's all about climate change.

Climate alarmists like to talk about severe storms and how their cost continues to increase. There's some truth to this, but it might not be why you think. As inflation rises, so do the costs of the damages created by severe weather. Each year, they predict more major storms . . . but research shows that hurricanes making landfall have stayed pretty steady since 1878.<sup>79</sup> Not only that, but the intensity of the storms has also not increased, as the alarmists claim.<sup>80</sup>

Along with storms, they like to talk about drought, but the worst droughts we've ever seen in our country were back in the Dust Bowl era of the '30s. We've had droughts throughout Earth's history, but the human-generated CO2 the Left wants to blame happened *after* the catastrophic Dust Bowl, not before it.<sup>81</sup>

Of course, storms and droughts will be a problem; they have been for all human history! And, yes, they're getting more expensive. Talk to Joe Biden about actually lowering inflation, and then get back to me on a solution for that problem. The good news is, while fiscal costs have increased, the cost of human lives has not, despite rising populations. According to one researcher, deaths from extreme weather have plummeted 98.9 percent since the 1920s.<sup>82</sup>

## The Immigration Argument Heats Up

I was utterly astounded that Democrats cited *climate change* as one reason to support their utter failure to secure our southern border. The Green New Deal focuses on the impact that a global increase in temperature of two degrees Celsius will cause floods, heat deaths, and mass migrations. Democrats can't seem to talk about climate change *without* bringing up migrants.

Climate changes aren't dispossessing people, and, as a major industrial nation, we do *not* shoulder the blame for climate change (and must thus ignore our immigration laws so these people can flood our country). Those ideas they spout are stupid. The truth is that immigrants are searching for paying *work* and a better life, or they're trying to slip into the US for darker reasons like drugs and sex trafficking. Most people are trying to leave their country's poverty and earn their money in dollars, which are still strong despite Joe Biden's best efforts. However, they send those dollars back to their home countries in South or Central America, among others. They may someday return home, made wealthier by earning American dollars for work Americans no longer want to do.

I have no problem with people wanting to better themselves or take care of their families, but there is a legal path, and they don't have to come over the border illegally. I do have a problem with the fact that they don't pay taxes to the US, yet Democrats want to put their healthcare and other necessities on the back of the American taxpayer. In addition, we give *billions* of dollars away in foreign aid, giving these countries the means to fix their supposedly climate-change-related problems that the Left says are driving their people to our shores.<sup>83</sup> This isn't fair to the American people. We don't deserve to be bled dry for people who won't pay their taxes or for those developing nations who just pocket the money.

AOC claims that more than 350 million more people will be exposed globally to deadly heat stress by 2050. But data shows that cold kills *far* more people than heat does. In fact, according to a Lancet study, *90 percent* of the deaths related to climate are from the *cold*, not the heat!<sup>84</sup> The study stopped short of claiming that global warming would reduce deaths, but the science here is inarguable. Consider this: when it's warm, you can grow more food than you

can when it's too cold. Fewer people will die of starvation if we can grow more food, further decreasing the deaths if the world warms.

I feel for the already-hot, poorer countries that suffer more in the heat, but in Congress, we aren't creating legislation for the world; we're doing what's best for America first. While it mentions things like a global reduction in greenhouse gasses, the changes the Green New Deal proposes won't stop other countries from doing what they're going to do.

They want to keep global temperatures from rising more than 1.5 degrees Celsius above pre-industrialized levels to avoid the most severe impacts of climate change.<sup>85</sup> Still, they can't control any other countries. It's like they think they're God and can regulate the earth's temperature. They believe they can do this by reducing CO<sub>2</sub>, which only accounts for a small percentage of global temperature, and they want to go to net zero by 2050. (Net zero is what they call it when reduced emissions can be balanced by technology that can pull carbon and other products from the air.) Let's look at these goals and their impact, especially the effects of trying to go net zero.

## A Green New World

AOC blames climate change for more than \$500 billion in lost annual economic output.<sup>86</sup> But it's their America-last policies which caused our manufacturers, factories, energy companies, oil and gas companies, and many more to either go overseas or fail under unfair trade practices. The climate's not at fault; it's the global economy that Washington, DC, has created and pushed America into that has cost us jobs and destroyed families, resulting in lost annual economic output.

They don't seem to care that China and others are competing with greater advantages over US businesses. This is partly due to their cheap labor but also partly due to their businesses and manufacturing practices. From strip mining that leaves the earth scarred and as barren as the moon to dumping huge amounts of trash in the oceans and pollutants in the air, these nations get by with things that we don't permit in our country. If we mine, we do so safely; if we pump out oil, it's done as cleanly as humanly possible. We are more responsible in every respect than nearly any other country in the world, so why do the Democrats try to throttle *America's* natural resources and production?

Other countries cannot match our ethical and environmental practices. All the sourced goods and materials we receive are far worse for the environment than if they were produced in America according to our environmentally friendly standards. In order to make batteries and motors for EVs, China's lithium mines destroy the surrounding area and dump trash in the ocean, killing the coral reefs mentioned in the Green New Deal. And that's just fine with AOC. The Democrats don't have a problem hurting the environment as long as it's done by another country—and they can virtue signal. It's both absurd and disingenuous.

The Green New Deal wants us to get our energy from unreliable wind and solar while trying to kill off oil, natural gas, and coal. As it heats up, elites like AOC can go inside to the air conditioning. Their idiotic policies will make energy so expensive that ordinary people will struggle to pay for it. Wind and solar are unreliable because the wind doesn't always blow, and the sun doesn't always shine. Additionally, batteries with the capacity to store excess energy needed to bridge the gaps are extremely expensive to buy and maintain. Even in a perfect little green world, it turns out you *still* need



other energy sources to augment wind and solar. They don't understand the concept of clean coal, how abundant and useful natural gas is, that it takes oil to move energy around, and irrationally fear nuclear power. So, they try to stick us with unreliable power and over-taxed supplementation while simultaneously radically increasing demand. Not a great plan!

It turns out, solar and wind aren't even that green! Those batteries they need to store the power when it's dark and the wind isn't blowing are costly and difficult to make, and they'll wear out and need to be replaced repeatedly.<sup>87</sup> Solar panels are inefficient and require toxic chemicals, produce harmful gasses, and leave a lot of waste materials that must be cleaned up. Wind turbines murder birds, literally, so the people who get their Arbor Day Foundation wild bird gardens going and promote wind turbine power are killing their feathered little friends in droves. Not only that, but wind turbines aren't sustainable financially and don't generate enough power to be worth the investment.<sup>88</sup> The idea that these solutions are the future is laughable; we're simply not ready yet.

When they passed the infrastructure bill under Joe Biden's administration, the Democrats spent only a small percentage on our roads, power grid, and so forth—you know, actual infrastructure.<sup>89</sup> They spent the rest on other, random stuff like COVID handouts and Green New Deal initiatives. When we follow the money, we don't see investment into what America needs; we see it frittered away on ridiculous expenditures. Biden's bill provided \$10 billion for a civilian climate corps, \$20 billion to advance racial equality and environmental justice, and \$175 billion for subsidies for electric vehicles, just to name a few.<sup>90</sup>

I am convinced Democrats don't know how money works, only how to spend it. Otherwise, they would understand that net zero

global emissions by 2050 is a complete suicide pact. It's unrealistic and will destroy our economy. In a word, it's *impossible*. Net zero would return the world to the stone age.

Let's assume that electric vehicles are net zero (which they aren't and never will be because it produces emissions to build them). But, in the mind of the average Democrat climate alarmist, the EV is our savior. So, they say to themselves that if we simply made everything electric—powered by solar, which produces harmful waste during manufacturing, and wind, which is unreliable and kills birds—we could quit adding emissions and thus cool the world off and make everyone happy.

So, this means no more internal combustion engines, for which we have infrastructures worldwide for farming, manufacturing, transport, commuting, and all the rest. Never mind that they were making great strides in making combustion engines more efficient. I'm sorry, farmers; you can't use your expensive diesel tractor. You'll have to buy an insanely expensive electric one. Sorry, truck drivers; no more trans-continental transport. You'll have to buy an electric rig that can only go three hundred miles a day and costs much more than a normal semi. The same goes for every school bus, delivery vehicle, and daily commuter car—all must be electric. I guarantee they haven't considered the cost of replacing the *world's* internal combustion vehicles with battery-powered ones. And then we get to air travel. AOC thinks we can ban jet airplanes, and we'll all simply *walk* to Europe or Asia. In her own New Green Deal, she proposes an underwater high speed rail connecting the West Coast to Hawaii. Imagine how a tsunami would affect your arrival time on this train! Or we'll build electric airplanes, which have to lift heavy battery packs as well as people and freight can only travel a minimal distance, and will be considerably slower. But all of this is just transportation.

What about manufacturing? No one would be able to make anything because factories produce emissions along with products. And if they do produce products, they'll have to mess with complicated carbon exchange scams (scams that have made John Kerry and Al Gore rich for decades). How much electricity would it take to run all the powerful machines in the factories and manufacturing plants? To meet this net zero goal, the world would have to stop making things—anything!

And where does all this electricity come from? They want to increase demand dramatically, but their technology isn't up to the task of powering our current needs, let alone the extra required by going all-electric. Perhaps we could all have treadmills at home and use those to power our houses and cars?

The truth is that we could never cut emissions completely. It's totally impossible.<sup>91</sup> The only way to go net zero is to offset emissions through carbon removal and carbon markets. And these are schemes, pure and simple, to make money.<sup>92</sup>

While so-called “green energy” people say they want things like wind and solar, they don't because as soon as they get them, they complain about the problems with these sources. What they really want is *deindustrialization*. They don't desire modern life or advancement; they want us to return to the stone age, except they won't like it if we return to burning wood to keep warm. That would be an emission! So, you won't be able to cool your house because we won't be able to make enough electricity; you won't be able to heat your home because that would burn wood.

AOC and her friends will “save” the world—but destroy civilization.

## The Rest of the World

So, just for a moment, let's live in the Democrat's fictional world where net zero is even possible for America. While numerous nations have made pledges that they, too, will go net zero, I can assure you that is very wishful thinking. China, which said it would be there by 2060, in just one year, has ramped up coal production by 9 percent in 2022 over their production in 2021 and is building six times more new coal plants than anyone else.<sup>93</sup> Crude oil production increased by 3 percent in the same period, and they're buying more oil and gas from Russia than ever before.

And they're spending next to nothing on going "green." Why? Because it's *stupid* and prohibitively expensive and inefficient. China and Russia and developing nations will continue to use fossil fuels because they work, and they're available for all the poorer people in this world who cannot afford to make the switch to electric (really, no one can; they'll just add it to the debt). When these other nations fail to embrace the Democrat's Green New Deal, it will be a slap in the face and make everything they *say* they're trying to do (save the planet by costing us trillions) pointless. It will drive America into the ground while enemies like China surge ahead.

It's like a political cartoon, with Joe Biden and President Xi of China standing at the edge of a cliff. Biden promises to be net zero by 2050, and Xi promises to be there by 2060.<sup>94</sup> Xi smiles as Biden jumps off the cliff first. They've sought the fall of America for all these years, but if we go for net zero, we're doing it to ourselves.

## Who Pays?

We have talked about the cost of the Green New Deal a bit, but I want to drill down deeper into this because the fact is, even if we could trust the government to determine the world's climate and run every aspect of our lives, there is no way to pay for AOC's plan. This is a fantasy designed to destroy the economy of the United States and a communist manifesto, but more than anything else—the Green New Deal is financial suicide.

By some estimates, the Green New Deal will cost around *\$93 trillion*<sup>95</sup> (America is over \$32 trillion in debt and climbing, just for reference). Even the lower cost projections for AOC's plan put it at \$51 trillion.<sup>96</sup> Bernie Sanders admitted that the universal healthcare proposed in the bill would cost between \$20 and \$40 trillion over ten years!

Let's put this in comparison: the tax revenue of the federal government in 2022 was "just" \$4.9 trillion and is around \$4 trillion most years, meaning the cost of the Green New Deal is roughly *twenty times* the tax revenue of our country!

The Green New Deal is nothing short of a scam! It's financially impossible, and the Left are disingenuous when claiming they want "green energy." There's no way to get to net zero without destroying the world as we know it and returning to the stone age. No country can afford this proposal. It's a way to grind America further into the dust, and perhaps one of the best examples of an America-last policy I can think of. Just like in real communist countries, the Green New Deal makes the rich get richer and the poor get poorer while destroying the middle class.

The more the government touches, the more it ruins. Look at healthcare in countries with single-payer systems, such as the UK.

Let's see how much people enjoy waiting on a list controlled by bureaucrats for cancer treatment or being unable to see a doctor when they need one, as they do in England! That's a perfect example: the government's healthcare sucks, and people must still pay for better care. Under that system, you'd better hope you're rich if you get sick because the government isn't going to save you!

The government isn't here to save us; it isn't supposed to right the wrongs of climate or remake social justice in the green Democrats' twisted perspective. They want the government to take over because it gives them more money and power. Consequences be damned.

The only people who will make out under the Green New Deal are those favored by the all-powerful government. Only the chosen energy sources, carbon traders, and government workers stand to gain. If you're in an industry they want to kill, look out—it doesn't matter how hard you work, they're going to destroy your business. Unless you're one of their protected classes or chosen industries, you're on the extinction list and the future welfare rolls.

## Green Justice Warriors

While I may focus on the absurdity of how much the Green New Deal will cost, how impractical it is, and how unnecessary I believe it is, within AOC's signature proposal is a great deal that has *nothing* to do with energy, emissions, or going green. Somehow, they use climate as a guise for addressing "injustice" in the most communist way possible. They want the Green New Deal to counter systemic injustices. How does that affect the climate? In short, it doesn't. This, my dear reader, shows beyond doubt that the entire legislation is nothing more than a power grab for extreme Left Democrats full-on embracing communism.

## NO GREEN DEAL

They believe that it is the duty of the federal government not just to halt climate change and prevent global temperatures from rising, but to create millions of high-wage *union* jobs for all communities and workers (except for, obviously, the millions put out of work by pushing us away from efficient fossil fuels). How will the government create good and high-paying union jobs and encourage collective bargaining agreements to ensure prosperity and economic security for all people in the United States . . . other than by taking over?

Only in communist countries does the government create and control jobs, getting involved in union disputes and bargaining agreements. In the US, the free-market economy does that—and it has been the success story of the *world*. Remember, everyone wants to come here. Why? *Because the American experiment works!* Yet now, AOC wants us to be just like Russia or China. And, while the Soviet Union collapsed and true communism showed it doesn't work, AOC wants the United States of America to go the same failed route that hasn't worked for anyone else.

We already have a Bill of Rights, but the Green New Deal proposes a different bill of rights, making it the job of the federal government to control the climate, the jobs, and our lives.<sup>97</sup> This directly opposes the real Bill of Rights as the Tenth Amendment clearly states that the federal government only has the rights and powers delegated in the Constitution.<sup>98</sup> If it's not in the Constitution, it's not in the government's power. And nowhere in our Constitution does it say that our government can control the world's weather, create and control jobs, and all the rest that the Green New Deal proposes. Every right not spelled out in the Constitution belongs to the *people*, not the federal government, and we must fight to keep the government from taking over with AOC and her cronies in charge.

Our Founding Fathers were smart enough to understand that power will corrupt, so much of the genius of America, including the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, actually protects the people *from* our federal government! This is the complete opposite of what the Green New Deal proposes, by forcing us to eat healthy foods and making it the federal government's duty to control our climate, produce, community, and resiliency. It is not in our best interest to give our government the power to control the weather (if such a thing is even possible), force everyone to go vegan, provide for nature, and control our lives.

But then they go further: the Green New Deal says the role of the federal government is to promote justice and equality by stopping current, preventing future, and repairing historical oppression of indigenous peoples, communities of color, migrant communities, deindustrialized communities, depopulated communities, the poor, low-income workers, women, the elderly, the unhoused, homeless people, people with disabilities, and youth. In essence, this makes it the government's job to fix everything that's ever gone wrong (at taxpayers' expense) rather than giving us all an equal chance to determine our futures.

It has never been the government's job to make everything perfect, and it certainly isn't its job to get everyone to the same outcome. That is called communism, and it destroys personal initiative and lost the Cold War! In America, we strive to give everyone equal opportunity. What we make of that opportunity is up to *us* as individuals.

America was designed with the understanding that God created all of us equal. Race, gender, identity, economic status, and all the other identity politics keywords they like to use do not change our essential quality. Yet people like AOC think some should be brought down in order to make people who haven't even tried feel better.



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When founded, America achieved levels of equality that most countries have never dreamed of. Today, in some Muslim countries like Afghanistan, women cannot get an education, work a job, drive a car, or even receive medical care!<sup>99</sup> In some countries, children are used as slave labor, and sex trafficking runs rampant. Many are not governed by law but by dictators. In some places, being from another tribe is reason enough for genocide. The peaceful transition of power we experience in America is just a daydream in much of the world. Despite all America has done to make our country—and the rest of the world—a better place, short-sighted people like AOC and Joe Biden cannot understand the beauty of our system of government, and they take it for granted. They think communism and socialism will improve America, but these concepts have already failed and will only bring this great country down.

Creating real equality in America means putting everyone on equal footing to start, not guaranteeing everyone an equal outcome. It means everyone has a fair chance, and we make decisions that either take us toward success or away from it every day. We will either do the right thing or the wrong thing. As we live, we create natural consequences for ourselves and others with our choices. We accept that other things are beyond our control, such as the weather, disease, and earthquakes. For these, we trust in God—not the federal government! By expecting the federal government to solve all our problems for us, we give it power that will, most likely, be abused and only create inequality. The Founding Fathers were wise to limit government, and we're fools if we give it too much power and control.

The Democrats add language about eliminating inequality in all their recent legislation. This sounds great, but as they promote justice and equality based on identity politics, they create more inequality.

You see, if you are a white male, you don't qualify for help in their books, no matter how badly you need it. It's up to you to survive, achieve, and be successful on your own. But if you fall into any of the categories on their list, you can expect the federal government to come in and fix it for you and give you what others must work for.

And guess what happens when someone owes the federal government their livelihood, survival, and success? They become dependent, and this gives the government even more power. Yet people will voluntarily put themselves in this position of dependency on—rather than protection from—our federal government because many people don't understand how it's designed to work or the consequences of going down Biden, AOC, and Sanders' path.

With the Green New Deal and other pieces of legislation, such as the border bill, Democrats are trying to buy votes. They tell people that if they vote for them, they will ensure that the federal government takes care of them. But the logic is a lie because, in the name of justice and equality, they are wrapping the American people with chains no one else has been able to bear. They will saddle us with impossible debt, unmeetable expectations, and unrealistic goals. I firmly believe that if they even achieve part of what they say they want, it will quickly become all about the next crisis that we need the government to save us from.

Currently, the government cannot meet 100 percent of power demand with "clean," renewable, and zero-emission energy sources<sup>100</sup>—let alone in a future world that has gone all electric! It's impossible to meet the country's energy demands this way, and even if we could, as we have discussed, it isn't as green as they say it is. The American people should not have to pay for it!

Efficient fossil fuels powered the expansion of society as we began manufacturing things at larger levels and steadily headed west,

but they would tear it all down. To picture the world AOC and the others want, we must go back in time to find an era before oil and natural gas, before the railroads connected the continent, and before the Industrial Revolution.

## Out of Contact with Reality

Actress Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez doesn't understand how economics, manufacturing, farming, energy, or transportation actually work. She's never lived outside a big city and doesn't even understand how food gets on her table or why the lights turn on. Never forget AOC, or Sandy (which is her real name), as a freshman member of Congress, didn't even know what a garbage disposal was until she moved to Washington, DC. She doesn't think about how these things work; she just has a warm and fuzzy idea that everything should be clean, sustainable, and "green."

The people in rural America understand how much work and energy it takes to grow our food. They know how much the weather affects us far more intimately than Sandy ever will. They understand how the sun and rain impact the crops, and just like there aren't atheists in foxholes, I'd be willing to bet that nearly every farmer has looked up at the sky and said a prayer when things looked bad.

Knowing what we can and cannot control, with the stakes being the food we eat, tends to create thankfulness, faith, and reliance on God, our Creator, the One who tells the rains to fall on the just and the unjust alike. Sandy wants the government to be God and for everyone to believe in it, but history has taught us that this is utterly foolish.

Sandy and the Democrats who have signed onto the Green New Deal have made climate change their religion and government their

savior. They have faith in our government to change the global temperature and, despite countries like China, that we can somehow get the rest of the world to buy into their extremism, too. What she doesn't understand is that while in America, people like Sandy have the luxury and privilege to consider these things, in most of the world, people are just trying to *live* day-to-day.

Think that it's all been stopped because the Green New Deal proposed by Sandy didn't go through? I'm afraid it's not that simple. The Democrats have basically passed a good portion of the Green New Deal in major bills during the 117th Congress instead of passing Sandy's original bill. So, even more terrifying than the original legislation becoming reality is that much of this idiocy has already gone through, thanks to Nancy Pelosi's help as Speaker of the House and Joe Biden signing it into law one piece at a time. While the bill itself may still bear Sandy's name, it's actually Joe Biden who is making the climate cult a reality in the US, not Sandy (who, I should point out, didn't actually write it but instead put her name on the product of a communist think tank).

The Green New Deal is the very opposite of how our Constitution and the Bill of Rights established our country and the role the Founding Fathers wanted for our government. They recognized that our rights come not from the government but from *God*, but when you take Him out of the picture and make the government your god, you're setting yourself up for a system that will make the government overreach during COVID seem tame. If we let the federal government take over everything, like Sandy wants, we will find ourselves living in 1984, which is exactly what the Democrats want.

America will lose under the Green New Deal. We will lose freedoms, finances, and business, and we'll hand it all over to a bloated, all-controlling federal government completely at odds with the

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Founding Fathers' vision that made America the greatest country in the world. It gives every advantage to countries like China, on which we'd be dependent for our electric motors and other manufacturing. And even if we did all Sandy wants, it still wouldn't enable the government to control the world's weather, temperature, and climate. Having ruined our country, the earth would still be hot and cold and have storms and droughts.

Climate alarmists must not be allowed to run our country into the ground in the name of a false god that controls every aspect of our lives. The Democrats who signed on for this bill are either horribly naïve or see the potential for more power, and we need to put a stop to the lunacy before they're allowed to gut this once-great nation and send us back to being a pre-industrial society. I, for one, will not rest until the Green New Deal is defeated, and I urge you to contact your representatives to ensure we block Sandy and her pet project at every turn.





## Right Versus Wrong

FOR THE FIRST TIME IN a long time, with Donald J. Trump, we had a man running for office who stood for what we believed in, who spoke like a regular person, and who championed America-first policies—policies that the Republican party had not stood for in years. This is the kind of leadership we need if we're going to fight the climate alarmists trying to use fear as a way of making money and taking over our country.

What I like to call corporate communism has aligned Washington and the big corporations to make the CEOs and bureaucrats a lot of money, all at the cost of the American taxpayer. They have sold out America's smaller businesses and forced them into unfair competition with China, India, and Mexico. One of the reasons the establishment opposed President Trump is that his policies didn't align with their corporate communism. For instance, Trump put tariffs on goods from China, which made a big difference. Trion Mills, who makes those real-deal blue jeans, shared how Trump's trade policies had started leveling the playing field as they sold their products, but

they're just one business. Let me tell you about an entire industry so you can see our America-last trade agreements' impact on America.

In Dalton, Georgia, which is part of my district, we have some of the world's biggest flooring companies. At one point, these American-based companies dominated the carpet world and brought lots of money to Georgia. However, styles and tastes changed, and people began to shift away from carpets to hard flooring. The thing is, good hardwood flooring is expensive, so customers began gravitating to other products, such as vinyl plank flooring. This cost-effective option began to seriously eat away at the market share for carpet, but it also gave foreign companies a leg up.

Each Dalton-based flooring company told me the same thing—Trump's tariffs leveled the playing field and countered unfair advantages. Hard flooring, such as vinyl and laminate hardwood flooring, made in China doesn't have to follow the same standards as American products do. China does not have the same environmental laws we do, for one thing. They are allowed to use chemicals banned here in the United States by the EPA, and the chemicals they use are another reason (together with government-subsidized labor) why China can make products cheaper than we can in the United States.

As people shifted to hard flooring away from carpets, these foreign-made products gave international companies a significant price advantage over American-made products. In my district, Trump's changes were just beginning to negate the benefit of that Chinese flooring. So, the bottom line: Trump was helping Americans compete against China, and it was working.

Even the threat of tariffs changed things, and together with a few other regulatory reforms, we began to see companies expatriate back to America. Businesses that had gone overseas brought their money back to our banks,<sup>101</sup> investing more in our economy—and



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taxes. Trump's tax cuts were massive for businesses and regular people alike, putting money back into corporate America that could be used to develop new products, give their workers bonuses, increase their salaries, and so forth, all fueling our economy. Companies could reinvest in their businesses in order to grow, add new products and divisions, hire more workers, and again, all of that fueled the economy. President Trump's tariffs, tax cuts, and savings plans were fantastic for America, producing low unemployment and *record* employment levels for minorities.

Additionally, the Trump administration's reform of death and estate taxes began to tackle a problem destroying generational wealth. Every hard-working small business owner, farmer, and other successful individual wants to hand down the fruit of their hard work to their children, but Democrats don't like people independent of the government. When the government gives you something, you depend on it, giving them power over you.

Biden continually talks about raising taxes, and while he talks about increasing them on the wealthiest people in America, really, his tax plans will not just raise taxes for billionaires but will directly hurt the middle class. Biden's policies punish the embattled middle class, which is a terrible danger to our country. Democrats scream about wealth inequality, but when you attack the middle class, you create an environment where the extremely rich find loopholes for keeping their money, and everyone else has to rely on government handouts.

Estate taxes destroy generational wealth. Just think about it: unless you are a wealthy farmer, if the owners die and leave it to their children, they may be unable to afford the state taxes and must sell the family farm. The same is true of small business owners; if the children aren't wealthy enough to pay the estate taxes, the business

will collapse. We often only think about inheritance money, but these are genuine dangers to the middle class.

The real tragedy? This money has already been taxed! There shouldn't be any reason for people to pay taxes on it again when one generation transfers wealth to another. The consequences of these America-last policies are devastating! It rips the heart out of middle-class Americans' ability to be independent by destroying the generational transfer of small businesses, farms, and other forms of wealth.

Trump's reforms had begun to fix some of the issues destroying American businesses and wealth, and there were plans to make further improvements. Some of us in Congress still want to protect Americans' ability to pass on generational wealth. Unfortunately, you would be surprised how this America-first thinking is opposed, not just by the extreme Left, but by representatives you might not expect—globalist-thinking, corporate communists who have grown fat and wealthy on the backs of hard-working Americans.

## A Leg Up or a Handout?

Let me task you: which option does more for America? Government handouts or putting money back into our economy to fuel growth, produce more tax revenue, and employ more (especially economically vulnerable) people? Hard choice, right?

Let's contrast the Trump administration with the record of Joe Biden, who is bought and paid for by China, which becomes more evident every day. There is no chance that this corrupt President would ever stand up to China and create policies that would threaten China's trade advantages. Biden's policies are consistently America-last, and he is quick to give people a handout. He seems dead set against giving American businesses or workers a leg up.

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From the moment Joe Biden took office, using the blunt instrument of executive orders, Biden began either adding new regulations that strangled American businesses or cutting those that Trump had removed. Both played right into China's hands. As America hurts, China benefits.

China understood the war against America decades ago—it wouldn't be military, it would be an economic war. And thanks to people like Biden, they've nearly won. The Victorian economic sphere was the first step, and they used our greed against us to sell us cheap products built on the backs of poorly paid workers. But with their economic victory in the works, they have the money to go to the next page: military dominance. China is currently building its military at the fastest rate of any country in human history! It's not just their millions of soldiers. They are developing stealth fighter planes, a nuclear arsenal, and a massive navy, just to name a few.

When you are beating everybody with your economy, you're winning; that's why no one will want to go to war with China. They have a massive economy, sell us a ton of goods, and now they have a rapidly growing military. In short, they're what America *used to be* before corporate communists like Biden began to destroy us, not from the outside but from within. Washington, DC's corruption and America-last policies have taken us from the envy of the world to second place. How long will we hold second at the rate they are eroding our foundation, the forgotten Americans of the middle class?

Far-Left creatures like Biden believe in a world economy over an American economy. They are utterly committed to this ideal at the expense of our own country—a country they claim to love but show no evidence they actually support.

Not only that, but they're also ignorant. I'd love to know how many representatives and unelected bureaucrats in government have

*ever* had to make payroll. They don't know what it's like to have *other people's* livelihoods depend on your ability to keep the business alive. While attorneys might do well in a courtroom, they may not make good politicians. They are risk-averse, and when you're scared of the future, you will always find a reason *not* to do something. They may have an expensive education, possibly a small career, and may be very smart, but they use their smarts to argue their way *out* of doing things.

A good business owner knows that you must always innovate and try new things to stay ahead of the competition. It's what drives the free-market economy and capitalism, and it's why this system is so beautiful. When you try new things, and they work, you succeed. Risk-averse politicians don't understand these concepts because they have not lived it.

I wish I were just talking about the Democrats, but this problem is true of the Republican party as well. In fact, I believe it's a fatal flaw with the Republican party; very smart Republicans may understand the law and come up with ideas, but they also are swift to come up with all the reasons they *cannot* defeat the Democrats. We're always on the defensive, and just like America, we're losing.

Let's look at who is beating us; first, you've got Biden himself. Anyone with a brain could see he was unfit for office as he campaigned from the safety of his basement—no one could see how much he'd declined. A far-Left Democrat posing as a moderate, the spineless and corrupt Joe Biden has repeatedly shown his true colors, such as betraying his stance against abortion, which once defined him as a Catholic. We'll spend a lot more time on Biden elsewhere in the book, so let's take a moment to look at some of the other Democrats gaining notoriety.

We've watched people like Cori Bush gain power. Remember, this is a woman who led the violent BLM mob through the St. Louis neighborhood of the McCloskeys, a pair of personal injury attorneys. During a season of violent riots where BLM rioters destroyed businesses, burned buildings, and shot police officers, the McCloskeys endured threats ranging from murder to rape to burning down their house. They opposed those threatening them by brandishing their firearms. Guilty of the unforgivable crime of standing up against the Left, as Mark McCloskey put it, they stood their ground. Meanwhile, Cori Bush led the mob through their private gated neighborhood with a megaphone, and now this woman is in Congress!

Or take the case of Maxine Waters and other older Democrats. This woman was a political activist who had held power way too long. Married to a wealthy banker in California, she sat as the chairwoman on the Financial Services Committee—yet it seems as if she understands *very little* about finances. This is the same woman who advocated more rioting and confrontation during the Derek Chauvin trial.<sup>102</sup> She demonstrated no understanding of the justice system and promoted harassing Trump supporters,<sup>103</sup> sounding the dog whistle for violence against Republican lawmakers and voters.

On the younger side of the Left, you have people like Ilhan Omar, who comes from Somalia and is a radical Muslim.<sup>104</sup> She aligns herself with the Muslim Brotherhood<sup>105</sup> and people like Linda Sarsour,<sup>106</sup> an extremely dangerous woman supported by the Southern Poverty Law Center who advocated *jihad* against Trump.<sup>107</sup> Ilhan Omar married her *brother*, breaking immigration laws to get him into the country,<sup>108</sup> and she somehow still managed to become a Congresswoman! She now uses her voice for antisemitism and supports *jihad* against Israel, our ally, by embracing groups like Hamas, a terrorist organization supported by Iran. Most of all, Ilhan Omar

should be held accountable for sharing the bail bond link for the Minnesota Freedom Fund to bail out violent Antifa and BLM rioters during the riots in the summer of 2020. However, she wasn't the only one who encouraged people to donate money to bail out criminals who would go back to the streets to riot again. Our current Vice President of the United States of America, Kamala Harris, also shared the bail link, encouraging the destruction of communities and violent attacks against innocent Americans and police.

And, of course, we cannot forget AOC—Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, an actress who basically tried out with a funded political group looking for a candidate for New York's 14th Congressional district. A liar, AOC grew up in a nice family, not the poor one she claims,<sup>109</sup> and has a degree from Boston University in international relations and economics. Briefly a bartender, this woman has zero life experience in anything. She's of course, a radical leftist, who has promoted communist ideals, while being aligned with Bernie Sanders. Having been elected thanks to the image and funding of her backers, she now proposes legislation like the Green New Deal.

While I attack Democrats, don't get me wrong; I attack Republicans too. I actually ran for Congress because I was furious that Republicans didn't act when they had the chance. Under President Trump, we had full control of the House and the Senate his first two years. Somehow, Republicans did not fund and build the wall, defund sanctuary cities, repeal Obamacare, or defund Planned Parenthood. That failure is what drove me to run for Congress. But we had four years of trying to fight the establishment and enact America-first policies. Imagine if this had been a full Republican party effort. I shake my head at that lost opportunity.

We enjoyed a term of actual world peace under Trump—peace through strength, something sorely lacking under Biden. Trump

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didn't just spend a lot on our military; he *invested* his time into them. By rebuilding America's military and not putting up with other countries' crap, he repositioned America as the world's superpower and a force no one wanted to mess with. I feel this understanding of the military came from his time in military school as a child and his great respect for our nation's heroes. He stood out from other presidents in how he went to military bases worldwide. He was known for visiting soldiers in Walter Reed and other hospitals; whenever they were injured, he would meet with them when he could and call their families. I'll never forget how he greeted the planes and coffins of America's sons and daughters when they came home. I understand that he greeted nearly every deceased service member when they returned home, something no other president has done—a tradition Biden immediately spurned.

Trump would never brag about those things himself, but I have seen it and talked to people who saw how he simply understood and sincerely loved the people of our military. He saw them as actual people, not numbers, and he respected their sacrifice when they were killed. It's like he was losing one of his family members! It wasn't just for TV; it was real, and some of the most touching moments never made it to a screen. But then again, they shouldn't have to.

With the contrast of Trump and Biden's records on foreign wars, I'd like to take a detailed look into the war in Ukraine. It isn't just a telling situation I firmly believe would not have happened under President Trump. It's the beginning of an indictment against one of the worst and most corrupt presidents in our nation's history.







## Just Say “No” to Wars

IN SHARP CONTRAST WITH THE peace under President Trump, as I write this, Joe Biden’s corruption and incompetence have us on the verge of nuclear war with Russia. Putin and others have warned of nuclear war, raised their threat levels, and postured repeatedly throughout the Ukrainian conflict. But I’m not sure how stable or rational Putin is or how credible his threats are. Does anyone *really* know? And with Russia’s former president Medvedev chiming in on using nuclear weapons if Ukraine takes Russian territory, I feel we have a real threat of war.

For many Americans, Russia’s invasion of Ukraine in February of 2022 was the first time they’d heard anything about a conflict between these two countries—at least for years. A little research shows that they’ve been fighting over the Donbas region in Ukraine, where many people speak Russian, since at least 2008. Russia would say it should be part of their country since they speak Russian and went on and on about Nazi militias in Ukraine as their rationale for invading.

Before the start of the war, the liberal media wrote about some Nazi groups, and the Ukrainian government—a historically corrupt body, which we'll get into later—had killed around 14,000 people in conflicts in the Donbas region. Reportedly, many of the people in this area want to be part of Russia, giving Putin a shred of legitimacy for his ambitions. In short, the Ukrainian conflict is not new, and neither of these countries has any moral high ground to stand on.

While Vladimir Putin may have claimed altruistic motives, he also had military and economic goals for the invasion. Putin wanted Russian ports in the Black Sea and access to the area's abundant natural resources, which are only growing in value because of our pressure to switch to EVs.

So, that's the stage, but it's also important to know the players. We obviously have Vladimir Putin, who is aggressive in his leadership and has justified the invasion. Then we have former comedian Volodymyr Zelenskyy in Ukraine—a man with a special friend, Joe Biden.

I serve on the House Oversight Committee, and our investigation into Joe Biden and his family's business deal has uncovered that the Biden family has been greatly enriched by Ukraine. This includes a \$5 million bribe to then-Vice President Joe Biden and another \$5 million to Hunter Biden from the oligarch who owns Burisma, a Ukrainian holding company with corrupt ties to Joe and Hunter Biden. Burisma is owned by a super-corrupt, wealthy man, Mykola Zlochevsky, who is now ratting on Joe Biden and his involvement in Hunter's business deals. During Joe Biden's terms as Vice President of the United States, Burisma paid Hunter Biden for a job for which he had no qualifications, except that his father was the Vice President of the United States of America. Joe, ironically tasked with investigating corruption as Vice President, was supposed to keep an eye

on money going to highly corrupt Ukraine. Instead, his family got filthy rich on the US dollars going to Ukraine, thanks to Hunter's crooked business dealings with Burisma, Rosemont Seneca, and the many other shell companies.

And Joe Biden delivered. He is even on record. In a 2016 video, he brags about threatening to withhold \$1 billion in USAID to Ukraine unless they fire Ukrainian Prosecutor General Viktor Shokin, who just so happened to be investigating Burisma.

During our investigation, we uncovered that the Bidens have a network of shell LLCs, through which they have laundered millions over the years. They've opened and closed dozens of LLCs, where they took payments from foreign countries and doled out payments to various family members.

Once decried as purely conspiracy theories—if the media reported on it at all—I have seen the many bank statements, thousands of pages of SARs (suspicious activity reports), and more that clearly show the connections between the Bidens and foreign governments such as Ukraine's. Tragically, we knew much of this *before* the 2020 election, and instead of being blocked and stonewalled, this information should have resulted in investigations and influenced American voters. Bill Barr, Attorney General under President Trump, was even in possession of an FBI 1023 unclassified form in June 2020 that was filled out by the FBI's top informant, who the FBI paid \$200,000 for the information. It outlined the \$5 million bribe to Joe Biden to make Burisma's "problems go away"<sup>110</sup> but they did not investigate or prosecute, let alone make the *unclassified* form available to the American people. Along with failures and cover-ups like this, many never heard about the incriminating information on Hunter Biden's laptop because of media bias, big tech censorship, and the weaponization of and coverups within the DOJ.

## Crooked Bedfellows

What exactly does all this have to do with a war in Ukraine? Remember the little recording where Joe Biden bragged about threatening to withhold \$1 *billion* in US support to Ukraine if they didn't fire a prosecutor? That prosecutor happened to be going after Hunter Biden for corruption while Volodymyr Zelenskyy was president of Ukraine, and lots of dirty business was going on through Hunter and Burisma. This is the same Volodymyr Zelenskyy who was on the other end of a noteworthy phone call with President Trump in 2019, where Trump demanded transparency regarding the Bidens and for which the Democrats tried to impeach Trump. It doesn't take a forensic accountant to connect the dots and see that the Biden family got rich from then-Vice President Joe Biden pulling political favors for Burisma and getting kickbacks from Ukraine while Zelenskyy was president.

And then Russia came knocking.

At first, Joe Biden denounced the invasion and said that the US would not get involved in a war in Ukraine—they're not part of NATO. But here's the problem: Joe Biden, President of the United States, is a puppet on a string. Thanks to that little bit of Hunter/Burisma dirt, he's on the hook to Volodymyr Zelenskyy and Ukraine.

Despite the sentiment in the news, Ukraine is not a nice country. They've shelled and bombed the Russian-speaking people of Donbas for years, murdering 14,000 of them and sending Nazi militia groups to kill them brutally. Ukraine is one of the most corrupt countries *in the entire world*, and they own a piece of Joe Biden. And while Biden initially said America wouldn't get involved, here we are, \$75 billion<sup>111</sup> (and counting) of military aid and humanitarian relief later. Just consider that number for a moment—all given to

a notoriously corrupt government, not even a part of NATO. This doesn't even include the \$1 billion that America sends to Ukraine every single month to prop up their government. That money pays their politician's salaries and retirements and even keeps the lights on in their government buildings.

Given the history of Biden's "business deals" in Ukraine, you can imagine the conversation between Volodymyr Zelenskyy and Joe Biden and picture the words "You owe me" coming very heavily into the discussion.

We have no reason to be involved in Ukraine's war with Russia. That war doesn't affect America's interests, and we didn't get involved in previous strife over the Donbas region. Ukraine is not a country we're sworn to protect against Russian aggression. Yet, here we are, depleting our military reserves, sending Ukraine an unbelievable amount of money, and ratcheting tensions up to the point of nuclear war entering the conversation.

Many like the narrative of plucky Ukraine fighting back against the waves of Russian tanks with drones and guns. We've sent them countless weapons while completely ignoring our own border security and leaving it open to a daily invasion. We've seen assassination attempts against Putin, the destruction of the Nord Stream 2 pipeline, various targets within Russian-controlled areas blown up, and innocent people dying. The CIA and Biden's State Department may be engaged at unknown levels, which is disturbing considering we shouldn't even be involved.

I voted on the first resolution that came out directly after Russia invaded, and I condemned the war in Ukraine. But I have also voted against every single funding bill for Ukraine. Why? Because our country is \$32 *trillion* in debt, and we cannot afford to fund a war, let alone be involved with it. Instead of financing the war, we should

be brokering peace between these nations. Both Ukraine and Russia are rich in resources and produce much of the area's food.

Our Department of Defense's website states the DOD's mission is to "deter war and protect America's national security interests." Funding and fueling a war against nuclear-armed Russia in defense of Ukraine's border does not meet our Department of Defense's mission statement; instead, it completely undermines it.

This war has tragically killed Ukrainian civilians by the thousands and many thousands of Ukrainian and Russian soldiers. However, it has also greatly affected the world economy. Joe Biden likes to blame inflation on "Putin's war," but, thanks to Biden's failed economic policies, we were wracked with record inflation before the war. The war has made it worse because Ukraine was a breadbasket of Europe, and Russia is a top exporter of oil and gas. Biden overspent trillions on Green New Deal zero carbon scams and socialist initiatives in his first two years in office. Now, the effects of the war have only added to the problem, costing American families thousands per year due to record inflation while also affecting countless millions of other people around the globe. With more small businesses closing and credit card debt at an all-time high, those on the edge financially may be unable to hold on.

I voted against the sanctions set against Russia, not because I like Putin, but because they directly affected the cost of oil, gas, grain, and more for the entire world. Under Trump, we were a net exporter of energy, but Biden's America-last policies have made us dependent on foreign oil again, increasing the impact of these sanctions on our country.

My voting record doesn't necessarily echo that of other representatives. In Congress, we're constantly urged to vote one way or another. They will occasionally show us classified information to

## JUST SAY "NO" TO WARS

persuade us to vote a certain way, but I don't always trust the information presented. (Especially the classified briefings where the very information they are telling us is already being reported by the New York Times.) War is one of those things.

The treacherous military-industrial complex—the State Department, Pentagon, and manufacturers—exist to make war. That's their job. So, when the guys from the State Department and the CIA showed up with classified information to persuade the members of Congress to vote to fund Ukraine, I questioned some of the narrative.

The military-industrial complex gets too much out of conflict for us to ignore their motivations, and it's been easy to see how they would benefit from the war in Ukraine. They are often vilified in conservative circles, but I'm not against weapons manufacturers, the State Department, or the Pentagon. I want a strong military. However, I am absolutely against the military-industrial complex abusing the American people—both in the cost of lives and tax dollars—by waging foreign wars where America has no national security interests. Often, these wars cost many lives and countless dollars, but they make manufacturers a lot of money and let the Pentagon and State Department flex their muscles.

At the beginning of the conflict, the intelligence community told us constantly that Putin was just like Hitler, wanting to gobble up all of Europe. He's obviously not a choir boy, and he did invade a neighboring country, but I also don't see evidence of a continuing threat to Europe or NATO. Russia wanted the ports and resources in the Donbas, and Putin saw an opportunity to take them. If he could take the entire country and install a puppet government, all the better, he thought. But is there really a threat to Poland or Germany, or others?

The people in the intelligence community presenting us with this information were some of the same ones who said the Hunter Biden laptop wasn't real and was just a conspiracy theory. And we all know how accurate that turned out to be! It's not enough to look at the material you're presented; you also must look at the motives of those giving it to you. I openly question the military-industrial complex and everything they do.

They love a good regime change, and they want Putin out. He's powerful, ruthless, and loves oil and gas, which runs against the grain we're being forced toward with the Green New Deal-type policies in the West. Never forget, these foreign wars all come down to *money*, so let's look at how money works in the war in Ukraine.

## It's All About the Money

The wars in which America has been involved in the Middle East—Iraq, Afghanistan, etc.—were about oil and, thus, money. However, the West is supposedly moving away from oil, and the big new money-making contracts are about “green” energy (it isn't really green, but we'll return to that later). Ukraine is wealthy and has natural gas and oil, but it has massive deposits of rare earth minerals, and that's what we need to focus on. Rare earth minerals are necessary for all the climate-hoax-promoting electrical architecture needed to shove us out of the age of oil and into the age of the battery. They're in your phone, your electric car, and microchips, which are everywhere these days. While we fought past wars over oil, the new frontier for foreign wars is over these coveted elements.

As I mentioned before, the Donbas region of Ukraine, and areas east of there, have massive deposits of rare earth minerals. Vladimir Putin says that he wants to annex this region under the guise of



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protecting Russian-speaking people and stopping the Ukrainian Nazis. If successful, he gets the ports they wanted and also gains access to these mineral deposits.

The Biden family has made a lot of money through corruption in energy businesses in Ukraine and China, and with the Democrats literally forcing the Green New Deal to transition us to dependence on batteries, they know exactly what resources will become more valuable. The new fight will be for these rare earth minerals, and interestingly, we do not talk enough about the incredible deposits Biden abandoned when we pulled out of Afghanistan. There was over a trillion dollars' worth of these elements there, but when Biden pulled out and abandoned Afghanistan to the Taliban, he also left these deposits behind. But why? Why would he do that?

I think it's because of China. Guess who controls those rare earth mines in Afghanistan now that the US has pulled out? China, which also controls Bagram Air Force Base. Joe Biden's treachery can't be overstated; he potentially handed over incredible wealth and a strategic base to China, undeniably our enemy.

But the malfeasance and treachery in Afghanistan go far beyond this. While trying to disarm the American people and destroy the Second Amendment, Joe Biden armed the Taliban terrorist government of Afghanistan, which we have fought since the early 2000s, with *billions* in military equipment! We're talking about countless guns, military vehicles, and even aircraft! (This is in addition to the nearly \$20 billion in equipment we gave to the Afghan military during the almost two decades we've been there.)

The American people's taxes paid for the infrastructure in Afghanistan, from the roads to the buildings to the rare earth mineral mines. We built the air base, which was a pivotal and strategically important base that allowed us to better defend our military

assets all around that region. And, at the cost of the lives spent fighting terrorists in Afghanistan over the decades as well as those unnecessarily lost in our botched pull-out, Biden abandoned Afghanistan and instead has us hemorrhaging more tax dollars in Ukraine. (Not to say anything of the cost to women and girls under the Taliban, and the fact that known terrorists are back in charge of the country.)

Ukraine—where Biden and his family have made tens of millions on shady deals and money laundering—is the frontier of a new war over the rare earth minerals needed for the Left’s climate agenda. Ukraine, where we’re pumping billions in humanitarian and military aid while we have no vested interest in their war with Russia, except to grind down Russia’s military and weapons supplies.

When you peel back the layers of this conflict, you’ll find that nothing is as cut and dried as it seems. For instance, take the Nord Stream 2 pipeline. Yes, the bombing impacted Russia, but it also affected Germany, which was buying Russia’s natural gas. Germany is largely dependent on others for energy, so it hurt them a lot when the natural gas was cut off, opening the door to America offering our liquid natural gas in the European market.

So, on the surface, we’re told we need to stop the evil Vladimir Putin from taking over Europe and destroying democracy. But then you discover the Biden family corruption in Ukraine, the rare earth mineral aspect, and America selling LNG, and it all comes back to money—massive amounts of money. It just gets dirtier and dirtier! War has often been this way. However, it’s one thing to read about it in a history textbook—it’s another matter entirely to have a sitting President of the United States engaging in this level of corruption right under our noses.

Right now, you’re probably wondering what we’re doing about it. I think it’s tragic that the information about the Biden crime

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family’s business dealings in Ukraine was known before the 2020 election, yet we as a country did nothing. Well, we’re doing something *now* by investigating the Biden family finances, which we’ll dive into shortly.

Peeling back these layers has also shown us all first-hand the level of corruption at the Department of Justice, the FBI, and other organizations that are supposed to provide everyone in America with the same standard of justice. We’ve seen there’s one standard for most Americans, and there’s another for the handful of ultra-elites, who can seemingly get away with anything. Joe Biden obviously thinks he’s in this latter category, but I am proud to be part of a movement to show him he’s mistaken.

In the coming chapters, we will look more at Joe Biden’s corruption and that in the Deep State of our government. And, crucially, we’ll see what’s being done to address these problems and give all Americans equal justice under the law—“the Big Guy” Joe Biden included.





## The Biden Crime Family

JOE BIDEN AND HIS CO-CONSPIRATORS in the Deep State have gotten by with unbelievable corruption and crime for years, but the bill is coming due. A number of brave whistleblowers<sup>112</sup> and a lot of hard work have begun to shape up a case against the President for crimes stretching back to his days as Vice President, and I'm proud to be a part of the effort to hold him accountable.

Our duty on the Oversight Committee is to investigate potential crimes of waste, fraud, and abuse. We've been looking over 2,300 pages of SARs involving the Biden family since February of 2023 when Republicans, now holding power in the majority, started committee work. It's important to note that the Treasury Department isn't volunteering these reports, and we've only been able to view the reports for the names or LLCs we requested. There could be many, many more out there!

Produced from whistleblowers and research, the evidence is damning, and much of it originated with Hunter himself. Hunter's

WhatsApp records contained mob-boss-like messages like this one regarding China from 2017:

“I am sitting here with my father, and we would like to understand why the commitment made has not been fulfilled. Tell the director that I would like to resolve this now before it gets out of hand, and now means tonight. And, Z, if I get a call or text from anyone involved in this other than you, Zhang, or the chairman, I will make certain that between the man sitting next to me and every person he knows and my ability to forever hold a grudge that you will regret not following my direction. I am sitting here waiting for the call with my father.”<sup>113</sup>

All along, Joe Biden has denied any involvement in his son’s business dealings, but he has been lying through his teeth.<sup>114</sup> Hunter’s laptop, which they tried so hard to discredit, was just the tip of the iceberg.

It may have begun with the Hunter Biden laptop, which has been unequivocally proven *not* to be a hoax.<sup>115</sup> Although it started with Hunter, it has led directly to President Joe Biden himself. As of this writing, we have spent months digging—beginning with the evidence on Hunter’s laptop—through the Biden family’s activities, bank reports in the Treasury Department, the web of shell LLCs, subpoenaed bank statements, and the connections with people, financial institutions, and foreign governments.

The trail leads straight to the “Big Guy” himself.

At the time of this writing, we are currently combining the work of the House Oversight Committee, where we’ve done the heavy lifting; the Ways and Means Committee, which deals with the IRS and the whistleblowers; and the Judiciary Committee, which has the FBI

whistleblowers. Jamie Comer, the Chairman of the House Oversight Committee, must sign each subpoena we issue, but they come from the entire Oversight Committee. We've subpoenaed many SARs in the Treasury's custody filed by financial institutions from when Joe Biden was Vice President until today. And what we have learned shows us serious crimes that Joe Biden has committed . . . and for which no one has held him accountable.

The Treasury Department gave us *many* SARs, each comprising many pages. A SAR is created when banks identify suspicious financial transactions in their accounts. When they believe a crime may have been committed (based on the entities, types of bank accounts involved, and activity like wire transfers, transactions between countries, and unusual movement of money between accounts), they file these reports we're now accessing. These reports are simply staggering—but they're not just shocking because of the activities; it blows me away that we had this evidence for *years*, yet our justice system did absolutely *nothing*! It's not like the Treasury just "found" this information, yet no one did a thing! This is rampant corruption at the highest levels of our government.

For instance, I looked through pages and pages of SARs regarding human sex trafficking. Those aren't my words; that's what's on the report. Over and over, these reports establish the amount of money being paid to individuals, women's names, their addresses, their passport information, the origins of their passports (some from Russia, some from Ukraine, some from the US), even their phone numbers, dates of birth, and other details. This is very detailed information, and it paints the picture of what's called a ring of prostitution—a ring of sex trafficking that involves Hunter Biden. We have SARs detailing how Hunter Biden paid prostitutes and wrote off those payments on his taxes as business expenses. This came out with the

IRS whistleblowers because Wells Fargo identified them as potential human sex trafficking, yet the Treasury Department, the FBI, and the DOJ never did anything.

Other SARs describe money laundering, with wire transfers coming from China, Ukraine, Romania, other former Soviet Union countries, the Middle East, and African countries. In other words, it's a global network of shady business deals flagged as potential criminal activity, all tied to the Biden family. You'd think this would be all over the news if the legacy media had a shred of objectivity left. But they don't.

And here's the worst part: if it's a business in China, it comes with direct connections to the communist Chinese government, a nation hostile to the US. Their companies and banks are state-owned, so if the Bidens receive money from a Chinese entity, it's coming from an *enemy nation*. Many SARs from China don't show a company or bank name, meaning they've come from state-owned bank accounts affiliated with the Chinese government. Any lawful business would have a transfer associated with a legitimate bank in China. This means that our *sitting President* has received *millions* of dollars through dozens of LLCs owned by Hunter Biden, funneling a hostile regime's bribes directly into his pockets.<sup>116</sup>

In 2013, Hunter Biden accompanied Joe to China on Air Force Two, where the elder Biden met with Chinese officials. "The trip coincided with an enormous financial deal that Hunter Biden's firm, Rosemont Seneca, was arranging with the state-owned Bank of China," recounted Peter Schweizer in his book *Profiles in Corruption*.<sup>117</sup> Schweizer goes on to show that around ten days after this trip, Rosemont Seneca landed a deal with the Chinese government for an eventual *\$1.5 billion*!<sup>118</sup>



Just stop and consider for a moment the impact of an enemy like China having its hands deep into Joe Biden's pockets! It would mean they have powerful influence over the President of our country, compromising him and the American people *completely*.

It's chilling—but almost less frightening than the fact that we had this evidence dating back before the election! Yet attempts to get the word out were stonewalled, and the justice system did nothing to hold Biden accountable for his actions.<sup>119</sup>

In 2016, Joe Biden was *on camera*<sup>120</sup> bragging about a conversation with then-Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko:<sup>121</sup> "I said, 'You're not getting the billion.' 'I'm going to be leaving here in—' I think it was about six hours. I looked at them and said: 'I'm leaving in six hours. If the prosecutor is not fired, you're not getting the money.' Well, son of a bitch, he got fired."<sup>122</sup> Ukrainian officials revealed that this conversation was the result of pressure directly from then-Vice President Joe Biden himself.

And the prosecutor getting fired? Viktor Shokin, who was investigating none other than Burisma Holdings. According to documents on Congress.gov, Hunter's firm, Rosemont Seneca Partners, LLC, received regular transfers into one of its accounts—usually more than \$166,000 a month—from Burisma from spring 2014 through fall 2015, during a period when Vice President Biden was the main US official dealing with Ukraine and its tense relations with Russia.<sup>123</sup>

Do I think maybe Shokin was getting too close to the truth? I sure do! Yet, close to the truth as he was, Joe Biden is so privileged that a recorded *confession* of quid pro quo was not enough to launch an investigation,<sup>124</sup> even before he squared off against Trump in a Presidential bid. This is still just the very tip of the corruption and criminal activity of Joe Biden.

## The Money Trail

Serving on Oversight, I can tell you firsthand the GOP-led Oversight Committee staff and Republican members have been working very hard, subpoenaing bank records associated with the account numbers found in the SARs. We have many of the bank records and are matching the data we see in them with the SARs—at least for the individual and company names we know about. This is hard data, and it's all beginning to add up.

They tried to call the Hunter Biden laptop Russian disinformation, but this is no figment of our imagination. It's also not the same as the (now proven to be fake) Russian collusion idiocy the Democrats talked about every single day for years and yet had no evidence to support it. President Trump has faced trumped-up charge upon charge from a weaponized DOJ, all fabricated from shreds of lies that attempted to create a narrative of crimes. Crimes require evidence, which they haven't been able to produce. No one in history has probably been investigated as much as President Trump, yet he and his family business have passed muster time and time again. During that same time, no one has touched Biden. It is utterly unthinkable that we've sunk this low.

The Biden family's bank statements and the money trail of financial transactions tied to them is undeniable. There's no legitimate family business where they can show the products they produce or (legal) services they provide. They can't show us those things because they don't exist. The only thing we can find is the money—*millions* of dollars of it. There are bribes detailed in an unclassified FD-1023 form, including a \$5 dollar bribe directly to then-Vice President Joe Biden from the oligarch who owns Burisma and millions from China, which have made the Bidens *very wealthy*.<sup>125</sup>

Joe Biden has a business, but it's not in real estate like the Trumps. It's in influence peddling and corruption.

## Whistleblowers

As of this writing, the Oversight Committee is finally investigating and exposing the crimes that the Biden family has committed. And it's not just Hunter Biden, with his sex and drugs. It's not just Jim Biden, Joe's brother.<sup>126</sup>

No, it's not just the family—from day one, it's been about Joseph Robinette Biden Jr., President of the United States, and former VP. He's the "Big Guy" referenced in Hunter's emails and sits at the center of a web of astounding crimes. All roads lead to Joe, and we finally have the evidence.

We have proof thanks to, among others, a courageous whistleblower brought to us by Senator Chuck Grassley, who has his hands tied in the Senate. With Democrats in control of the Senate and Chuck Schumer in charge, they aren't going to subpoena any SARs, bank records, FBI investigations, or Department of Justice information. They'll continue to cover the Bidens and obstruct as they always have, so Senator Grassley brought the whistleblower, who feared for his life, to us in Oversight.

Senator Grassley has been working with this credible whistleblower for several years, and we're so glad he's finally spoken to us so we could subpoena these records. This is partly why winning the majority was so important, because now we hold the gavel with subpoena power in the Oversight and Judiciary Committees. In Oversight, Chairman Jamie Comer, with the full blessing and support from Speaker Kevin McCarthy, has been courageous enough to lead this investigation directly into Joe Biden himself; frankly, not

all Republicans would be brave enough to do that, which is a whole other topic.

The evidence paints a portrait of bribes, favors, influence peddling, and extortion deals netting tens of millions. An email on Hunter's laptop breaks down the money given to "the Big Guy," Joe, as ten percent of a multi-million-dollar deal with CEFC, a Chinese energy conglomerate.<sup>127</sup> From that, we can assume that Joe Biden himself has been the recipient of a great deal of money thanks to these schemes as he abused his powerful positions in the United States government.

With each dollar, Joe Biden further compromised himself.

The Biden administration's Justice Department obstructed an investigation, despite the abundant evidence against him. Now, we also have whistleblowers from the IRS—Agents Gary Shapley and Joseph Ziegler—two brave and highly-regarded IRS agents who are testifying not just on the evidence against Joe Biden but also on the collusion within the justice system.<sup>128</sup> Despite Democrats trying to discredit their testimony, these agents have brought facts to light that are damning to Biden and his administration.

Attorney General Merrick Garland and Delaware US Attorney David Weiss could only point fingers at one another. Garland has been busy covering up the Biden family's crimes and, at the same time, failed to charge Hunter with writing off prostitution as a business expense and not paying his taxes.<sup>129</sup> Garland is in real trouble, and we're looking at an impeachment inquiry—I've already submitted articles.

The trail leads right to Joe Biden's door. The WhatsApp message I included at the beginning of this chapter, with Hunter saying his father was in the room with him, waiting for a reply, clearly shows

that President Biden has been lying to us the whole time when he claimed not to know about Hunter's business dealings.

We have direct proof that Joe Biden is involved, both from Hunter's texts and from directly lining up SARs and bank records. All that's left is continuing to build out the web of fake LLCs, numerous bank accounts, wire transfers, and communications meant to confuse and obscure what our president has been up to.

We had an inkling of what was happening before, but now that we have an investigation by Ways and Means and Judiciary and the whistleblowers, the extent of the web of deceit is expanding. The sheer magnitude of the crimes here is shocking and has left various committee members speechless.

## Completely Compromised

If the money was the extent of the corruption, it would be enough. But these crimes did more than make the Bidens rich; they've also compromised the safety of the United States of America. President Trump's first impeachment was for supposedly trying to urge Ukrainian leaders to fess up and report on the Bidens' crooked business dealings. We know that Joe and Hunter *did* have corrupt ties to Burisma; we already read his recorded confession.<sup>130</sup> So, how is this not enough to show everyone that Joe's ongoing influence peddling, extortion, and bribery schemes need not just to be investigated but have legal consequences?

He not only used his power to make himself and his family millions under the table; now, these other parties have dirt on him, which could be used in the future. We call that "blackmail." Joe Biden is compromised, and not just with corrupt oligarchs in

Ukraine but with China, which presents a genuine danger to the United States economically and militarily.

Hunter Biden's fund received *\$1.5 billion* from China's communist government.<sup>131</sup> If the "Big Guy" received ten percent of that, it could be up to \$150 million that China has put in Joe Biden's pocket. If someone has made you that kind of money and can dish on your dirty deals, they *own you*.

That means China, our enemy, *owns* the President of the United States.

How would this make Joe react in situations regarding China? It would make him incredibly vulnerable to blackmail! This isn't supposed to be able to happen to a member of our government, and we have laws intended to prevent it.

The same questions can be asked about Ukraine and many other nations (over the years, Hunter had over four hundred trips, possibly setting up more crooked deals we haven't traced yet).<sup>132</sup> How can Joe say no to Zelenskyy when we know that the Bidens have received millions from Ukrainian deals? He can't! Right now, we're funding the Ukrainian government, once the second most corrupt in Europe, with over *\$1 billion a month*, paying salaries like Zelenskyy's and keeping their lights on. And that doesn't include the \$113 billion, which is rising, that has funded the proxy war with Russia. Ukraine is not a NATO ally; we have no reason to be there. Except that Joe Biden *owes* them. Joe Biden being compromised means the entire United States of America is compromised, and we are hemorrhaging money to Ukraine because of Joe Biden's pay-to-play schemes. Joe Biden sold out the American people!

So far, he's gotten away with it, but no more! We have the evidence, and I will not rest until Joe Biden and the rest of his crime

family are held accountable for selling out his country to make a buck!

## The Fix Is In

How has he gotten away with this for so long? Here's my theory on why so many are willing to cover up his crimes: Joe Biden's crimes give many people in Washington leverage on him. They have dirt, as China does, and therefore they can *control* him.

It's job security for Christopher Wray, Merrick Garland, and many others. All you need to do is dangle a little dirt on Joe Biden, and you can look forward to a promotion. Maybe a piece of the pie? The Deep State has all the dirt on Biden, and they cover it up to keep their leverage. After all, he's the goose laying their golden eggs; they don't want him to get in trouble or the bucks to stop flowing!

Did you wonder why they put forth a tottering, confused old man for President? A man who campaigned from his basement?<sup>133</sup> Who sniffs kids like a creepy old pervert,<sup>134</sup> doesn't know where he is half the time,<sup>135</sup> and can't make it through a teleprompter speech without a gaffe or find his way off stage without being led by the hand?<sup>136</sup> A man who has to be told where to sit on cheat sheets<sup>137</sup> and gets irate like an Alzheimer's patient whenever he's questioned?<sup>138</sup>

Joe Biden is a puppet, doing whatever the Deep State wants him to do because they have all the dirt on his crooked dealings. We've wondered who is behind the scenes, pulling Joe Biden's strings, and now we have a much better idea—it's all the people who own pieces of Joe. He is the greatest controlled asset in the country, with Washington elites and the swamp (not to mention foreign entities like China) able to force him to do their bidding. They own "the Big Guy" in the White House and thereby control the United States

through his idiotic policies and many executive orders. Controlling Joe Biden is the key to the White House, the US, and policy decisions worldwide. He's used like an intelligence asset, a tool.

And that's why they protect him. He's the best thing that's ever happened to them because all his crimes and corruption, and their cover-up, put them all in bed together to control the White House . . .

. . . and to devastate America.

This was the exact plan for Hillary Clinton. The Clintons also have a lot of skeletons in their closets, but we saw that even her classified emails, which would've landed someone else in jail, weren't enough to get her in trouble. She wasn't supposed to lose in 2016, yet Donald Trump upset their plan known as Operation Snow Globe. They'd shake the snow globe a little if she stepped out of line or didn't do what they wanted her to do. That's the same story for Biden, though they don't need to shake it very much because of his evident deterioration. Want a life-long, anti-abortion Catholic to cave on abortion?<sup>139</sup> Shake the snow globe. He's a thoroughly compromised man, and America is in more danger because of him.

They haven't turned on him because he gives them too much power. The media won't report on it unless the evidence is overwhelming, with a smoking gun that is completely undeniable. They still did nothing since we had that recording of Joe bragging about his quid pro quo. I know it will take such conclusive evidence no one can ignore.

This is one reason they're going after President Trump so strongly. They know he will clean up if he gets back in office, so they're using the Justice Department and weaponizing our legal system against him. We can't wait on Trump, though; like bloodhounds on the trail, the other representatives and I must keep on the scent, chasing down the Bidens and their crimes to bring justice back to America.



## Justice in America

If people like Joe can get by with these crimes, we no longer have justice in America. We are seeing the results of an organized effort to take control away from the American people and law and order. The scales of justice have fallen off.

This is the real coup that started when President Trump took office and threatened the Deep State. We're seeing an operation that robs the American people of equal justice under the law, weaponizes the legal system against a political rival, and does everything it can to keep justice from happening to protect one of its own. The fix was in.

There is no justice in America because we have been taken over by a communist regime. This powerful and secretive party doesn't care about the American people and thinks only of holding and maintaining their power. They are actively destroying the dollar and burying us in debt. They're completely changing the way we use energy, trying to switch us from lifesaving, efficient fossil fuels to "green" energy that just doesn't work. They're exploiting the justice system to attack whomever they want and protect the guilty.

President Trump was never supposed to win; he was a four-year hiccup they didn't expect, and they're doing everything in their power to fix the game. They couldn't control him because he wasn't in on their corruption; he was an outsider. That meant the American people were free.

We can now see a trail of lies, deceit, and manipulation that has stolen elections, turned justice into a sham, and disenfranchised the American people. We're now compromised with a President who is a corrupt criminal, putting us in a dangerous situation.

The Deep State in control of our country and pulling Biden's strings are a godless, murdering group we must stop. They want to murder babies up until birth and would do it afterward if they could. They support genital mutilation, sexualization, and grooming of children, so they're also disgusting pedophiles. They want an open border and don't care about the drugs and cartels. They don't care about homelessness, unemployment, or the economy. They don't care about equality, women, minorities, or even going green. They only care about one thing.

*Power.*

We must *not* let them keep it! Empty liars like Nancy Pelosi, a godless woman who stands for so many evil things, must be stopped from continuing their agenda.

It's so vital you get out and vote. While people may doubt that the Republicans are doing anything, our work on the House committees is our best hope and a heavy responsibility. We have the best chance of holding these people accountable. We can only work effectively with the votes needed to investigate and impeach based on the findings we uncover.

## Defund the Corrupt

Only a united and engaged Republican party stands a chance of gutting agencies like the FBI and DOJ of the rampant corruption in their leadership. Whistleblowers have come forward, exposing the need for purification, and we must fix it. We have tools like the Holman rule, which would allow Appropriations to take away someone's paycheck, effectively firing or impeaching them by taking their salary out of the budget. We can even defund entire departments if necessary!

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Thanks to policy riders that determine how money can be spent, we can hit these people and groups where it hurts—financially. Right now, riders let us refuse to fund diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives; that money can't be used in the military for mandated COVID vaccines; and federal funds cannot be used for transgender surgeries. All of which is happening now, but we can also write policy riders for the IRS, the DOJ, and the FBI, and we can use these riders to gut these agencies of corruption.

It's a lot of work—you would not believe how disorganized the flow charts of the federal government are! For example, you would think that the FBI pays every FBI agent, right? But that's not true, because some of the funding for the FBI is from the military. That funding comes from the National Defense authorization act, the NDAA, which means that if we are trying to defund the FBI, we must first understand how it gets its money.

I want to use the Holman rule on people like Jack Smith, the special counsel who is wrongfully prosecuting President Trump over classified documents. We could remove the line item with his salary and that of everyone who works in the special counsel.

This brings us back to how important it is for Republicans to win more seats; we need 218 votes in Congress across twelve separate appropriation bills to do this. We are currently working on balancing the budget, but appropriations releases the money to be spent. In the past, Congress didn't vote on separate appropriation bills; they used a trick to get members of Congress to vote for all the appropriation bills together in one big omnibus bill. We're not doing that, which allows us more control over how the money is released.

I supported Kevin McCarthy because he promised he would not do an omnibus bill, which creates manufactured pressure to get the 218 votes necessary to fund the government (which they always

do right before Christmas) and avoid a shutdown. Instead, we have separate appropriation bills, which has not happened in a long time. Hopefully, this will give us the tools we need to use the Holman rule, rid the government of bad people, or rein in corrupt departments.

The policy riders I mentioned earlier will also be vital. In these appropriations, we can use riders to weed out the extremist Democrat agenda that wants to use federal money to fund transgender surgeries on kids and other idiocy.<sup>140</sup> Under the current Republican Congress, we won't have a repeat of the rampant waste from Joe Biden's infrastructure bill, of which only about ten percent really went to infrastructure! We can ensure that the dirty tricks in politics, which let them put so much pork into the spending, will not happen under our watch!

I wish we would've had a tool like the Holman rule to go after Bill Barr, who you'll remember had the 1023 form in hand on June 30, 2020, before the general election and did nothing with it,<sup>141</sup> except hand it off to U.S. Attorney David Weiss, who is now the Special Counsel supposedly investigating Hunter Biden. Weiss is just another corrupt attorney in the DOJ serving the interest of the intelligence community to keep protecting the Bidens. Just like Barr, Weiss had the 1023 form telling of the \$5 million bribe to Joe Biden but did nothing with it. It is absolutely absurd to believe Weiss will fairly investigate and prosecute the Bidens. The media loves to say how David Weiss is a Trump-appointed US Attorney, but he was hand-picked by two Democrat Senators for the job. He will only continue to do what he has already done—abuse his power to cover up Biden family crimes, especially for the “Big Guy.”

However, we won't let party lines or Special Counsels get in the way of defunding anyone responsible for covering up crimes! While we might not be able to control the DOJ and investigate and

prosecute, we can surely cut their funding. It's a little like taking out Al Capone on tax evasion charges, but it's the best weapon we've got right now.

## Accountability

We have a criminal in the White House because people did not do the right thing. Maybe they liked the access to power or feared that they could be implicated by association as well. Whatever the reason, they must be held accountable. The Republican Congress will do its best to use the tools available to do that, but I still adamantly believe that the power in the United States needs to reside with the *people*.

You, the voter, must share the responsibility by holding your elected officials accountable for their actions. If they will not tackle the hard votes and do what's right, we must replace them. We'll need to elect people with the guts to stand up against the Deep State and the network of corruption around Joe Biden.

Our country is out of control because no one has been held responsible for years, and look where it's gotten us. A deteriorating, corrupt criminal is in the Oval Office, Democrats are pushing an agenda of insanity that ranges from a manufactured climate crisis to a wide-open border to mutilating children, and our justice system is *broken*.

If we do not take our country back soon, I'm not sure how we will. We have a window in time, an opportunity, yet it will take bold leaders willing to make tough decisions. Our country's architects provided the tool for doing so—*if* my fellow representatives are brave enough to do their jobs.



# Impeachment Now

IMPEACHMENT IS THE TOOL THE Founding Fathers gave us to remove someone in government. Article II, Section 4 of the United States Constitution says: "The President, Vice President, and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors."

Impeachment starts with an impeachment inquiry, then an investigation, and finally results in articles of impeachment being filed in the House of Representatives that must be passed in the House with a simple majority of 218 votes. The charges then go to the Senate, which sits as the high court and holds a trial that concludes with a vote requiring two-thirds to convict the impeached official. As I write this, Republicans have a small margin in Congress, and I hope we can use this impeachment tool more successfully to address some of the failures in our government.

Some of these people deserve to be removed from office, and I think Joe Biden is at the head of the pack. I have repeatedly

introduced impeachment articles against Biden for how he has failed the American people. Still, without a majority in the House, we didn't have the votes to move forward—until the 2022 elections.

I introduced my first articles of impeachment against Joe Biden on his first day in office, January 21, 2021, because of crimes that were already obvious to anyone not politically blind. We had the Hunter Biden laptop and another whistleblower, Tony Bobulinski, whose interview in 2020 with the FBI and detailed Biden-family connections with the communist Chinese government while Joe was still VP.<sup>142</sup>

With this and other information, I introduced articles of impeachment on the money laundering and pay-to-play schemes committed by Joe Biden. I also brought up Hunter Biden's involvement with Burisma, the energy company owned by a Ukrainian oligarch. This attempt to impeach Biden before he'd even begun as President was an affront to Democrats and got me kicked off my committees in retribution.

The impeachment articles read in part, "The resolution sets forth an article of impeachment stating that in his former role as Vice President, President Biden abused the power of that office through enabling bribery and other high crimes and misdemeanors by allowing his son, Hunter Biden, to influence the domestic policy of a foreign nation and accept benefits from foreign nationals in exchange for favors."

My charges were based on testimony from both Tony Bobulinski and evidence contained in Hunter Biden's laptop, where we have his text messages and emails.<sup>143</sup> A copy of this data was made available, so the press has it, the Democrats have it, and the FBI has the laptop itself. This is the same laptop that was disavowed as Russian disinformation, which fifty-one intelligence community members signed



off on, including Anthony Blinken. It was a fake, they said—but in fact, it is not, and now has been verified as real.<sup>144</sup>

The articles of impeachment I filed were factual, and if we'd had a serious Congress, they would have taken those articles and conducted a full investigation. But as we all know, the swamp creatures aren't interested in justice but in power and preserving the status quo.

At that time, Nancy Pelosi was the Speaker of the House, and I was right over the target back then, which is why I faced such reprisal. I feel completely vindicated because, now that I've seen even *more* evidence as part of the Oversight Committee, I know how right I was back then. As we've seen, we have even more information now that implicates Joe Biden directly with financial payments, including a \$5 million bribe he took from a foreign national in exchange for foreign policy decisions, as well as the many other items mentioned in the SARs.<sup>145</sup>

### Abject Failure in Afghanistan

I also introduced another set of articles of impeachment against Joe Biden after his terrible Afghanistan withdrawal, which we touched on earlier. As commander-in-chief of our nation's military, they were his decisions that led to the failed withdrawal from Afghanistan. As a result, the withdrawal armed a terrorist Taliban government with billions of dollars worth of abandoned military weapons and equipment, lost Bagram Air Force Base and all the infrastructure we funded and built for Afghanistan's \$1 trillion worth of rare earth mineral mines,<sup>146</sup> created mortal danger for our allies in the country, and, most importantly, led to preventable deaths of US service-people. It's unconscionable that we left so much on the ground,

arming an enemy with taxpayer-funded equipment simply because we were in too much of a hurry, but it gets even worse.

Joe Biden caused the death of thirteen soldiers in a suicide bombing *we knew was going to happen*. Congress was briefed in a classified meeting days before it happened, informing us that they had intelligence that there would be a suicide bomber *at that very gate*! They also told the media, yet, despite the credible threat, no one implemented additional precautions. Thirteen of our brave men and women died that day, with others suffering serious injuries. Afghans were killed and injured as well. We could've addressed this threat, but we did not.

The loss of Bagram Air Force Base alone is such a tragic failure that it should have consequences. This air base was vital and strategic in the area, allowing our military to fly more direct routes and reach other locations and bases faster. Without Bagram Air Base, it now takes extra hours, requires much more fuel, and makes logistics far more difficult throughout the Middle East. When you look at the sheer monetary investment into Bagram, this is an even more galling loss.

However, there's a whole other dynamic; because of our rushed, failed withdrawal from Afghanistan, an enemy now has control of Bagram Air Base and all the infrastructure we built over the years—China.<sup>147</sup> China made a deal with the terrorist Taliban government that took over when we pulled out, and the Afghan government instantly collapsed. China, which has its hand in Biden's pocket, now controls Afghanistan's rare earth mineral mines, the roads we built, the facilities—all of it. While bungling the pull-out in Afghanistan, President Biden was simultaneously implementing Green New Deal policies that made us more invested in the electric vehicles that require those rare earth minerals.

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I am not a supporter of these foreign wars, which our own State Department and the military-industrial complex have gotten us into. However, we'd invested unimaginable amounts of money in Afghanistan. We'd spent decades trying to help them establish a stable government, build their infrastructure, and change how women and girls are treated so they have access to healthcare and education. Unilaterally pulling out as we did caused a power vacuum the Taliban were quick to fill, rolling over the Afghan government with little resistance. Now, all the time and money we put into building up that country is lost, and the mining rights we could've used were handed on a platter to our enemy, China.

The commander-in-chief failed the American people and the entire region, and that's a reason for impeachment on its own. That's without saying anything of his compromised loyalties with China from his corrupt money laundering schemes.

### Disaster on the Southern Border

I introduced another set of articles of impeachment against Joe Biden because of the disastrous situation his open-border policy created. These articles were based on the grounds that Biden's violations of immigration law caused a national security crisis on our southern border.<sup>148</sup> It would be shocking if I didn't already expect a creature of the far Left, like Biden, to pursue an open border. Despite all the evidence of the drugs, crime, and dependents illegally crossing our southern border, Biden refuses to change course or protect our country from these threats.

Greg Abbott, the governor of Texas, agrees with me that Biden's utter failure to protect our nation is an impeachable offense. Texas and other border states bear the greatest burden of Biden's dereliction

of duty, with much of the deadly fentanyl and other drugs entering the United States from Mexico. Over three hundred Americans are murdered by fentanyl daily; it's now intentionally laced into the marijuana, narcotics, and cocaine infiltrating our country. An ever-growing pile of bodies lay at Joe Biden's feet because he refuses to do anything to stop this deadly tide of drugs.

Biden is aiding and abetting the Mexican criminal cartels' drug runners. Imagine the uproar if three hundred people died daily in plane crashes; we'd ground every airplane in America until we solved the problem. Yet, along our southern border, the crisis is allowed to continue because of the Left's liberal ideology.

Drive through any big city, especially the blue ones, and look at the sickening results of people hooked on fentanyl-laced drugs. In addition to the deaths, the drug addicts hooked on these potent chemicals look like zombies! I see them whenever I go to New York, Washington, DC, Los Angeles, or any other Democrat-run city. Thousands a day suffer the consequences of the illegal drugs that flow over the border. Still, the media typically don't say a word because they share Biden's political views.

When he came into office, Biden quickly repealed nearly all of President Trump's border security measures, gutting Trump's executive orders protecting America.<sup>149</sup> With Trump, we had the best border security in decades, but it quickly dissolved into chaos under Biden. Apart from Title 42, Biden canceled Trump's policies, such as the Remain in Mexico policy, and he halted construction of the border wall—a wall, I might point out, prominent Democrats only began to oppose once Trump was for it.

Biden also stopped maintenance of the border wall, including the many gates Border Patrol agents need for quick access, thus putting their lives in danger. Now, many gates are either stuck open

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or closed, both of which are problems, and the Biden administration refuses to repair them. This puts our agents' lives in danger and increases the threat to illegals trying to enter. If they get into a life-threatening situation and the gates cannot be opened, Border Patrol must take precious time going around. To keep them secure, gates that are stuck open now require additional human resources, which are always stretched thin along the border. One of the most frustrating aspects of all this is the materials to continue construction and maintain the wall are just *sitting there*, rusting and rotting in the dirt; the American taxpayer is still *paying* for the wall, even though Biden stopped the work orders.

Once again, large groups pour people illegally into our country. While we still try to strain out the terrorists who want to come into America directly from their hostile nations, we now have a porous border to the south that allows the very types of people who precipitated 9/11 to enter our country—along with anyone else.

We have immigration laws for a reason: to keep our country safe while still allowing *legal* immigration. There's a path for people who want to come into our country the right way, and every single nation on this planet has immigration laws for the same reason we do. It's insane to go against the laws of our country for the current political ideology of the Left, and it puts the people of our country at greater risk from violence, drugs, and crimes committed by illegals every day.

So, how does the Left justify their position on open borders in the face of all of this? It looks like fuzzy-headed thinking, where they're so "compassionate" to the people who want to come into the US that they just can't turn them away. They recently justified their beliefs in hearings where we grilled Secretary Mayorkas over the border crisis. In over seventeen hours in the Homeland Committee,

we listened to Democrats introduce amendment after amendment, attempting to remove the wall from the border bill and give illegals (“migrants,” as they call them) more money and services. Who needs to be a citizen when you can get this kind of handout as an illegal immigrant?

The Democrats unconsciously talk out of both sides of their mouths. While giving lip service about border security, they argue that we should treat the people sneaking over our border illegally better than our taxpayers!

They’re such hypocrites! They all believe in walls; I know they do because they live behind them. They also have men with guns who protect them. Democrats love walls so much that they erected one around the Capitol when they felt threatened by an invisible QAnon army. Yet, while they enjoy the protection of these things, they oppose protecting the American people from the dangers in the same way. “Walls and guards with guns for me, but not for thee!”

## Climate Change? Really?

And how did they rationalize the lack of border security? They defended their hypocrisy by saying that we need to let everyone into our country whenever they want because of—wait for it—*climate change*. Because of the “horrific” conditions climate change is supposedly causing worldwide, we’re supposed to disregard all our immigration laws. This doesn’t even make sense according to their own reasoning! If climate change is such a terrible problem, we’re experiencing it in America, too.

I told them it was a lie to their faces because America shares the same global weather as the rest of the world. In America, we have annual hurricanes, tornadoes, high summer heat, chilly winter cold,

drought, and torrential rains. Does our climate change not make our country too dangerous for illegal immigrants supposedly escaping their own country's climate change? Especially when these same illegal immigrants are forced to sleep out in the dangerous climate, literally in the city streets like in New York!

I reminded them of the incredible amounts of money our country gives other nations in foreign aid—money that could go to helping their people deal with this supposed climate emergency. Instead, it goes into some bureaucrat's pocket so he can provide Joe Biden with kickbacks. They all looked at me with the stupidest blank expressions, but I shouldn't expect anything different. After all, these are the same people who want stricter gun control in America under the rationale that it will limit the guns being sold to the cartels (which they're allowing free access to our country with their idiotic destruction of our border security). To the Left, it makes *perfect* sense to ban assault weapons two hundred miles away from the border in order to cut down on the *cartels* getting guns. They're fine with the idea of taking the guns out of the hands of the people they're putting in danger by stopping the wall and pursuing open borders.

But really, the truth is that it comes down to *power*—Democrats want more control, and people who are beholden to them give them power. Also, Latino voters typically have voted Democrat in the past (this shows signs of changing as the Democrats go even more extreme, alienating family-oriented voters). So, the real reason Democrats want open borders is to have more people hooked on free stuff who will vote for them.

We recently had to defeat a measure that would give illegal aliens the right to vote in Washington, DC. Can you fathom that? It's their mission to gain power and control by flooding the country

with illegal aliens and giving them the right to vote. They even have T-shirts! “Hey, Joe Biden helped you come into America!”

Our safety, security, and even our *lives* are sacrificed as they gather more power. And it’s not just the safety of our citizens; we can’t account for half of the unaccompanied minors who have entered the US under Joe Biden’s administration. We don’t know where they are, and while we were talking about child labor in countries like China a few years ago, we now must look seriously at what is happening to these kids who are being forced into slavery in United States labor camps. “President Trump put them in cages,” AOC once cried while wearing her ridiculous white suit. Well, the party of AOC and Biden has *lost* half the kids who’ve come in, and they don’t know what’s happening to them. As I write this, the Biden administration has lost nearly 100,000 unaccompanied minors while America holds the evil title of number one in human trafficking.<sup>150</sup> It’s unthinkable!

Democrats don’t care about the safety of these kids—or yours. They know they’re going so far Left they’re alienating voters, so they need to find more. They know that if all the potential voters in America got involved with the direction of our country, we could defeat the communist Democrat agenda. Many of our most conservative voters in America are passively on the sidelines. We desperately need them to stand up for the values that made our country great so we can close our borders and protect our people.

## Following the Money Trail

Fast forward a little, and we now have information from the FBI’s top-paid informant; proof of a direct exchange of money when a foreign national paid Joe Biden for policy decisions as Vice President of the United States. These pay-to-play, quid pro quo arrangements



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are grave crimes committed by then-Vice President Joe Biden, high crimes and misdemeanors—all criminal acts and impeachable offenses. Perhaps even treasonous, as it pertains to Ukraine.

As I now serve on the Oversight Committee, our committee members and staff, led by our Chairman, Congressman James Comer, have done incredible work investigating and uncovering the crimes of Joe Biden, proving I was absolutely correct on my first set of articles of impeachment introduced on Joe Biden's first day in office. No wonder Nancy Pelosi kicked me off committees less than two weeks later; I was directly over the target.

The FBI has proof of actual financial transactions where the then-Vice President got paid to make key policy decisions on behalf of a foreign national and a hostile nation. Yet, they have done *nothing* with it, which is why we had to subpoena Christopher Wray, director of the FBI. With the help of a brave whistleblower in the FBI, who came to our Oversight Committee through Senator Chuck Grassley, we discovered an unclassified FD-1023 form in the FBI's possession. It detailed then-Vice President Joe Biden taking a \$5 million bribe from oil and gas businessman Mykola Zlochelvsky, who owns Burisma Holdings and Brociti Investments Limited, a Cyprus-based company. The unclassified form was dated June 30, 2020, and contained information about a bribe paid to Joe Biden in exchange for making Zlochelvsky's "problems go away,"<sup>151</sup> as he said it, in the form of getting the Ukrainian prosecutor Viktor Shokin fired while investigating Burisma for corruption. The form also contained information that Hunter Biden was paid \$5 million—" \$5 million to one Biden, and \$5 million to another," as Zlochevsky put it.<sup>152</sup> He also said he had proof of the bribes in seventeen audio recordings, fifteen of Hunter and two of Joe Biden himself.<sup>153</sup>

Just imagine if Christopher Wray and Bill Barr had prosecuted Joe Biden for taking bribes in exchange for foreign policy decisions back in the summer of 2020 before the presidential election. Not only would they have done their jobs correctly, but they would also have saved America from this corrupt criminal who is systematically destroying America.

But they did *nothing*. This evidence was filed away and is undoubtedly being used to make sure Joe Biden stays in line or, rather, does the Deep State's bidding, acting as a puppet president and their intelligence asset. Instead, our Republican-controlled Oversight Committee has read hundreds of SARs in the Treasury Department and subpoenaed over a dozen banks for statements containing proof of millions of dollars in wire transfers from scores of foreign countries, including Ukraine and China. We're looking into fake LLCs and direct payments made to all kinds of Biden family bank accounts.

Detailed on the 1023 form, the Ukrainian Oligarch Zlochevsky told the FBI informant that it would take us ten years to find it all. Our Oversight Committee has uncovered a lot of it in less than eight months, and we are still on the hunt. But it shouldn't have been this way, and Christopher Wray did not cooperate with us. Instead, he forced us to read a redacted version of the *unclassified* 1023 form in a SCIF (Sensitive Compartmented Information Facility, an ultra-secure room for classified information) in the Capitol. He would not leave us with a copy. It was a slap in the face and defiant behavior by the FBI Director, but what else would you expect from a man protecting his boss, the President of the United States (or rather his communist dictator, the head of the regime)?

Christopher Wray gets paid, from the American people's hard-earned tax dollars, to direct the FBI as it investigates crimes. He swore an oath of office, to which he has a duty and responsibility.

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The same goes for Attorney General Merrick Garland, who, as the head of the Department of Justice, also gets paid by American taxpayers to prosecute crimes. Neither of them has done anything to hold Joe Biden accountable, and both were aware of these crimes.

In my opinion, this corruption of our justice system may be the most devastating part of this situation. We'll always have corruption on some level because of the nature of human beings. Still, when people of power like Wray and Garland do not do their jobs and refuse to prosecute the corrupt elites of our country, we have lost something good that had historically been at the very heart of America—the impartiality of our justice system.

It's heartbreaking to me that we had evidence against Biden during the Trump administration. While Trump himself didn't know and had no evidence of these crimes, people in his administration did—and they did nothing about it, either. If Joe Biden had been held accountable for his crimes, he could've been prosecuted under the Trump administration when we had a majority in Congress. He would never have been elected president.

There is a long list of consequences for America because this unfit, corrupt man entered office. The wide-open borders Biden enacted let in countless illegal immigrants, and along with them came drugs and crime. Three hundred people die every single day from fentanyl-laced drugs coming up from our porous southern border, killing men, women, and children. Our economy, booming under Trump, stumbled to a halt, and has suffered the worst inflation in decades, leading to the small-business-killing recession that has heavily impacted the middle class. We're on the brink of World War III with nuclear-powered Russia and have poured over \$113 billion into funding a war in Ukraine and \$1 billion every month to fund the government of Ukraine, a corrupt government not part

of our strategic interests, while we're over \$32 trillion in debt. As Joe Biden supports the war in Ukraine, we've driven Russia into the arms of other countries who are trading in their currencies, no longer in the US dollar. Now, we're on the verge of losing the dollar as the world's currency. Crime is out of control, especially in blue cities, and our children are two years behind due to shuttered schools during COVID shutdowns. They are under attack by trans activists who want to amputate their body parts and mutilate them under an evil lie about gender.

These consequences should never have happened—and would not have—had the FBI and DOJ had done their JOBS and prosecuted Joe Biden and Hunter Biden for their extensive crimes. This is another example of America-last policies and practices where the American people pay the price. The rich elites get richer on the backs of the taxpayers, seemingly exempt from equal justice under the law, while selling out Americans and their businesses under the banner of globalist economics and rampant graft.

If you or I committed the same crimes Joe Biden is guilty of, we would be prosecuted. The types of SARs we have on Biden would spawn investigations, convictions, and jail time. Look at how they used witch hunts to crucify Trump supporters or the January 6 rioters. Jacob Chansley, the so-called QAnon Shaman, is on video walking through the Capitol, escorted by Capitol Police. He was respectful, prayed with them, and told others not to damage property and to listen to the officers. Jacob became the face of the so-called January 6 “insurrection,” and he was charged, prosecuted, and put in jail. He'll likely be off probation before Joe Biden, who is actually guilty of crimes, will even be charged.

But he *will* be held accountable. I believe these crimes will result in Joe Biden's impeachment, and we have so much evidence!

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If Republicans do not vote for impeachment, I'll tell you right now that they don't deserve power. The evidence is clear and overwhelming, and if we cannot get a conviction, I will be ashamed of my fellow representatives.

Look at what past presidents have done to get impeached. Bill Clinton lied to Congress about a blowjob.<sup>154</sup> They came after Nixon, but he did the honorable thing and resigned.<sup>155</sup> Trump was impeached for a completely legitimate phone call with President Zelenskyy of Ukraine, attempting to investigate the extent of Joe Biden's crimes in that country, and then again for a riot on January 6 he did everything he could to avert, even asking for 10,000 National Guardsman to be at the Capitol on January 6.

There's no comparison between the evidence against Clinton and Trump and what we have against Biden and his family. We have so much data, from SARs to subpoenaed documents, as well as a serious whistleblower with high credibility. This man is not a novice; he has a great deal of knowledge about the situation—and is afraid for his life. That mere fact should terrify everyone; he's afraid of the repercussions of truthfully disclosing evidence of crimes against a political elite.

The DOJ already stonewalls or slow-walks cases. Hunter Biden tried to take a plea deal and plead guilty to tax and gun violations. At the same time, the Democrats patted themselves on the back that "justice was served." Special Prosecutor Jack Smith is hailed as a Democrat hero for leading another fake prosecution against President Trump for storing documents that he was allowed to have under the Presidential Records Act and continuing to investigate President Trump's alleged crime of caring about election fraud in the 2020 presidential election.

We cannot let this continue. It's time to fire them all!

## Hold Government Accountable

In any business, if an employee isn't doing their job, it's time to let them go. People get fired for various reasons, from not doing their jobs to lying and stealing. Sometimes, people get laid off because the company gets too big, and they must reduce their workforce.

In government, that firing process happens to be called impeachment, and we use it rarely. But we shouldn't—we should use it as often as necessary. When these people defy their oaths of office and abandon their duties, we must fire them. It's time to use impeachment to correct our government's bloated state; we must cut overhead. But we especially need to cut the underperforming people in their positions of power and those who are corrupt!

We should run our government like a business because our government is currently the most mismanaged entity in the world. Our government takes in tax revenue like a business. Like any business, it has employees, properties, assets, liabilities, and bills. It's time we started running the federal government like a profitable business that serves its paying customers—the American people.

In a business, if you don't do your job well, you get fired, but no one ever seems to face the consequences of poor job performance in the government. The government never seems to cut a program or close a department; nothing ever ends, and it exists to protect itself and the people within it. They do everything they can to ensure their jobs never go away, no matter how poor their performance is.

But elected officials and government bureaucrats *work for the American people*. If they aren't doing a good job, we can fire them. Impeachment is the tool the Founding Fathers gave us, and it's how you fire people who have become corrupt, broken the law, or are failing our country, and I think we need to get much more aggressive in

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using this tool. The corrupt, the ineffective, and the failures need to be removed and replaced with people who will do a good job.

Joe Biden is breaking his oath of office by not protecting the border. It's an abject failure to protect America and its citizens, and it's just one thing that should cost him his job. Those who won't serve justice impartially in the DOJ and FBI, crooked federal judges, and impotent politicians need to face the consequences of their poor job performance and corruption and be removed from office. If you sleep with a Chinese spy, as Eric Swalwell did—and then lie about it—you should lose your job.<sup>156</sup> This man served on the House Intelligence Committee, holding our nation's secrets!

Yet, some fellow Republicans have told me to my face that they don't "believe" in impeachment, even though it's very much a part of the Constitution! To me, it's shocking that these people circle the wagons to protect their own, no matter how they've failed the American people. It leaves me feeling alone in Washington. But when I leave DC, I feel the swell of support for holding these failures accountable for their actions.

Competition drives excellence. It's at the heart of a free-market economy and capitalism. So, why are our politicians and other civil servants protected from the consequences of their actions? If we want real progress in our country, we need to begin at the top and clean house—which means holding Joe Biden accountable and impeaching this man for his crimes against his country. That begins with the voters, and to ensure that each and every vote counts, we must enact election reforms to secure the integrity of our elections. Let's look at that in the next chapter.







## Lawfare

**DURING THE 2022 MIDTERM ELECTIONS**, some were expecting a “red wave”—an overwhelming turnout of Republican voters who would usher the GOP into House and Senate majorities. However, a few were preaching caution, warned not to get complacent and instead, treat it like a desperation moment.

There was no red wave, and Republicans barely took a slim majority in the House. And while this is enough for my fellow representatives and me to get control of important committees, it will take more than that to ensure justice is done in America.

Darren Beattie correctly anticipated that because of ongoing election law problems in key states—namely, they didn’t stop absentee ballots or fix issues with the machines—and redistricting issues, Republicans would fail to see mass gains. This was despite widespread public sentiment against an ever-more radical Left and dissatisfaction with the Biden administration from failures like Afghanistan, record inflation, and an economy sliding into recession. Unaddressed, the underlying problems aren’t going away, and

they will continue to keep Republicans from experiencing a red wave that can demonstrate how tired the public is of the extremists in the Democrat party.

At the heart of the problem, poor election laws in certain states (Colorado, Arizona, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, and Michigan, to name a few), create loopholes that leave these states ripe for fraud. This is made worse by the recent Supreme Court decision on redistricting, which will make some districts overwhelmingly Black and thus likely to go Democrat (even though they only want to use African Americans for their vote instead of actually helping them). These ongoing issues will have repercussions in future elections, and I don't think it's overstating to say that the country's future hangs in the balance.

I travel a lot and take the temperature of the country, but gauging elections is more than this. If the sentiment against the radical Left were all it took, we would've had our red wave; as it is, the issues are bigger than the attitudes of the American people. We also face significant questions about whether Republicans *can* even get the votes necessary to retake the Presidency and the Senate while holding onto the House.

The people want solutions to issues that affect them daily, and they want the party that has the best answers to those problems. Yet, how can the GOP get the chance to deliver those answers when issues like election fraud are stacked against us, and we're ridiculed for bringing up the obvious problems?

## Election Reform

One of the biggest problems facing our country is election fraud, and to me, absentee ballots are the worst offenders. While the Left

and their mouthpieces in the media have made every effort to mock and discredit anyone who questions election integrity, the fact is that Joe Biden won Georgia by fewer than twelve thousand votes.<sup>157</sup> Those who bothered to try were able to verify that voter fraud did, in fact, occur, but the consensus (at least among the legacy media) was that it wasn't "enough" to change the results. Yet, the fact remains that dead people such as Deborah Jean Christiansen, James Blalock, and Linda Kesler of Nicholson—the last two having died many years ago—still voted in Georgia.<sup>158</sup>

So, how did these votes manage to make it through, and how many others did we simply not catch? The weak spot here is not the machines; it is absentee ballots. And no one can tell me differently because my ex-husband, Perry, was a victim of voter fraud.<sup>159</sup>

I testified under oath, "We saw a tremendous amount of voter fraud. We have investigations going on right now in Georgia. There is an investigation going on in multiple states. My husband showed up to vote, and when he went to vote, he went in person, he was told he had already voted by absentee ballot when, in fact, he had never requested an absentee ballot."<sup>160</sup> He wasn't alone, yet fraud deniers have owned the narrative.

The vote in 2020 was riddled with problems, many stemming from COVID. Some states, without a vote of their legislature, changed their election laws because of the pandemic. Since most of these changes occurred without an official vote, these changes may be unconstitutional. Secretary of State Brad Raffensperger defied our state election laws and allowed for mass absentee ballots in Georgia. He mailed every single registered voter in the state of Georgia a form so that they could request an absentee ballot. And then, if they asked for one, they could vote by mailing in their absentee ballot for the primary, runoff, and general elections of 2020.

Only my ex-husband Perry didn't request an absentee ballot. When he showed up for early in-person voting, he was told he *could not vote* because *he already had*. Except, he hadn't!

"I'm sorry, Mr. Greene," they told him, "you've already voted by absentee ballot."

He told them, "No, I haven't. I never even requested an absentee ballot. I'm voting in person."

"We have it right here on the Secretary of State website," they told him. They turned the computer around so he could see the screen.

"Well, that's wrong," he explained. "I have not requested and never have requested an absentee ballot." He argued with them over it and was adamant that it was a mistake.

"You can go over to that line," they told him, "and sign an affidavit that you will surrender your absentee ballot, and then you can vote in person."

Over in the other line—there was a *line!*—people had the same story as Perry. He was mad and knew exactly what was going on: election fraud. Standing there with other people with similar experiences, Perry knew someone was cheating the system with these absentee ballots. He had a sinking feeling as he realized how bad this was.

No one in line he talked to had asked for an absentee ballot either. It wasn't just Perry; this was a whole group of people.

Perry signed his affidavit and wrote that he had never asked for or filled out an absentee ballot. Yet, he couldn't "surrender" the absentee ballot because he never received it. Fortunately, he was able to vote in person, but I can imagine how many other people may not have stayed around to wait in the other line.

When I told Perry's story publicly, everyone accused me of lying. The legacy media attacked me, calling me a conspiracy theorist. Even the Floyd County Elections Board said Perry was lying. Yet, we weren't going to take this lying down and got an attorney to make a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request after the election. They told us it would take a while because they were overwhelmed with finishing the election (where President Trump lost by less than twelve thousand votes).<sup>161</sup>

We had to wait months, but we knew what they'd find when they looked through all the forms—there was no completed absentee ballot request form with Perry's name on it. They kept the envelopes separate from the forms and could not find an envelope with Perry's name on it. Because he never requested it. They only discovered his affidavit, where he'd written at the top that he'd never requested an absentee ballot.<sup>162</sup>

Some questions for which I demanded answers remain a mystery because no one can explain why the Secretary of State's website listed that he had requested and turned in an absentee ballot. What happened to that ballot? Was that vote counted, and for whom was it cast? There's no way of telling because of laws protecting voters' privacy. How many other people did this affect? How did it happen in the first place? Was it human error? Was it a computer system doing something crazy?

No one can tell me that election fraud wasn't happening in the 2020 election because we experienced it *first-hand*. Thanks to the FOIA request, the Floyd County elections representatives verified our claims. We weren't lying.

Perry wasn't alone—this happened to a lot of other people. Voters from all over the state complained about this and said it happened

to them, but we were the only ones I know of who made a FOIA request.

There can be no doubt or confusion in an election decided by so few votes. And while I'm vilified in the media and elsewhere as a conspiracy theorist for questioning the integrity of our elections and voting laws, I know what we experienced, and I will *not* be silenced. Our election laws must be updated to make any kind of fraud impossible.

## Turnout Becomes Turnaround

I previously mentioned that one of the most powerful things Republicans can do is simply get out and vote. This is so much more important if we consider that election fraud may be taking place. How many other people had an experience like Perry's but perhaps don't know about it? If they didn't vote, they wouldn't know.

I was recently told that only 17 percent of registered voters voted in one of my counties. It's a Republican county, so it might not be a crisis, but it's an alarming number. And if it's happening in my districts, it's happening all over the country.

If a majority of registered Republicans turned out to vote, there's no way the Democrats could win. What would happen if 90 percent showed up on election day? It would be impossible for the Democrats, even if they did cheat. Yet, some of our country's most patriotic, conservative people—flag-flying, MAGA hat-wearing Americans—don't vote. They'll get on social media to complain about injustice or spar over issues, but come election day, they don't think it matters, and they stay home. What would have happened if Perry had stayed home?

This is a serious problem, and it is costing us our country! We are losing this nation because not enough conservative Christian voters are in the polls influencing the course of our nation through their votes. It blows my mind, and it's incredibly frustrating. People complain that the GOP isn't doing enough, yet many of our best people aren't registered to vote. And those who are often don't turn out.

Let me put it plainly: you don't get to complain about the direction of our country if you're not in the voting booth trying to change it. If all the patriotic, godly people in America would stand up, we could stop the insanity!

I support reforming our elections, but if Conservative voters and patriotic Americans don't turn out to vote, it won't matter. We must get people to engage and see how desperately their country needs them.

We used to think that the pendulum would always swing back and forth, left and right, between Democrats and Republicans, with the people growing tired or complacent with one side and momentum shifting to the other. But America is increasingly uniparty—the party of money and control. Democrats are doing all they can to break the pendulum because they're no longer an American political party.

The Democrats are a *communist* party.

Democrats don't play by the same rules Republicans do; in fact, they increasingly don't have to abide by *any* rules. Joe Biden and his family have gotten by with crime and corruption, yet no one holds them accountable. Hillary and her classified emails.<sup>163</sup> Biden administration censorship. Democrat COVID shutdowns.<sup>164</sup> Big-tech collusion with big government.<sup>165</sup> When a group has gained so much power that they control institutions like the Department of Justice,

the FBI, the IRS, and others, we shouldn't be scared—we should be *terrified*.<sup>166</sup>

Every election should feel like a do-or-die situation for Republican candidates and voters. Am I exaggerating? I don't think so. Democrats want abortion to be codified into law,<sup>167</sup> and they want it available up until the day of birth! So, yes, people are getting murdered—that's life and death!

And what about the quality of life for all the children the Democrats want to disfigure? In promoting "gender-affirming care," they're cutting off breasts, mutilating genitals, and pumping under-age children full of chemicals to suppress their natural hormones, which research shows has *dire* long-term health consequences. The medications used for blocking puberty, such as gonadotropin-releasing hormone (GnRH) agonists, have many warnings; some are the same drugs developed for treating cancer and chemical castration. Warnings include the potential to cause pseudotumor cerebri, an increase in pressure inside the skull with similar symptoms of having a brain tumor!<sup>168</sup> And they're injecting this into young children who cannot smoke or drink . . . because they think they want to be another gender today. What about tomorrow or next year? What about ten or twenty years from now, when they're living with all the health consequences of a decision they were too young to understand? Ask de-transitioners like Chloe Cole about the horrors she went through, or the suicides that happened because of the treatments and instability plaguing these poor people.<sup>169</sup>

And if you want to talk about potential deaths, let's talk again briefly about Ukraine, which Joe Biden and the democrats are so obsessed with, you would think they wanted to make it the fifty-first state. Biden has a deeply compromised, corrupt connection with Ukraine and Zelenksyy because of Hunter and Burisma. America



has become increasingly embroiled in a war that's not our business with an unstable nuclear power, Russia. The more we support the war instead of brokering peace, the more people die—and the closer we get to a WWII scenario. Zelenskyy is doing all he can to drag us into this war, demanding more and more weapons that are depleting our reserves and endangering our national defense.<sup>170</sup> I would say he's even holding President Biden hostage because of the political favors and corruption that tie them together. Lives are definitely at stake.

I'm also not exaggerating the life-or-death consequences for the hundreds of people who die daily or are reduced to basically zombies from fentanyl illegally entering our wide-open southern border. It's not hyperbole for the people who are victims of crimes committed by illegal aliens who shouldn't even be in our country. For those people, the results of our votes are incredibly important. Not only could we take steps to keep them safe, but we can also hold those accountable who are criminally endangering them with their open-border policies.

Republicans must see exactly what kind of fight this is. The stakes are higher than ever because the Democrat Party has become the party of communism. The foundation of our country is cracking as we speak, and we're on the verge of crumbling. It's just a matter of time. It *will* happen if good people continue to do nothing.

## Lawfare

People ask me all the time, "What can I do?" Of course, the biggest thing is to vote—to recognize the importance of every single election. Get involved at any level you can, from the school board to

your neighborhood. Bring your conservative Christian values with you, and don't be silent—speak up! Stand up for what's right.

But I'm also looking at another angle because the Democrats have had a playbook for years, and they've executed those plays while Republicans have been disorganized and stuck playing defense. It's time we analyze that playbook, learn their plans, and start beating the Democrats at their own game. We should never stoop to cheating, but there are so many things that we *can* do!

Let's call it "lawfare," because one of our best paths forward is warfare against the extremists on the Left in the courts. With a conservative Supreme Court, we've seen what can happen. We've seen significant victories in *Roe v. Wade*, affirmative action, and free speech. We have seen that justice can still occur in our courts, and we're seeing the lasting positive results of how many appointees President Trump made while in office.<sup>171</sup> While you may not be able to get a fair trial if you're a conservative in places like DC and New York, the rule of law still holds in many districts.

We need brave attorneys who will take on risks to challenge unconstitutional policies in court. We need lawyers who will change the way they look at things and push the legal limits by coming up with creative ideas to preserve law and order in our country. Democrats are perverting justice, and if we're going to stop them, we must take risks. We need the best legal minds in the country to work within the system to fix it because, right now, we have two standards of justice: one for Democrat elites and another for everyone else. In our country, if you have enough money and power, you own the system and don't have consequences, and this cannot stand. We must hold people accountable, whether rich or poor, because our country cannot endure the loss of equal justice under the law.

## LAWFARE

Our country has election laws for a reason. They're designed to preserve the integrity of the system, ensure fairness, and prevent and punish corruption. But they have flaws, and our enemies are smart and savvy. They've been working the system to their advantage for many years.

It's time to take it back. It's time for Republican voters to stand up and be counted, to push back against the extremes of the Democrat party that are poisoning our country. We've been silent too long, playing nice while the Left goes for blood. They have worked the system against us, and even the justice that has defined our country for many years is in jeopardy. I urge you to go out and vote—make your values known. Don't let them lull you with apathy or convince you it doesn't matter or that the pendulum will swing on its own. We can take nothing for granted, and the course of our country is in our hands.

So, what will *you* do with it?



## What Is the GOP Doing?

EVERYWHERE I GO, WHETHER IT'S back home or on the road, people ask me, "Why isn't anything happening?" They want to know why the Democrats are getting by with so much and why we aren't holding them accountable. I think that's the question we're *all* asking because, for too long, the Democrat elites of this country have gotten by with whatever they want. The American people are right to demand that their leaders step up and hold everyone accountable to the same standard: the rule of law.

I answer everyone who asks me that I'm as frustrated as they are! If it were up to me, we'd be doing all kinds of things to counter the Left's America-last agenda. So, in this chapter, I have a chance to give the kind of detailed answer I'm rarely able to give when asked this question on the spot. I'd like to provide you with an inside look at how hard it is to get things done with the current thin majority and what can be done to get the kinds of representatives in government who will push wholeheartedly for the changes the American people demand.

As a business owner, I'm used to being a problem-solver. Any time my business had a problem, it was my job to find a solution, and I look at my current position the same way. It's not my job to make friends; I'm in Congress to do *work* and move forward with the will of the people of my district.

In my business, if there were an issue with a supplier, we'd look for another one who could get us what we needed so we could get the materials to our job site and get the job done to serve our customers more quickly. If we had labor problems, we'd fire underperforming subcontractors or employees so we could bring in the teams who could get the jobs done and exceed expectations. That's how it works in business—if something isn't working, you change it.

But that is *not* how things work in government. In Congress, it's extremely difficult to solve a problem. Some of this is the smart planning of our Founding Fathers, knowing that big government crushes the people. But some is the dysfunction of Washington and needs to come to light.

## Building Consensus

People need to remember that House of Representatives is made up of 435 members. Imagine it as though there were 435 board members of a large company, each having an equal share or representation on the board. To pass a bill or resolution—anything—on the House floor, you must get at least 218 of the 435 people to agree.

Republicans and Democrats divide up those 435 seats, so you're not just trying to get consensus from a majority of the members; you've also got to contend with the political agendas of the two parties. As I write this, Republicans have a slim majority in the House—222 to 212 with one vacancy—but consider that if we need 218 and

have even a few dissenters within the GOP, we may not get the votes required for even simple things.

You would think things like passing a farm budget would be less political and more fiscal and practical, but I've learned it's not. The game of politics infects every aspect of the process, meaning that it's not enough to have the numbers and logic about what needs to be done—say, cutting spending so we don't add to the debt. Instead, just to get something as simple as a farm bill vote, you must still account for the politics of the situation.

Americans love our farmers because we love to eat food! Our farmers grow the best food in the world, and we want them to be profitable. But even more than that, food security is national security! Whether it's corn or wheat, beef, or chicken, we want these people to succeed. So, you would think that a farm budget would be easy to pass because we wouldn't have any divide over how to make farmers successful at providing food for America (and the world). But I've learned that the Democrats bring woke identity politics into everything! They want to give special favors based on the color of the farmers' skin, their gender, and so forth. To me, we should just look at them as farmers—as Americans. None of those details change what the farmers raise and should have nothing to do with a farm bill. However, the Democrats bring these things in, and we must deal with them. It turns out we must fight on everything, even topics that should be relatively free of politics, and this gets considerably trickier when you realize that the Republican party is not always united.

I am all about the Republican base. I've met more of them than most representatives as I have traveled the country attending Trump rallies and other GOP events. I feel like I'm in tune with that base because I am one of them. I listen to their concerns, what they want

for the country, and the policies they favor. Whether they're in Georgia or Oregon, Maine or California, the core Republican base is always the same. They don't change.

While the base stays the same, the representatives in more moderate districts are where we run into problems. Some may be from areas Biden won, which we might even call a D+1 district but with a Republican representative. These Republicans in Congress are often unwilling to vote for America-first or MAGA policies or take solid conservative stances on hard-hitting issues that matter the most to the GOP base. They usually won't go near controversial issues they feel may threaten their ability to get re-elected, and this is becoming a big problem with only 222 Republican members.

For instance, consider the idea of expunging President Trump's impeachments. Elise Stefanik and I have partnered together, and each of us has an expungement resolution. My resolution would expunge President Trump's first impeachment and Elise his second; these were political witch hunts the Democrats used to smear President Trump and hurt his reputation. They were also procedurally done incorrectly. The rules that young attorney Hillary Clinton helped write for the planned impeachment of President Nixon,<sup>172</sup> which ironically were used during President Clinton's impeachment, were not used for President Trump. Nancy Pelosi threw those rules, which were pretty good, out both times. As a matter of fact, she sent it through so fast that she did everything wrong.

Yet, Don Bacon from Nebraska has already said that he doesn't think he'd vote for expungement—it's in the past, he says.<sup>173</sup> "It is what it is," he said. "It happened."<sup>174</sup> He has no interest in correcting the record. Why undo it? Because these are outrageous wrongs! So, of the 222 Republican members of Congress, we're down to 221.



## WHAT IS THE GOP DOING?

Further, Dan Newhouse and David Valadao, two of the ten Republican members of Congress who voted to impeach President Trump regarding the events of January 6, are unlikely to vote for expungement.<sup>175</sup> So now we're down to 219. Some other members, such as those New York Republicans who seem to balk at anything they consider risky, may also vote no. And so, very quickly, you find that even though the GOP holds a small majority, these representatives can derail what the party would like to do.

This is just one example of how incredibly frustrating it is to try to get anything done. My constituents don't understand, and I don't either. Most of these Republicans claim they won't be able to get re-elected if they vote on these contentious topics, but Elise Stefanik is also from New York, and she's not just voting for it but sponsored legislation to do it!

Perhaps ten years ago, I could see their point. But today, we face a Democrat party that has gone full-on communist, abuses its power, is corrupt, and wields the strength of the federal government, FBI, DOJ, CIA, and IRS. And they are using those forces to hurt their enemies, punish those who oppose them, and pervert our justice system to suit their whims. If there were a time when Republicans needed to stand together against the Left's tyranny, this is it!

The conservative base is ready; they see the problems and want change. Yet over and over, I and other conservatives fighting for an America-first, MAGA agenda must come home to our districts full of frustration and impotence because the rest of our party won't get things done. We have to tell our voters that we haven't been able to get a bill to the floor or vote down the Democrat's latest crazy proposal. Even though we have the majority, we have representatives who won't take a stand because they're afraid it might make them unpopular and cost them reelection.

It's not just a failure to our conference that we can't get things done; it's a failure to our country. People are beside themselves, angry that there's a criminal sitting in the White House who has no business being there or having even gotten elected in the first place. Remember, the FBI had information from that unclassified 1023 form from their top informant before the general election. Remember, Bill Barr, who was Trump's Attorney General in the Department of Justice (and a traitor), did *nothing* with it. He should have brought charges against Joe Biden based on this information alone and conducted an investigation then. We had seventeen audio recordings proving Joe and Hunter each took a *million-dollar* bribe from the Ukrainian oligarch that owns Burisma, but Barr was a coward who refused to do anything about it.

This is why the Republicans are struggling to get anything done—fear. Fear of consequences. Fear of reprisal. Fear of lost influence. It paralyzes everyone from Republican members of Congress to administrative officials to special office holders to attorney generals. These people are responsible for not doing the right thing, and their inaction costs us all.

## Every Vote Matters

A lot of people don't vote. They don't think that their vote matters. "No one's ever held accountable," they say. "No one pays for their crimes. Why does any of it matter?" As they say that, they wash their hands of Republican candidates. And, you know what? I don't blame them! It's incredibly frustrating!

So, what do we do? How do we get people involved, encourage them to vote, and hold our elected officials responsible for their actions? I believe that we must rip the veil down and show the truth

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of what happens in government. Remember how I forced roll-call votes? This is a prime example because Congressional representatives had no accountability for how they were voting, and when I called attention to it, I forced them to be honest with the American people, who could grade them on their voting record.

I argue that we must put these hard votes to the floor, on record. After all, that's what we're there for—to vote! Every vote must be recorded, and every representative must be called to account to the American people for how they are using those votes in our government. And, if they aren't voting the way the base wants, we must elect new representatives who *will* stand up for what's right.

If representatives are afraid to vote, they don't belong in Congress. If they're too scared of a recorded vote, they're not qualified to do the job for which their districts hired them. It's pretty simple. Voting is one of our main job responsibilities.

Some Republican members in very tight districts stay focused on getting reelected, yet their unwillingness to vote for hard-hitting issues binds the hands of the whole conference. Imagine what we could do if we had 235 or 240 Republican members of Congress! Voting for expungement or anything would be easy, even with these moderates. They wouldn't matter at all, we wouldn't be begging and pleading with them, and they wouldn't be able to demand back, "Well, what are you going to do for me?" As it is, they often hold a lot of bargaining power because they can make a list of the things they want. This puts them in positions of relative strength, and we need to change that so we can have everyone in the conference pulling together.

I dream of the day we can inspire the conservatives of this country who don't vote to come out and get engaged. When they understand why things aren't getting done, I think they'll be motivated to

create change. Yes, they're mad and disappointed, but we need the *voters* to hold the government accountable.

## Whatever It Takes

With how vital each representative is, I think it's time for Republicans to start stealing pages from the Democrats' playbook, and one of the first is legal ballot harvesting.<sup>176</sup> The Democrats have been doing it for years, and where it's okay to do it, we need to send people to the voters, such as retirement homes, to help them fill out and return their absentee ballots.

In a perfect world, we'd have one-day elections, but we don't; we have weeks of elections. And that means that Republicans need to vote when they can, so we make sure we don't get tied up in another Arizona situation where a bunch of the voting machines quit working the day of the election, and thousands get turned away without voting. For years, Republicans have resisted this idea and opposed Democrats for doing it. Still, we need to get as many votes as possible by any legal means, which means taking advantage of the system until we can improve election laws.

If people are frustrated, the best way to change it is to win back the White House and expand the majority in Congress. If we put President Trump back in office, we could fix everything. Consider that the president determines who is in charge of the DOJ, the FBI, the IRS, and so much more. We could clean house and drain the swamp that frustrates so many Americans!

Do you want to stop the Left's abuse of power? Vote! Do you want to hold the Biden crime family responsible for their corruption? Vote! Do you want to stop the insanity of the Green New Deal, mutilating children, and government censorship? We must get back

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in control of our country! Joe Biden will not sign our bills into law, so the GOP with a slim majority in Congress isn't enough; we need to get the right people in office because the last aspects of Trump's protection for the middle class are running out.

Consider this: the Trump tax cuts expire in 2025. When they do, we will be looking at 39 percent higher tax rates. Whichever party is in the White House and holds the majority in Congress will write the tax code after these tax breaks expire. A generation of wealth is at stake, along with the middle class. More than anything, Democrats want the estate tax (or the "death tax"), which taxes money handed down that's already been taxed once.<sup>177</sup> They want to tax the middle class; while elites like themselves will benefit, they'll take the money from the middle class and redistribute it to the illegal immigrants.

If taxes were the only thing at stake, it would be enough to make it obvious we must regain control of the government. People don't understand how vital it is to win the 2024 elections and beyond. And to do that, we must motivate the Republican base.

Too many important policy decisions and the direction of our country are in the balance right now. From taxes to defeating the trans agenda to holding Biden and his cronies accountable and reining in spending, we must put aside our differences and disappointments to get the right people in office—people who will vote for an America-first agenda, no matter the consequences.

It's time to demand more from the Republican party because we are the ones who must put the power back in the hands of the American people.





## Write Your Own Story

EVERY DAY, WHEN YOU GET up in the morning, you can write your own story. With each decision you make, you are taking personal responsibility for your life. It's been said that we are the sum of those decisions, but the same thing can be said of our country. If Americans wake up interested, engaged, and take personal responsibility for our country's direction, we can make a difference—not just here on our shores but for the entire world.

The opposite is true as well. If we're lazy, disinterested, and apathetic, our country is going to reflect that. If we're more concerned with what's on social media or the news than what our country needs from us, those who are engaged and have an agenda for our nation in the Democrat party will write the narrative for us.

So, what kind of story do you want to live? Do you want it to be the one dictated by Joe Biden, Nancy Pelosi, the corrupt DOJ, the trans activists, and the radical communists of the Democrat party? Because right now, they're writing the news headlines, setting the standard of justice, defining gender and sexuality—and they make it

seem that if you oppose anything they stand for, *you're* the bad, intolerant one. Do you want a story of America-last policies, sending our money and jobs overseas, crippling our economy, racking up debt, and losing our standing as the world's standard and superpower?

Or do you want something better?

Our story so far has been incredibly powerful, with a nation rising on exceptional principles of God, personal responsibility, patriotism, hard work, initiative, and generosity. We helped usher in the industrial revolution, defend freedom worldwide, defeat Hitler, win the Cold War, and pioneer life-saving medical procedures. We modeled religious freedom and showed the world what a Christian nation looked like. America is the greatest country on Earth, but the wrong people have been writing our story lately.

I don't know about you, but I want to see an American story that returns to what made us great in the first place. Our country was founded on Judeo-Christian principles that guided us and defined what kind of country we were, how we interacted with each other, and what we did in the world. The Democrats have worked industriously to destroy that foundation. Still, there are strong, compassionate, hard-working, God-fearing people throughout our country who want to see us return to our roots and what makes America so special.

I want to see an America that is free again, our speech uncensored by big-brother government, giant tech and social media companies, and Left-wing activists who want to destroy the truth so they can control the narrative. I want to see us safe again, with our border secured and the flow of deadly drugs and Mexican cartels cut off. I want justice to be blind again, the same for the wealthy elite as the poor, with everyone judged equally under the law and held



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accountable to the same standard. I want us to return to our conservative practices financially, socially, sexually, and more.

I am calling on not just Republicans but *Christians and God-fearing people* in this country to rise up and take a stand because the Left in this country is waging war on us, specifically. It's okay to be anything else, but if you're a Christian, you're vilified and discriminated against. They are attacking our values, our rights, and our beliefs, and they are dragging our country to destruction.

I know many people who value things like mission trips, and I love that people want to go overseas and make a difference. But I implore you to make a difference right here at home! I see homeless people every day, each needing the love of God and practical, lasting help in finding more than just food and shelter but life-changing practices that will enable them to stay off the streets. I see hurting, broken people on social media lashing out because they're angry, confused, and think that Christians are the intolerant bigots that the legacy media makes us out to be. I see children with gender dysphoria who are confused about their sexuality because they've been fed constant lies on TV and online. I see lonely people who live alone walking through life depressed and unloved. There are too many to count that need us right here at home, ranging from individuals to communities to entire cities and even states. What would happen if we brought love, hard work, and values out of our homes and churches and into the world of the hurting and needy?

If every single conservative Christian did nothing more than register and go out and vote at each election, we could utterly change our nation! Democrats would have a hard time winning, even if they cheated, and we could reinstate common-sense policies that would alter the direction of our cities, states, and country. Democrats

would lose control of bankrupt cities, entire states, and gradually the nation.

I believe a vast and quiet majority still lives in the middle of this country—good, solid, hard-working people who love God and their families and work every day to try to make the world a better place. I believe that if most Americans took a hard look at it, they would, as a whole, be against abortion. If they really saw what happens to these confused children who get “gender-affirming care,” they would see how harmful it is. If they looked at our economy and saw the struggles of our small companies and their owners, they would see them as family members. They would put American businesses first over any country in the world.

I believe Americans are wholly good, that they don’t like being under crushing debt, drugs and criminals flowing over an open border, the murder of unborn babies, or seeing kids poisoned with hormone blockers or physically mutilated before they can legally smoke or even tattoo ink on their skin.

I also believe that Americans are tired of fighting each other. Whether we’re Republicans or Democrats, rich or poor, we’re tired of fighting. The current system is set up to divide with identity politics, and I want us to return to “united we stand, divided we fall.” That means that no matter who we are, we must no longer turn our heads and look the other way. We can’t sit on the sidelines anymore, complaining but unwilling to get involved.

We can’t be passive any longer because the stakes are too high.

Within our nation, a few extremists set the narrative and drive our country to perversion, bankruptcy, and destruction. Our enemies own too much of our farmland, manufacturing, and medicine. No matter how pretty our flag is or how often we sing our national

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anthem, we will not continue being the land of the free and the home of the brave . . . unless we *engage*.

I said this at the beginning—I never wanted to be in politics. I hate politics! Yet, I looked around and saw that few were standing up the way I felt we needed to. I saw what President Trump did and how unsupported he was, what was happening in my town with drag queen story time, and I just could not sit idly by anymore. I'm not a politician; I am a Christian, mother, and businesswoman, and I am *just like you*.

But now, we need *you* to get involved, too. Yes, get out and *vote*, but maybe there's more that you can do, too. Your area has needs, likely at every level—and needs *you*! Your party needs you, too.

The Republican party must be the one who gets our people active and leads the way into a better future—saving America. And the only way we're going to do that is to stop fighting each other, get together, define our most important issues, and come up with a plan. We cannot save America from a distance or with theory; we must get down in the trenches, fighting for what our people care about. For too long, there's been a gap between what the American people care about and what the Republican party is doing.

My biggest goal when I ran for Congress was to push for change and force the Republican Party to be the party that reflects the values of the American people and shows unwavering dedication to our country and its citizens. While there are a few loud voices for perversion and woke politics, I am convinced that most Americans want the same things—a strong America with a thriving economy, good jobs, safety, and justice. They want factories to open or stay open, making American-made products that are the best in the world. They want to end our sons and daughters dying in foreign wars,

lobbyists having more influence than constituents, and they want accountability for our politicians and other officials.

I want those things, too, to save our country and get it back on track. It's my number one goal, and I will keep fighting for it because I love America and her people—every single one of them, whether they like me or not. I think the American people are good, capable of amazing things, and are worth fighting for—that *America* is worth fighting for!

Do you?

This powerful statement is widely attributed to Edmund Burke: "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing." Never has this been truer for America. You, dear reader, can make a difference. You don't have to run for president or Congress because there are things you can do at home in your community that no politician can do. Get involved, be active, and bring your values and convictions to every corner of this country. You bring *hope* to America with the decisions you make every day, so let's make them count!

I urge you to please get out, exercise your right to vote, and make your voice heard. No matter how much the Democrats try to silence us, they can never stop all our voices raised together. It's time to tear the duct tape off your mouth and make yourself heard because America needs you to fight for her today!

I will be right there with you, with my sleeves rolled up, working to restore our once-great nation—and helping tell the story of America First and how she became great again.

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Congresswoman MARJORIE TAYLOR GREENE, famously known as MTG, represents Georgia's 14th Congressional District in Northwest Georgia. Since her election in 2020, MTG has led the effort to impeach Joe Biden, ban the genital mutilation of children, secure our southern border, end the war in Ukraine, and push the Republican Party to put the American people first.

MTG is considered one of the most powerful members of Congress because of her massive grassroots support and always putting PEOPLE over politicians. Her America First credentials are forged in steel and she's leveraged her power to drive change in the House GOP.

Led by her Christian faith, she is known to always speak the truth and for her refusal to back down from radical Democrats who are set on destroying America.

Before serving as a member of Congress, Marjorie graduated from the University of Georgia in 1996. In 2002, she and her former husband bought her family's construction company, Taylor Construction, and successfully grew it to one of the biggest in the Southeast. To add on to an extensive business background, Marjorie built and sold one of the largest CrossFit gyms in the Southeast. Her greatest accomplishment of all is being a mother and raising her three children: Lauren, Taylor and Derek.

"Isn't she amazing?"

JOE BIDEN

"This woman should be on a watch list.  
Not in Congress."

HILLARY CLINTON

"She must be expelled..."

ALEXANDRIA OCASIO-CORTEZ

"MTG is a cause for trauma and fear  
among members of Congress."

NANCY PELOSI

"Marjorie Taylor Greene makes clear yet again  
that she cannot be trusted..."

LIZ CHENEY

"This woman gets to come and talk about taking  
over the country, and she's not behind bars.

How does that work?"

WHOOPI GOLDBERG

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# Yes, Margaret, the War in Israel is Fake *they all were*



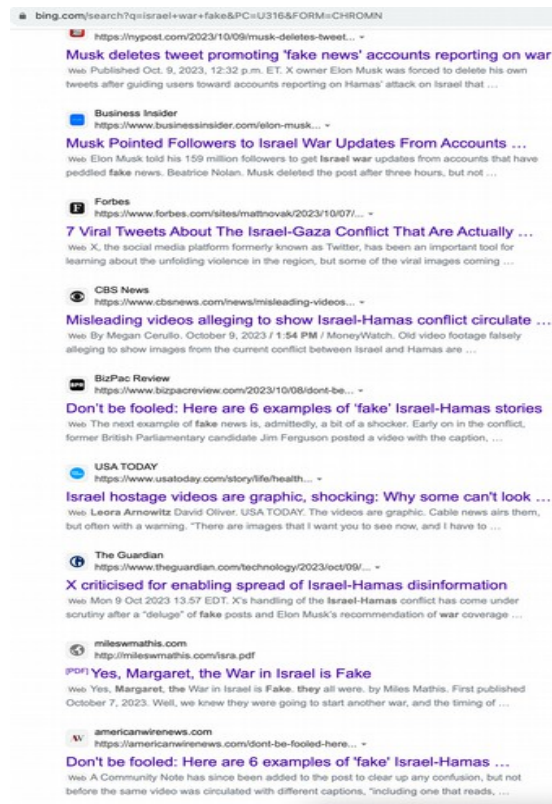
*by Miles Mathis*

*First published October 7, 2023*

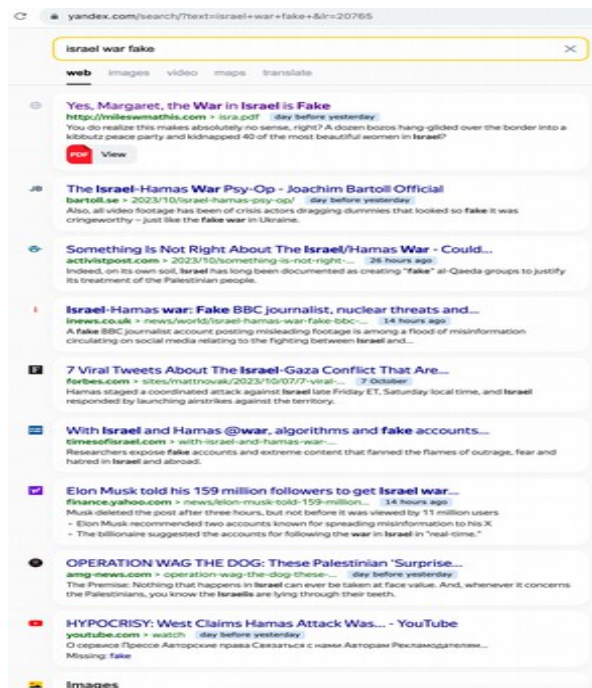
Well, we knew they were going to start another war, and the timing of this one is perfect. Just as Congress stops funding Ukraine, Hamas conveniently flies into Jerusalem on motorized kites. . . because, you know, why not? The Gentiles will believe anything. They could have reported that Hamas rode in on tricycles and no one would have questioned it. Or if anyone did question it, Google would block them. That's what will happen to this paper. In the first minutes it will go to number one and then it will be magically delisted, just like all my other papers.

**[Added October 9:** If you think I am delusional, I can prove it. Google did exactly that, and we know they censored it because the other search engines didn't.





I am listed #9 on page one at Bing for the general search *Israel War Fake*, with no quotes and no mention of me. I picked that search because it is a general search many would use and it is not a direct quote from my title. So it is not skewed to my paper. And if we check page two we find I am outranking MSN at #12. **So I am beating MSN at Bing!** Also outranking NBC, Yahoo News, AP, CNN, Wikipedia, and the BBC. I am ranked #16 at Duck and #19 at Yahoo. At Yandex this paper ranks #1.



[**October 10:** Bing was so embarrassed by my outranking of MSN, they immediately removed my listing. Which is censorship. Which is of course illegal. These major search engines are not allowed to simply remove results they don't like. We know my paper didn't fall off the charts overnight, since it retained its rankings at Yahoo, Duck, and Yandex. For more proof of my high rankings and internet censorship, [you may visit this paper.](#)]

[**October 12:** Bing has reinstated my listing at #14, perhaps in response to this. We will see how it goes from here.]

Here's more proof of the war:



Because, you know, you can't fake a smoke plume by burning a pile of wood or something. Or with CGI. Mossad doesn't have that tech.

Here's more proof of the war:



A woman with a baby fleeing a burning pile of leaves. With cops. Wow, I'm convinced. I can hardly witness the carnage. I hope this came with a triggering warning. Here's more proof of the war:



Yeah, that looks totally real. Totally *not* pasted together. And what horrible damage from a missile! It destroyed two entire windows! I like the guy sitting there in the other window, hoping he can catch the next one in his teeth.

Here's more proof, from a search on “bodies paraded through streets”.



But wait. Are those bodies being paraded through streets, or just some soldiers practicing war games. Don't matter, publish it!

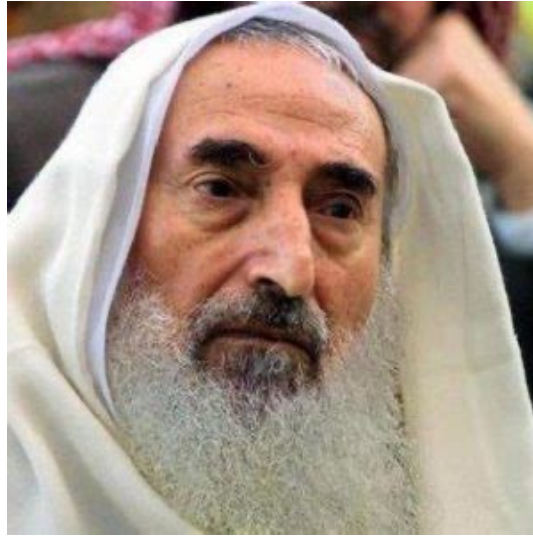
Then we are shown video of some guys in a truck firing weapons. Yeah, so. Are the rounds live or blanks? We don't know, but since this is Israel, Hollywood east, I assume this is the usual Jewish theater.

But we knew this was theater without even studying the pictures, [since we already know Hamas is fake](#). Just like the PLO and all the other Arab organizations, it is a front for the Israeli army and was created by Mossad just for times like this. As I say, Jews in turbans.



For more proof of that, I send you back to [my 2021 article](#) by my writer-on-the-ground in Tel Aviv, Josh, who quotes mainstream Jewish sources admitting Hamas was created and funded by the Israeli Defense. He reminds us of the alleged founder of Hamas, Sheik Yassin:





You have to laugh. A dead ringer for Jewish actor Christopher Lee. And remember what Gore Vidal taught us: Lee=Levi.

Still don't believe me? Well try this: [an article just out](#) at the *New York Post*, admitting that Hamas is represented by New York attorney [Stanley Cohen](#). My readers will get a big kick out of that name, and not just for the Cohen.

Here's more horrific images from the Israel War:

WORLD STAR DISTRO CONTACT ADVERTISE **LIVE** Search...

0:00 / 7:08

Breaking News

Israel Declares State Of War... After Hamas Launch Surprise Attack With 2200 Rockets.. Children & Grandmothers Are Being Killed & Held Hostage!



As you see, the carnage is incredible, with that little hooker wearing a bandage on her knee and running, that lady smiling because she is being groped by an Aryan dude, that guy tilted, and that smoke! Just offscreen children and grandmothers are being killed, held hostage, or made to watch American TV!

**UPDATE, Next day:** More information continues to arrive, confirming this was all staged. That running girl in the last image was allegedly at a big **peace party** being held out in the desert—conveniently right on the Gaza border—and the parasailers were attacking this peace concert. Another prominent photo allegedly shows a girl dead in the back seat of a car, killed by a strawberry jam grenade, by the looks of it.



Because that makes sense, right? If you were Hamas, itching for revenge against Israel, you would target a bunch of kids at a peace party, and kill all their model girls:



That's another model girl allegedly killed. Here is what we are being told. See if you find it believable at all.

**Hamas raped her, broke her limbs, killed her, they paraded around her naked dead body as they spat on her corpse and yelled "Allahu Akbar".**

Yeah, I bet. [That's the video from the back of the pickup truck.](#) Except that we are already getting confirmation this was all staged and that she was just an actress flown in for this part. To start with, we find she has an extensive previous photo and video presence online, indicating she is an actress. She has a bunch of spooky tattoos, including snakes, indicating she is bad news. I suspect her name given in the press Shani Louk/Luk isn't her real name. It means "Red Comrade", so figure it out yourself. Within 24 hours the internet was littered with poorly written stories about her, like [this](#). These stories appear to have been prewritten by agents who don't know how to write, using AI for help. In these stories, she is anywhere from 22 to 30. Her mother [Ricarda Louk is quoted saying she was 22](#), while [her cousin Tom Weintraub is quoted saying she was 30](#). Weintraub is identified as both male and female, as Tom and Tomasina.

And another problem. I have just looked at dozens of photos and videos of Shani Louk posted online, and I don't see a match to the death photo. We are told friends and family identified her by the leg tattoos, but Louk's leg tattoos go all the way around her leg, and are dark and obvious.

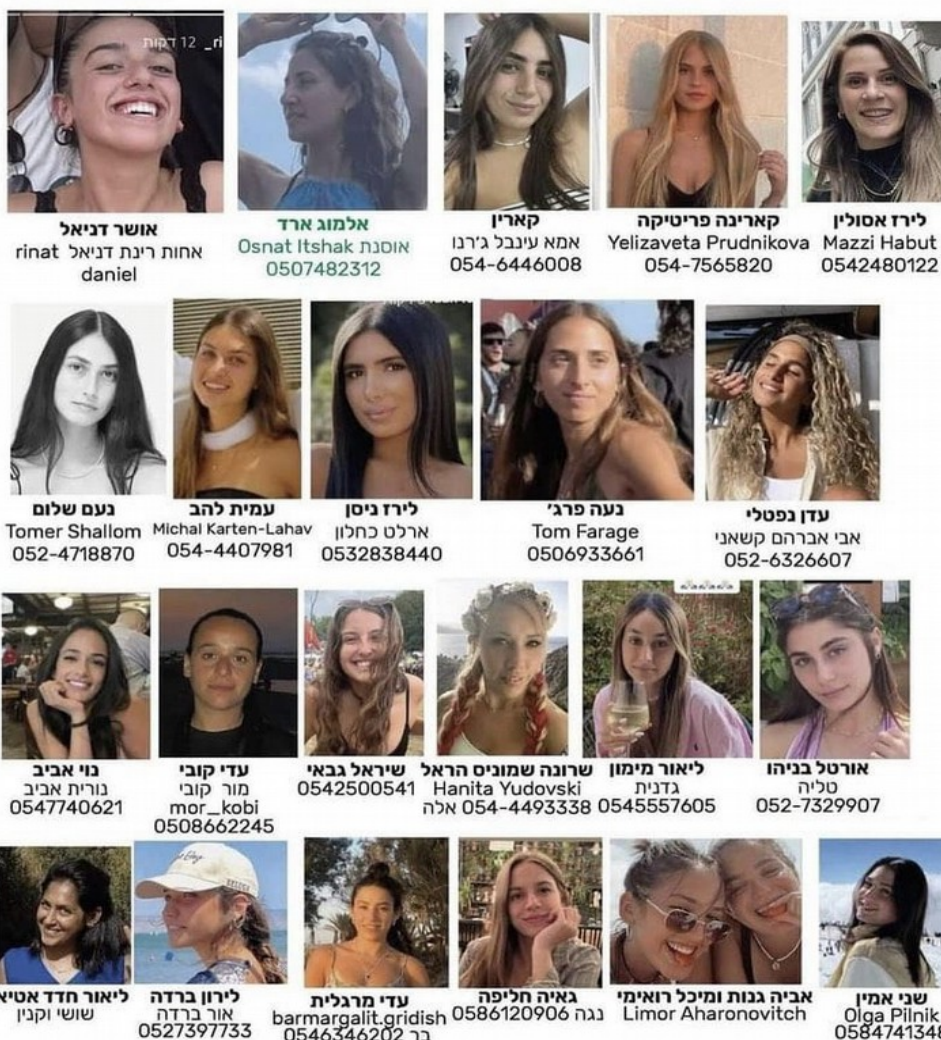


In the video, the tats looked CGI'ed in later, and they are blurry, light, and don't go all the way around the leg. If you have the stomach to look more closely, you see why this is: that thing in the film isn't a person, it is a dummy made to look like Louk with dreads. All the limbs are bent backwards like they are rubber—which they are. As usual, we can't see her face, so there is no way to truly identify her. To answer that, we are told all her limbs were broken by these guys, but that isn't how broken limbs look. That is how rubber dummy limbs look. If these guys had completely broken her knee joints, you would see bones poking out and bruises and blood. All you see is pristine rubber knees. If you don't believe me, ask your surgeon if that looks real.

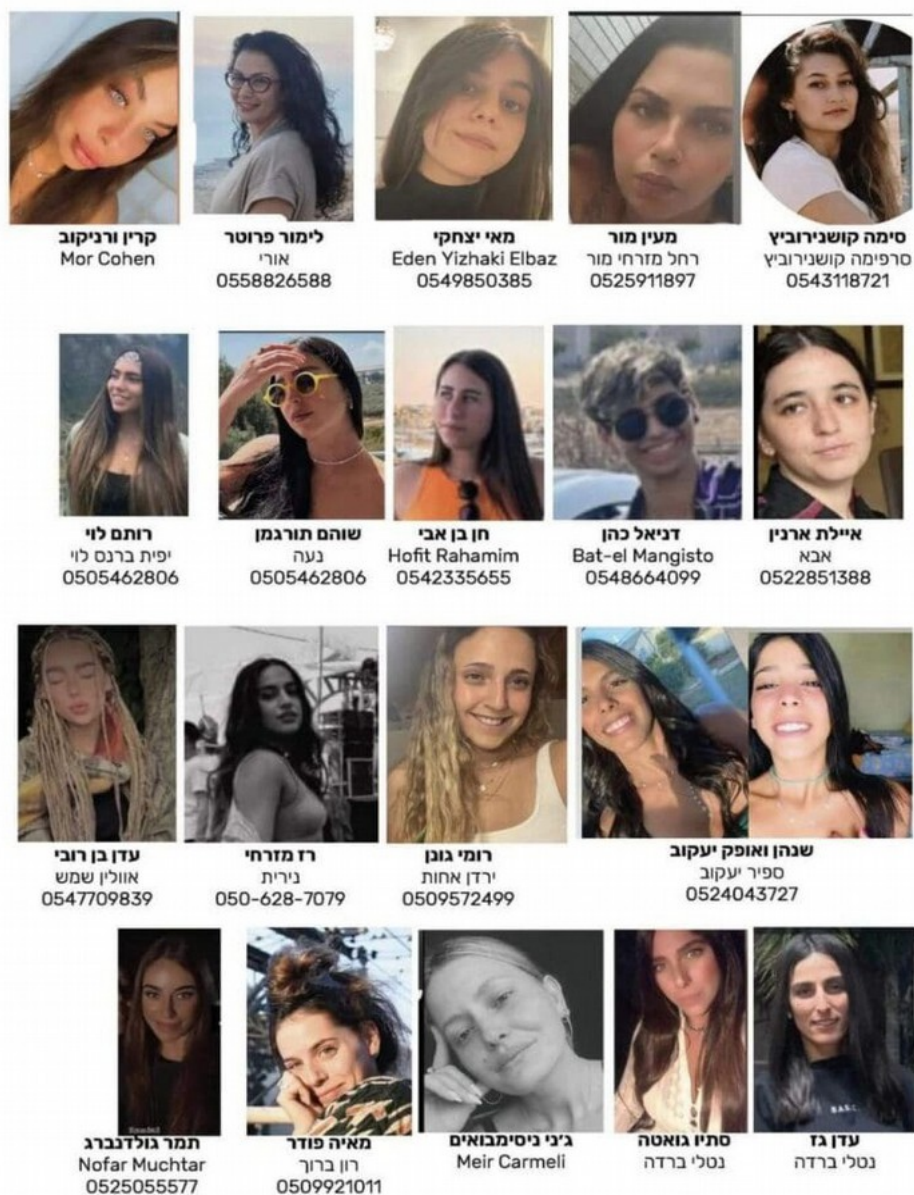
Plus, remember [this recent paper](#), where I showed you how realistic these female mannequins/sex dolls have become. In a blurry video like this, you literally could not tell the difference.

Here's another problem no one is mentioning. This video had to have been shot by Hamas, but there is no way those guys are going to appear by face in video and then allow it to be posted online worldwide. If any of this were real, it would just be asking Mossad to find you, torture you, and kill your whole family, including all pets. So all these guys are also actors. This whole thing was staged.

Israel has now released the names of 42 of these young female models/actresses that are supposedly missing:







Not surprisingly, several of them are Kohens. Even stranger, the site posting them, [voiceofeurope.com](http://voiceofeurope.com), has since scrubbed 9 of them, including the Kohens, taking us down to. . . 33. If that is because they were already found safe, it means 1/6<sup>th</sup> were found safe in the first few hours, meaning they weren't too careful compiling this list. What are the odds the others will be found safe in the next few hours, or be found working for Mossad or Hollywood?

Olga Pilnik has since been removed as well. Possibly because we can translate her Hebrew name as *Shani Amin*, which means “red shining one”. That is more indication Shani Louk's name is an alias as well. These are stage names, not real names.

You do realize this makes absolutely no sense, right? A dozen bozos hang-glided over the border into a kibbutz peace party and kidnapped 42 of the most beautiful women in Israel? So how did Hamas get

those girls out of there and back across the border? The border was tight on the way in, requiring they come in silently by air, but then they could noisily drive their pickups full of dead girls back over the border? Where did the pickups come from? Did they bring those in on kites, too? Anyone buying this story is braindead.

Despite the obviousness of this fake, everyone on both sides in the US and worldwide is selling it as real, including Trump, David Icke, RFK, Lara Logan, AOC, Alex Jones, and all the rest. No prominent person is questioning it. None of them can spot moulage or a rubber girl. Perhaps most surprisingly, the Dems are actually taking the side of Hamas. Why on earth would they do that? Because it is part of the purposeful tanking of the Democratic Party, something I have been telling you about for years now. The Dems are purposely doing everything wrong now, and this is just one more example.

**Addendum October 10:** reports from the mainstream press in France (LCI) are already confirming my reading here:



That is yesterday, and it is saying “**48 hours ago nobody knew the location of the Peace Party, it seems that it is the Israeli army which organized the operation, it is staggering.**” Anne Nivat, the reporter, admits that the party was only organized the day before, so how did Hamas make these complicated plans to attack it using parasails and so on?

She doesn't seem to be aware that the deaths were staged/faked, but she does seem to be realizing the event was an inside job or a false flag. In the same report, we see this photo of cars attacked:



What's wrong there? Anyone? Why are all the cars white? It is the same problem we saw recently in Hawaii, where everything went to white. The CGI program apparently goofed here, forgetting to apply color to any of the fake cars it pasted in.

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After three days of selling this as real and even amplifying it, a few places like Infowars are finally [reporting today on fake coverage](#). There we find Clarissa Ward at CNN getting caught faking incoming missiles on the ground in Israel. They then remind this has happened many times before, going back to the First Gulf War. Yes, but Infowars knew that three days ago: why didn't they question any of this stuff to start with? Why are they still selling the main lines of the “war” in many other stories? Same for Zerohedge, Breitbart, Gateway Pundit, NaturalNews, and all the alternative sites of that sort. They know—and have reported themselves—that the mainstream has been caught hundreds of times making up stories about babies killed, civilians decapitated, all the usual worst atrocities. But then they all reported that in the last three days without questioning any of it. Just today there were stories about Hamas decapitating babies, and these alternative sites printed it with no question, in lockstep with the mainstream.

Breitbart is turning out to be the worst of those in this regard, and is again shooting itself in the foot. It will lose many readers, since it assuming everyone on the right is a big supporter of Israel—something that is simply not true. But readers there are seeing just how slanted their coverage is, proving who is really running things over there: the Phoenician Navy, of course.

Same with Trump, who has previously commented on fake news. He is famous for promoting the idea. But here he has been among the worst repeating this fake news and the fear and division that accompanies it. Today he was giving speeches warning about WWII, nukes, and “obliteration”. All for political hay, so that the Pentagon can send aircraft carriers to fight guys on kites and request billions more for “defense”, and so that he himself can claim none of this would have happened on his watch. In other words, more of the worst kind of wag-the-dog propaganda and gaslighting. Really putrid made-for-TV-and-internet theater.

But it continues to unwind on them, and we see proof of that straight from this paper of mine. The fact

it went superviral immediately, even above anything at the highly promoted Infowars, proves that millions of people were searching on “Israel War Fake.” So many, as it turns out, the Pentagon and Langley were forced into panic mode, being ordered to immediately manufacture a lot of fake news items with those search terms, to misdirect and water down on that question. They desperately needed to push my listing down. Finding that impossible on such short notice, Bing was forced to simply delete it.

At many of those manufactured pages, they try to convince us that yes, false stories do get shared online, photos get mixed up, mistakes are made, but that is mainly the fault of social media, and bad actors probably sent in from Russia or China. It doesn't mean you should question this event as a whole, or the news as a whole.

In other planted stories around the “fake” search, the mainstream sites are claiming that anyone that disbelieves the mainstream stories is themselves spreading fake information or “hate”. Standing the truth on its head, as usual. They want you to believe that those who refuse the propaganda are propagandists. Those who refuse the hate are haters. Those who refuse the lies are liars. They even want to seem to bluff you into believing it is illegal to question the news. If everyone assures you there is a real war going on and you refuse to believe it, you are a criminal or terrorist. It isn't true. There are no laws of that sort. You don't have to believe what the government reports, no matter how loudly they report it.

Even some of my best readers can't seem to get the message here, even after all we have been through. They are saying, yes, Miles, you have proved some fakery here, and others are showing other instances, but that is no reason to jump to conclusions. That is no reason to write off the entire war as a fake.

Really? So exactly how many cases of fraud would I have to show you before this was not “jumping to a conclusion”? What percentage of all events in history would I have to out as fakes before you got the message that these people are inveterate fakers and pathological liars? Because the percentage is getting up there. I have covered literally thousands of the top events and people in history, showing you precisely none of them were what we have been sold. We have been sold a line of a million lies, and yet when I tell you the next thing they say is a lie, you claim I am jumping to a conclusion? Where is the jump? There is no jump, I am just arriving naturally and rationally at the *logical* conclusion, after decades of research: it is a vast and audacious fraud, run on us all for profit and control. There is no longer any least doubt of it, so there is no jump. The only jump would be coming to any other conclusion, given what we have discovered.

Get this through your head once and for all, as a general rule of logic: once you have proven a person or group is a liar, the default assumption is that everything important he says is a lie. All trust should be gone. If, in an extended event, you discover sub-events are purposely falsified, the default assumption is that *all* events are false. In other words, if we find—and we *have* found—that many events in this Israel War are manufactured, staged, or purposely falsified, the logical assumption is that the whole thing is fake. There is no reason to fake parts of a real event, since a real event has plenty of real things to report on. Plus, we are not judging this event in isolation. We are not judging it only upon its own merits. It is one in a long line of similar events, put on by the same people. We have already caught them lying about everything else in history, so *of course* they are lying about this, too. Do you see how that works?

It isn't just my research, it is Lestrade's voluminous research on the Pacific Theater. It is Orwell, promoted by the mainstream, who warned us of exactly this: staged wars in far off lands, faked by the



media. If you have read *1984*, you know they didn't just have constant war to create hate and drive the economy, they had constant **fake** war, manufactured by writers, with nothing real going on on the ground. It is Hollywood, which has admitted this is what is going on in films like *Wag the Dog*. Robert DeNiro told you to your face. They also admit it in films like *The Truman Show* and *The Matrix*: **the whole thing is a fake**. Even George Bush admitted it, saying "if they knew what we were doing they would hang us all from the nearest lamp post". What was it they were doing? What did he mean? He meant this. He meant that if we found out the Phoenicians were faking everything, and always had, we would rise up, burn them all down to ash, and then launch the ash in a rocket to the Sun, where it could never be reconstituted again.

**Addendum October 12:** You want more? I will keep giving you more. Readers are continuing to send in fake photos from this fake war. They have more patience with this than I do. Here are two more.



There are programs you can use to tell if a photo is real or not, so my reader fed that photo into it. It read 4% real, 96% AI. Metadata on the photo indicates it was not taken with a camera, rather all done in photoshop then compressed and downsized to hide the seams. That's pretty obvious at a glance, or should be. Why? Well, remember what I have taught you: look at the photo as a background, middleground, and foreground. In a real photo, that will be harder to do, since it will all blend in together naturally, as it should. But in fake photos like this one, it is very easy to divide it into those three parts. Often a middleground is filled with smoke, but we don't see that here. We see a confusing middleground that seems to consist of a tank, one guy, and some trash in a land of dirt. The guy is way too big, since he would match the size of the Jeep in the foreground. You could stand him beside that Jeep and he would almost be large enough. But there is a little problem called **perspective**. He is much further away than the Jeep, so he should look much smaller. These bozos who piece these photos together always bungle perspective, which is why it is so easy for artists like me to catch them at it. Same problem with the tanks in the background, which are the same size as the tank in the middle ground. But since they are much further away, they should be much smaller than that. So I don't need a computer program to tell me this is fake. I can tell just from its lack of perspective.





Next we have that one, supposed to be two Israeli soldiers protecting a cameraman. You have to laugh. Looks like something completely different, don't it? But they forgot to protect the other cameraman. What other cameraman? The one taking the picture. Also notice these guys appear to be from different units, since their uniforms don't match. Different shoulder patches and helmets. But the strangest thing is that we are supposed to believe soldiers protect the press, two soldiers assigned to each cameraman as human shields. Again, you have to laugh. That isn't what we have seen in the past, is it, especially from the Israeli Army, which hates real media people, who just get in the way and see things they weren't supposed to see. They may take an unauthorized photo. The press is generally kept out of all war zones now, and those allowed in are agents themselves, and are therefore left to fend for themselves—if any real fending is required, which it isn't. Plus, if they are in such a dangerous zone, why isn't the cameraman wearing a helmet to start with? We just saw this photo heading Lestrade's new article, remember:



She has the press vest on and a helmet, but the guy above doesn't. Another continuity error. So many questions, so few answers.

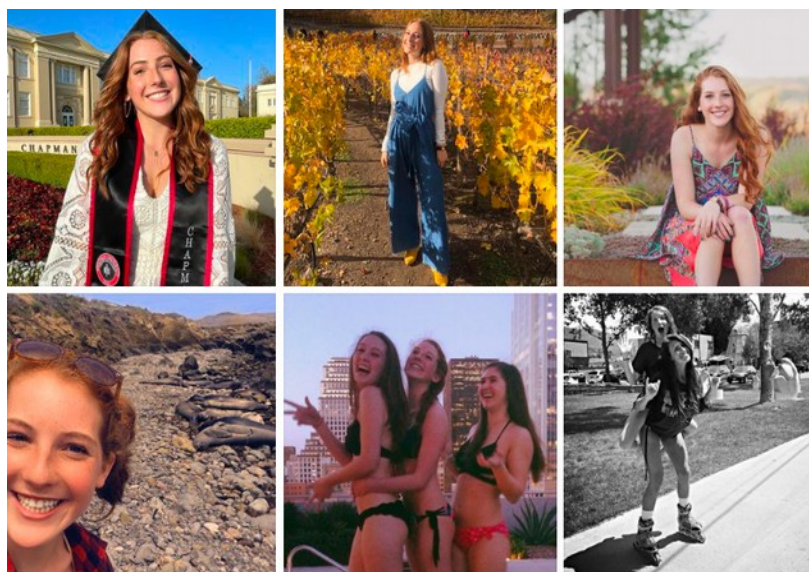
And another one, hot from my inbox:



Three of the four guys are in sandals, and the fourth may be as well. So everyone over there wears open-toed shoes to walk through war zones? Reminds us of Hawaii, where we saw the same thing. You may want to ask yourself what miraculous path those guys took through that rubble behind them, to get through without cutting up their toes or ankles. But obviously they didn't, since this is more CGI. The computer doesn't understand things like shoes or walking.

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After Lestrade's paper on Israel came out yesterday, I decided to dig a bit more on Nicole Zedeck, bikini reporter for i24News.





Her father is listed at Instantcheckmate as David Zedeck of Florida and Newport Beach, CA. Is that the same David Zedeck who is head of Global Music at United Talent Agency, one of the biggest in Hollywood? Seems like more than a coincidence, since I am proving the Israel War is just a Hollywood production, and the main scene in Act 1 has been at a music festival. Both David Zedecks are 58. But Newport Beach is far to the south of Beverly Hills, where the music guy is listed. It is in Orange County, which indicates our David Zedeck moved there with his daughter when she went to college. Although not from there, she went to Chapman, graduating in 2021. So what does this tell us? Well, it appears that despite having the same names and ages, they are not the same guy, since the music producer's daughter is named Missy and works for AEG. She is dark-haired. Our David Zedeck is listed as an attorney in Austin. He is also a company owner in Steamboat Springs. He has owned 11 companies, and is currently listed as the owner of [Eretz Management](#), which sells properties in Israel. I guess you see how that ties in here?

Before we move on, let's take a quick look at that Chapman University. Although often sold as a Christian University, that is just a front. They admit it has had military connections since at least 1958, and a big film school opened in 1996, when the spooks took over the university *in toto*. It now has strong links to Hollywood and through them to the Pentagon and Langley. A few years later the Rodgers Center for Holocaust Education was opened as well, telling you who took it over. Explaining why Chapman was involved in this latest hoax. That was funded by Barry Rodgers of BFM Aerospace, formerly Lear Siegler, the big defense contractor. Otherwise he is a ghost, with no presence on the internet. Also interesting concerning Chapman is what I was told by other reader, who informed me he had been at a big conference there in the early 1990s on psychedelics, led by the usual cadre of spooks including Ram Dass, Tim Leary, and Dennis McKenna. So, just what I expected going in.

But are the two David Zedecks related? It would explain the promotion of Nicole, wouldn't it? And it would explain why she went to Los Angeles for school. As we dig on that, we find Nicole's grandfather Murray Zedeck, and we can definitely link him through his locations to the Murray Zedeck, [retired COB of TransCapital Bank](#). Since bought out by Power Financial. So that's a palpable hit. Nicole's aunt Gina is married to Shane Stansbury, who just happens to be a senior lecturer in law at Duke University, previously a federal prosecutor. He is a distinguished fellow at their Center for Law, Ethics, and [National Security](#). So we are really getting somewhere now. I guess you see how that ties in here? In his profile we find that among many others, he prosecuted

**Minh Quang Pham, a former associate of [Anwar al-Awlaki](#) and key operative for al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, for terrorism offenses;**

Oho, you mean [the Anwar al-Awlaki I have proved was a big fake?](#) [See p. 3, there] Remember this, from that paper:

**Al-Awlaki (real name Nasser) graduated from [Colorado State University](#), which he illegally attended on a foreign student's visa, claiming to have been born in Yemen. While still at CSU, he (allegedly) went to Afghanistan to train with the mujahideen, where he was allegedly radicalized. Seems like he would have needed to have been radicalized before he went, but we aren't told how this rich boy was radicalized in Colorado. Despite being a radical, he then went to George Washington University to work on his PhD in education. As radicals and imams do.**

The usual BS we are sold by the Intel communities. This indicates Nicole's uncle Stansbury is a spook working fake court cases, like many others we have blown the cover of.

Shane T.  
Stansbury

50

Durham, NC  
New York, NY  
Raleigh, NC  
San Diego, CA  
Baytown, TX  
Princeton, NJ  
Campbellsville, KY  
Arlington, VA

Steffani Polasek  
Carol Stansbury  
Glen Stansbury  
Janet Stansbury  
Christina Wyatt  
Gina Zedeck



OPEN REPORT

Note the Arlington, VA, there, along with all the other locations.

But let's return to the Zedecks. The Hollywood David Zedeck's parents are listed as still alive in Islip, Jack and Lorraine. . . Finally, I found a link. These Zedecks of Central Long Island (Islip, Babylon), related to the David Zedeck of Beverly Hills, also have links to Parkland, FL. See for example Maurice Zedeck, 88. Well, Nicole also has links to Parkland through her Zedecks, see her cousins Jordan and Benjamin. That's because her (great?)uncle Leonard is from there, as well as Jupiter. We are told Leonard worked with Murray Zedeck the big banker in a large real estate company in that area (or actually many of them). So we now have the two Zedecks with family in the same town, strongly indicating they are related. Murray's father is given as Benjamin in one of his bios, and we find a [Benjamin Zedek](#), later Zedeck, in Albany, and his Geni page is managed by Murray. Our Zedecks are also from Albany, with some of them having the locations of Ballston Lake and Clifton Park. Benjamin is not listed with a son Murray, but that is because Murray is still alive. They don't list living relatives. At any rate, these Zedecks of New York are not just Jewish, they are **HaKohens**. Of the high priestly class. So that fits in here like buttered fingers in a glove. It also allows us to link Nicole's Zedecks back to New York, as well as to give us a second town match with Albany. So we now have a probable match based on locations that Nicole is related to the big talent agency/music festival guy in Hollywood. That would start to explain why they used a music festival in this current fake event. Otherwise it is inexplicable. Now we just need to link to a paragliding company, to explain that.

Speaking of which, [one of my French readers just sent me this link](#), about EU Ambassador Sven **Kuhn** von Burgsdorff, who paraglided in July in Gaza to "show the way" to the Palestinians. Remember, Kuhn=Kohen, so we have the usual telegraphing of an event.

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And in other news, it is being reported that the Red Cross is AWOL, refusing to check on the "hostages" in Gaza. That just confirms again this is all a fraud, though nobody but me is reading it in the logical way. How can the Red Cross check on hostages that don't exist? You would think the CIA would be able to bring the Red Cross under the hoax umbrella, but I guess they forgot to write them into the script.

President of Israel Isaac Herzog is quoted today as saying all Palestinians are now war targets, "all responsible", but that somehow that is not against international laws of warfare. Israel is ordering the evacuation of huge areas and cutting off their water and electricity and food supplies. UN High Commissioner Volker Turk has admitted all that is strictly illegal, since a country cannot target civilian populations in that manner. All this has been illegal since the time of the US Civil War and before, which is just one reason our treatment of the Natives was seen as so heinous. So even if you believe the mainstream story of the "war" so far, you should be shocked at Israel's response. They appear to be using it as an excuse for genocide.

And these people can't figure out why they aren't liked. The Jews seem to be trying to use this manufactured conflict to generate sympathy for themselves, but as usual they are shooting themselves in the foot high caliber. We are finding out the left in the US was already sympathetic to Palestine, and though places like Breitbart and Gateway Pundit want you to believe Israel has strong support from the right, that isn't true, either. It has the support of Republican political leaders and the military, but almost no support from voters on the right. The only conservatives in the US who support Israel are conservative Jews and some fundamentalist Christian sects who are philoSemitic. The rest of us are sick to death of the whole subject. We wish these people would colonize the Moon and leave us be of their fake projects and conjobs.

So the timing and form of this latest fraud is the worst possible *for them*. It not only puts eyes on them, generating more revolutionary fervor at the grassroots, it hurts the Republican party and these conservative voices like Breitbart, Gateway Pundit, and all the rest. People are ditching those sites in droves, due to this alone. And it undercuts support for Trump and any other conservative candidates talking about supporting the new war in Israel. I have news for you: the American people don't support ANY new war. They are sick to death of the Old World Order of constant fake wars, draining the treasuries and stealing taxes, and they do not support a New World Order that does the same. They can see that as bad as the Old World was, the New World is even worse.

The only good news, if you could call it that, is that Infowars has seen the writing on the wall here and is already pulling back quickly from its early support of this narrative. Today it is leading with stories on the ADL using this event to crack down on free speech, and the Isaac Herzog story—admitting that Israel's over-reaction is shocking and even suspicious. Except that, in another lead story, they are still selling the Peace Party massacre as real and selling newer fake films of Hamas taking hostages and setting houses on fire. So they have a long way to go. This is to be expected, since Infowars' main job is to keep fear levels high. The manner isn't so important, and they can even appear to be revolutionary as long as the message is fear and division. And if their message is contradictory and garbled, both pro-Israel and con, so much the better: it keeps your mind properly stirred, so you can't figure out anything and therefore cannot act.

# Yes, Margaret, the War in Israel is Fake *they all were*

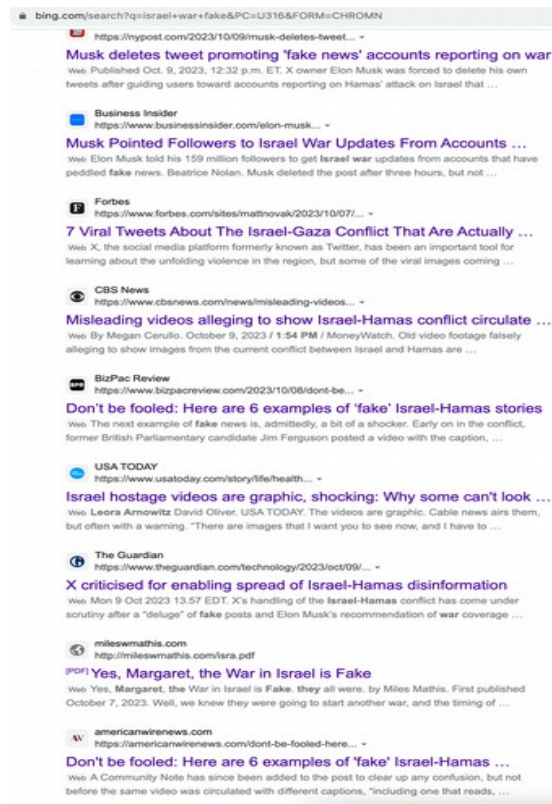


*by Miles Mathis*

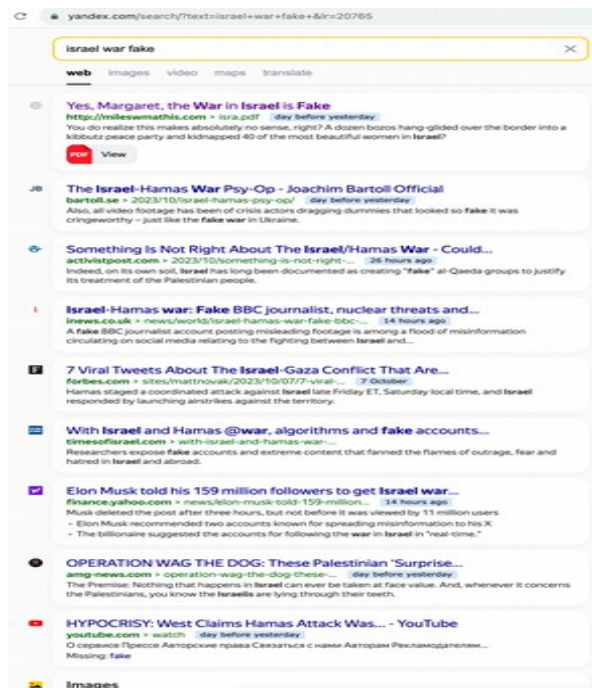
*First published October 7, 2023*

Well, we knew they were going to start another war, and the timing of this one is perfect. Just as Congress stops funding Ukraine, Hamas conveniently flies into Jerusalem on motorized kites. . . because, you know, why not? The Gentiles will believe anything. They could have reported that Hamas rode in on tricycles and no one would have questioned it. Or if anyone did question it, Google would block them. That's what will happen to this paper. In the first minutes it will go to number one and then it will be magically delisted, just like all my other papers.

**[Added October 9:** If you think I am delusional, I can prove it. Google did exactly that, and we know they censored it because the other search engines didn't.



I am listed #9 on page one at Bing for the general search *Israel War Fake*, with no quotes and no mention of me. I picked that search because it is a general search many would use and it is not a direct quote from my title. So it is not skewed to my paper. And if we check page two we find I am outranking MSN at #12. **So I am beating MSN at Bing!** Also outranking NBC, Yahoo News, AP, CNN, Wikipedia, and the BBC. I am ranked #16 at Duck and #19 at Yahoo. At Yandex this paper ranks #1.



[**October 10:** Bing was so embarrassed by my outranking of MSN, they immediately removed my listing. Which is censorship. Which is of course illegal. These major search engines are not allowed to simply remove results they don't like. We know my paper didn't fall off the charts overnight, since it retained its rankings at Yahoo, Duck, and Yandex. For more proof of my high rankings and internet censorship, [you may visit this paper.](#)]

[**October 12:** Bing has reinstated my listing at #14, perhaps in response to this. We will see how it goes from here.]

Here's more proof of the war:



Because, you know, you can't fake a smoke plume by burning a pile of wood or something. Or with CGI. Mossad doesn't have that tech.

Here's more proof of the war:





A woman with a baby fleeing a burning pile of leaves. With cops. Wow, I'm convinced. I can hardly witness the carnage. I hope this came with a triggering warning. Here's more proof of the war:



Yeah, that looks totally real. Totally *not* pasted together. And what horrible damage from a missile! It destroyed two entire windows! I like the guy sitting there in the other window, hoping he can catch the next one in his teeth.

Here's more proof, from a search on “bodies paraded through streets”.



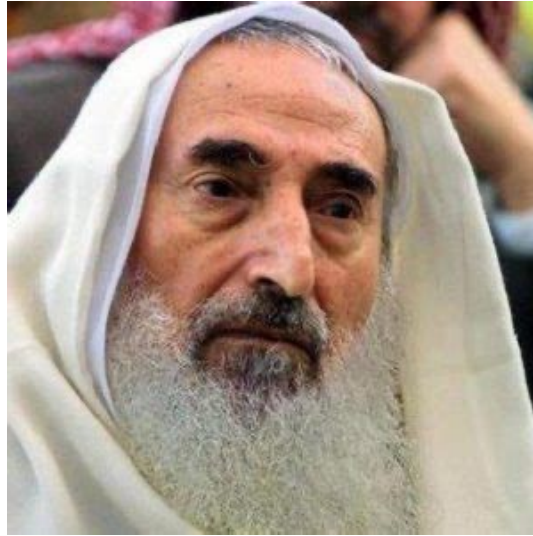
But wait. Are those bodies being paraded through streets, or just some soldiers practicing war games. Don't matter, publish it!

Then we are shown video of some guys in a truck firing weapons. Yeah, so. Are the rounds live or blanks? We don't know, but since this is Israel, Hollywood east, I assume this is the usual Jewish theater.

But we knew this was theater without even studying the pictures, [since we already know Hamas is fake](#). Just like the PLO and all the other Arab organizations, it is a front for the Israeli army and was created by Mossad just for times like this. As I say, Jews in turbans.



For more proof of that, I send you back to [my 2021 article](#) by my writer-on-the-ground in Tel Aviv, Josh, who quotes mainstream Jewish sources admitting Hamas was created and funded by the Israeli Defense. He reminds us of the alleged founder of Hamas, Sheik Yassin:



You have to laugh. A dead ringer for Jewish actor Christopher Lee. And remember what Gore Vidal taught us: Lee=Levi.

Still don't believe me? Well try this: [an article just out](#) at the *New York Post*, admitting that Hamas is represented by New York attorney [Stanley Cohen](#). My readers will get a big kick out of that name, and not just for the Cohen.

Here's more horrific images from the Israel War:

WORLD STAR DISTRO CONTACT ADVERTISE **LIVE** Search...

0:00 / 7:08

Breaking News

Israel Declares State Of War... After Hamas Launch Surprise Attack With 2200 Rockets.. Children & Grandmothers Are Being Killed & Held Hostage!



As you see, the carnage is incredible, with that little hooker wearing a bandage on her knee and running, that lady smiling because she is being groped by an Aryan dude, that guy tilted, and that smoke! Just offscreen children and grandmothers are being killed, held hostage, or made to watch American TV!

**UPDATE, Next day:** More information continues to arrive, confirming this was all staged. That running girl in the last image was allegedly at a big **peace party** being held out in the desert—conveniently right on the Gaza border—and the parasailers were attacking this peace concert. Another prominent photo allegedly shows a girl dead in the back seat of a car, killed by a strawberry jam grenade, by the looks of it.



Because that makes sense, right? If you were Hamas, itching for revenge against Israel, you would target a bunch of kids at a peace party, and kill all their model girls:



That's another model girl allegedly killed. Here is what we are being told. See if you find it believable at all.

**Hamas raped her, broke her limbs, killed her, they paraded around her naked dead body as they spat on her corpse and yelled "Allahu Akbar".**

Yeah, I bet. [That's the video from the back of the pickup truck.](#) Except that we are already getting confirmation this was all staged and that she was just an actress flown in for this part. To start with, we find she has an extensive previous photo and video presence online, indicating she is an actress. She has a bunch of spooky tattoos, including snakes, indicating she is bad news. I suspect her name given in the press Shani Louk/Luk isn't her real name. It means "Red Comrade", so figure it out yourself. Within 24 hours the internet was littered with poorly written stories about her, like [this](#). These stories appear to have been prewritten by agents who don't know how to write, using AI for help. In these stories, she is anywhere from 22 to 30. Her mother [Ricarda Louk is quoted saying she was 22](#), while [her cousin Tom Weintraub is quoted saying she was 30](#). Weintraub is identified as both male and female, as Tom and Tomasina.

And another problem. I have just looked at dozens of photos and videos of Shani Louk posted online, and I don't see a match to the death photo. We are told friends and family identified her by the leg tattoos, but Louk's leg tattoos go all the way around her leg, and are dark and obvious.

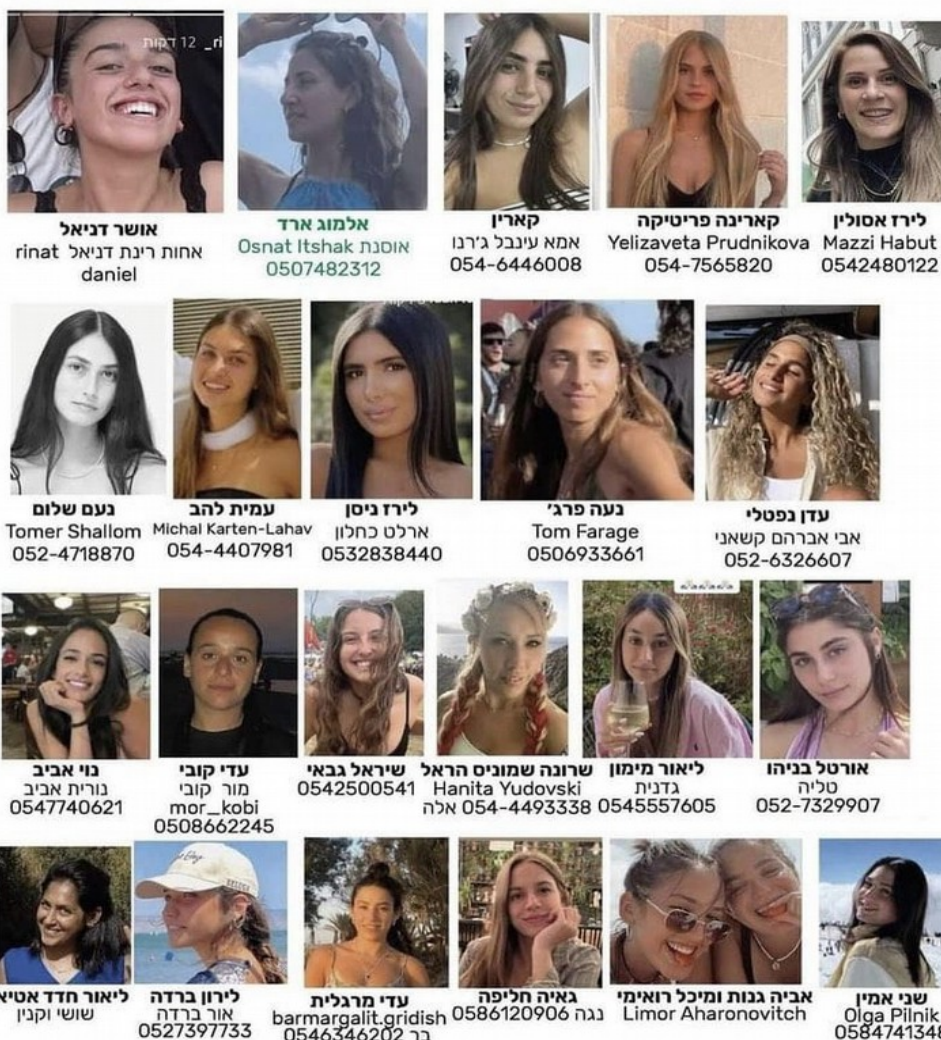


In the video, the tats looked CGI'ed in later, and they are blurry, light, and don't go all the way around the leg. If you have the stomach to look more closely, you see why this is: that thing in the film isn't a person, it is a dummy made to look like Louk with dreads. All the limbs are bent backwards like they are rubber—which they are. As usual, we can't see her face, so there is no way to truly identify her. To answer that, we are told all her limbs were broken by these guys, but that isn't how broken limbs look. That is how rubber dummy limbs look. If these guys had completely broken her knee joints, you would see bones poking out and bruises and blood. All you see is pristine rubber knees. If you don't believe me, ask your surgeon if that looks real.

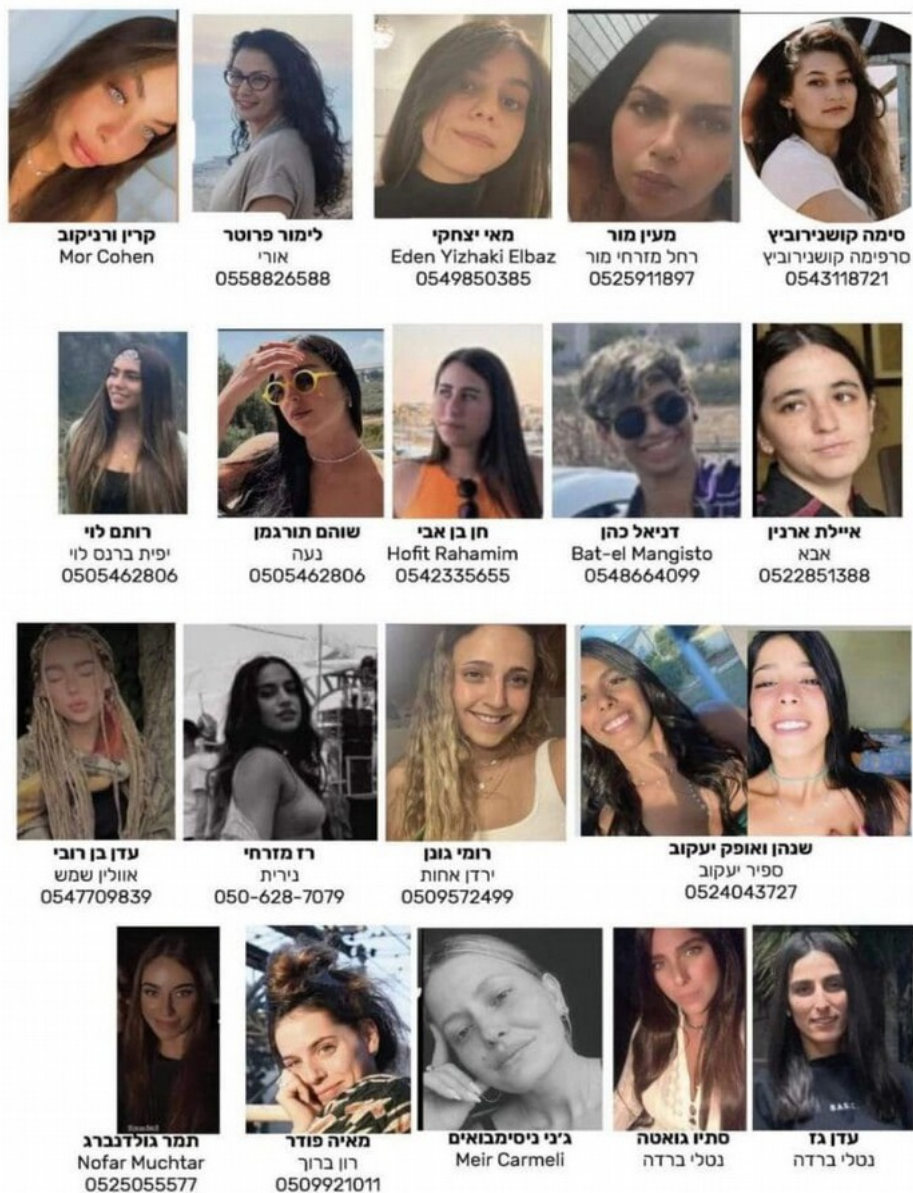
Plus, remember [this recent paper](#), where I showed you how realistic these female mannequins/sex dolls have become. In a blurry video like this, you literally could not tell the difference.

Here's another problem no one is mentioning. This video had to have been shot by Hamas, but there is no way those guys are going to appear by face in video and then allow it to be posted online worldwide. If any of this were real, it would just be asking Mossad to find you, torture you, and kill your whole family, including all pets. So all these guys are also actors. This whole thing was staged.

Israel has now released the names of 42 of these young female models/actresses that are supposedly missing:







Not surprisingly, several of them are Kohens. Even stranger, the site posting them, [voiceofeurope.com](http://voiceofeurope.com), has since scrubbed 9 of them, including the Kohens, taking us down to. . . 33. If that is because they were already found safe, it means 1/6<sup>th</sup> were found safe in the first few hours, meaning they weren't too careful compiling this list. What are the odds the others will be found safe in the next few hours, or be found working for Mossad or Hollywood?

Olga Pilnik has since been removed as well. Possibly because we can translate her Hebrew name as *Shani Amin*, which means “red shining one”. That is more indication Shani Louk's name is an alias as well. These are stage names, not real names.

You do realize this makes absolutely no sense, right? A dozen bozos hang-glided over the border into a kibbutz peace party and kidnapped 42 of the most beautiful women in Israel? So how did Hamas get

those girls out of there and back across the border? The border was tight on the way in, requiring they come in silently by air, but then they could noisily drive their pickups full of dead girls back over the border? Where did the pickups come from? Did they bring those in on kites, too? Anyone buying this story is braindead.

Despite the obviousness of this fake, everyone on both sides in the US and worldwide is selling it as real, including Trump, David Icke, RFK, Lara Logan, AOC, Alex Jones, and all the rest. No prominent person is questioning it. None of them can spot moulage or a rubber girl. Perhaps most surprisingly, the Dems are actually taking the side of Hamas. Why on earth would they do that? Because it is part of the purposeful tanking of the Democratic Party, something I have been telling you about for years now. The Dems are purposely doing everything wrong now, and this is just one more example.

**Addendum October 10:** reports from the mainstream press in France (LCI) are already confirming my reading here:



That is yesterday, and it is saying “**48 hours ago nobody knew the location of the Peace Party, it seems that it is the Israeli army which organized the operation, it is staggering.**” Anne Nivat, the reporter, admits that the party was only organized the day before, so how did Hamas make these complicated plans to attack it using parasails and so on?

She doesn't seem to be aware that the deaths were staged/faked, but she does seem to be realizing the event was an inside job or a false flag. In the same report, we see this photo of cars attacked:





What's wrong there? Anyone? Why are all the cars white? It is the same problem we saw recently in Hawaii, where everything went to white. The CGI program apparently goofed here, forgetting to apply color to any of the fake cars it pasted in.

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After three days of selling this as real and even amplifying it, a few places like Infowars are finally [reporting today on fake coverage](#). There we find Clarissa Ward at CNN getting caught faking incoming missiles on the ground in Israel. They then remind this has happened many times before, going back to the First Gulf War. Yes, but Infowars knew that three days ago: why didn't they question any of this stuff to start with? Why are they still selling the main lines of the “war” in many other stories? Same for Zerohedge, Breitbart, Gateway Pundit, NaturalNews, and all the alternative sites of that sort. They know—and have reported themselves—that the mainstream has been caught hundreds of times making up stories about babies killed, civilians decapitated, all the usual worst atrocities. But then they all reported that in the last three days without questioning any of it. Just today there were stories about Hamas decapitating babies, and these alternative sites printed it with no question, in lockstep with the mainstream.

Breitbart is turning out to be the worst of those in this regard, and is again shooting itself in the foot. It will lose many readers, since it assuming everyone on the right is a big supporter of Israel—something that is simply not true. But readers there are seeing just how slanted their coverage is, proving who is really running things over there: the Phoenician Navy, of course.

Same with Trump, who has previously commented on fake news. He is famous for promoting the idea. But here he has been among the worst repeating this fake news and the fear and division that accompanies it. Today he was giving speeches warning about WWII, nukes, and “obliteration”. All for political hay, so that the Pentagon can send aircraft carriers to fight guys on kites and request billions more for “defense”, and so that he himself can claim none of this would have happened on his watch. In other words, more of the worst kind of wag-the-dog propaganda and gaslighting. Really putrid made-for-TV-and-internet theater.

But it continues to unwind on them, and we see proof of that straight from this paper of mine. The fact

it went superviral immediately, even above anything at the highly promoted Infowars, proves that millions of people were searching on “Israel War Fake.” So many, as it turns out, the Pentagon and Langley were forced into panic mode, being ordered to immediately manufacture a lot of fake news items with those search terms, to misdirect and water down on that question. They desperately needed to push my listing down. Finding that impossible on such short notice, Bing was forced to simply delete it.

At many of those manufactured pages, they try to convince us that yes, false stories do get shared online, photos get mixed up, mistakes are made, but that is mainly the fault of social media, and bad actors probably sent in from Russia or China. It doesn't mean you should question this event as a whole, or the news as a whole.

In other planted stories around the “fake” search, the mainstream sites are claiming that anyone that disbelieves the mainstream stories is themselves spreading fake information or “hate”. Standing the truth on its head, as usual. They want you to believe that those who refuse the propaganda are propagandists. Those who refuse the hate are haters. Those who refuse the lies are liars. They even want to seem to bluff you into believing it is illegal to question the news. If everyone assures you there is a real war going on and you refuse to believe it, you are a criminal or terrorist. It isn't true. There are no laws of that sort. You don't have to believe what the government reports, no matter how loudly they report it.

Even some of my best readers can't seem to get the message here, even after all we have been through. They are saying, yes, Miles, you have proved some fakery here, and others are showing other instances, but that is no reason to jump to conclusions. That is no reason to write off the entire war as a fake.

Really? So exactly how many cases of fraud would I have to show you before this was not “jumping to a conclusion”? What percentage of all events in history would I have to out as fakes before you got the message that these people are inveterate fakers and pathological liars? Because the percentage is getting up there. I have covered literally thousands of the top events and people in history, showing you precisely none of them were what we have been sold. We have been sold a line of a million lies, and yet when I tell you the next thing they say is a lie, you claim I am jumping to a conclusion? Where is the jump? There is no jump, I am just arriving naturally and rationally at the *logical* conclusion, after decades of research: it is a vast and audacious fraud, run on us all for profit and control. There is no longer any least doubt of it, so there is no jump. The only jump would be coming to any other conclusion, given what we have discovered.

Get this through your head once and for all, as a general rule of logic: once you have proven a person or group is a liar, the default assumption is that everything important he says is a lie. All trust should be gone. If, in an extended event, you discover sub-events are purposely falsified, the default assumption is that *all* events are false. In other words, if we find—and we *have* found—that many events in this Israel War are manufactured, staged, or purposely falsified, the logical assumption is that the whole thing is fake. There is no reason to fake parts of a real event, since a real event has plenty of real things to report on. Plus, we are not judging this event in isolation. We are not judging it only upon its own merits. It is one in a long line of similar events, put on by the same people. We have already caught them lying about everything else in history, so *of course* they are lying about this, too. Do you see how that works?

It isn't just my research, it is Lestrade's voluminous research on the Pacific Theater. It is Orwell, promoted by the mainstream, who warned us of exactly this: staged wars in far off lands, faked by the

media. If you have read *1984*, you know they didn't just have constant war to create hate and drive the economy, they had constant **fake** war, manufactured by writers, with nothing real going on on the ground. It is Hollywood, which has admitted this is what is going on in films like *Wag the Dog*. Robert DeNiro told you to your face. They also admit it in films like *The Truman Show* and *The Matrix*: **the whole thing is a fake**. Even George Bush admitted it, saying "if they knew what we were doing they would hang us all from the nearest lamp post". What was it they were doing? What did he mean? He meant this. He meant that if we found out the Phoenicians were faking everything, and always had, we would rise up, burn them all down to ash, and then launch the ash in a rocket to the Sun, where it could never be reconstituted again.

**Addendum October 12:** You want more? I will keep giving you more. Readers are continuing to send in fake photos from this fake war. They have more patience with this than I do. Here are two more.



There are programs you can use to tell if a photo is real or not, so my reader fed that photo into it. It read 4% real, 96% AI. Metadata on the photo indicates it was not taken with a camera, rather all done in photoshop then compressed and downsized to hide the seams. That's pretty obvious at a glance, or should be. Why? Well, remember what I have taught you: look at the photo as a background, middleground, and foreground. In a real photo, that will be harder to do, since it will all blend in together naturally, as it should. But in fake photos like this one, it is very easy to divide it into those three parts. Often a middleground is filled with smoke, but we don't see that here. We see a confusing middleground that seems to consist of a tank, one guy, and some trash in a land of dirt. The guy is way too big, since he would match the size of the Jeep in the foreground. You could stand him beside that Jeep and he would almost be large enough. But there is a little problem called **perspective**. He is much further away than the Jeep, so he should look much smaller. These bozos who piece these photos together always bungle perspective, which is why it is so easy for artists like me to catch them at it. Same problem with the tanks in the background, which are the same size as the tank in the middle ground. But since they are much further away, they should be much smaller than that. So I don't need a computer program to tell me this is fake. I can tell just from its lack of perspective.





Next we have that one, supposed to be two Israeli soldiers protecting a cameraman. You have to laugh. Looks like something completely different, don't it? But they forgot to protect the other cameraman. What other cameraman? The one taking the picture. Also notice these guys appear to be from different units, since their uniforms don't match. Different shoulder patches and helmets. But the strangest thing is that we are supposed to believe soldiers protect the press, two soldiers assigned to each cameraman as human shields. Again, you have to laugh. That isn't what we have seen in the past, is it, especially from the Israeli Army, which hates real media people, who just get in the way and see things they weren't supposed to see. They may take an unauthorized photo. The press is generally kept out of all war zones now, and those allowed in are agents themselves, and are therefore left to fend for themselves—if any real fending is required, which it isn't. Plus, if they are in such a dangerous zone, why isn't the cameraman wearing a helmet to start with? We just saw this photo heading Lestrade's new article, remember:



She has the press vest on and a helmet, but the guy above doesn't. Another continuity error. So many questions, so few answers.

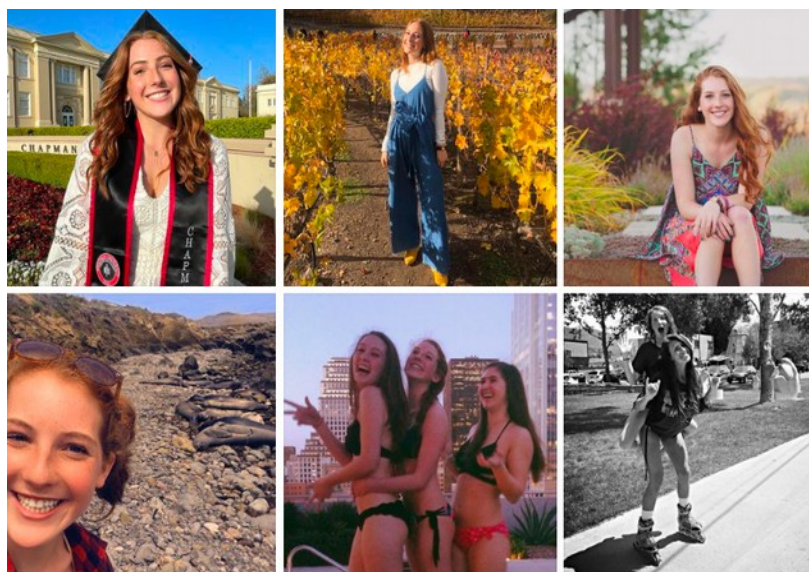
And another one, hot from my inbox:



Three of the four guys are in sandals, and the fourth may be as well. So everyone over there wears open-toed shoes to walk through war zones? Reminds us of Hawaii, where we saw the same thing. You may want to ask yourself what miraculous path those guys took through that rubble behind them, to get through without cutting up their toes or ankles. But obviously they didn't, since this is more CGI. The computer doesn't understand things like shoes or walking.

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After Lestrade's paper on Israel came out yesterday, I decided to dig a bit more on Nicole Zedeck, bikini reporter for i24News.





Her father is listed at Instantcheckmate as David Zedeck of Florida and Newport Beach, CA. Is that the same David Zedeck who is head of Global Music at United Talent Agency, one of the biggest in Hollywood? Seems like more than a coincidence, since I am proving the Israel War is just a Hollywood production, and the main scene in Act 1 has been at a music festival. Both David Zedecks are 58. But Newport Beach is far to the south of Beverly Hills, where the music guy is listed. It is in Orange County, which indicates our David Zedeck moved there with his daughter when she went to college. Although not from there, she went to Chapman, graduating in 2021. So what does this tell us? Well, it appears that despite having the same names and ages, they are not the same guy, since the music producer's daughter is named Missy and works for AEG. She is dark-haired. Our David Zedeck is listed as an attorney in Austin. He is also a company owner in Steamboat Springs. He has owned 11 companies, and is currently listed as the owner of [Eretz Management](#), which sells properties in Israel. I guess you see how that ties in here?

Before we move on, let's take a quick look at that Chapman University. Although often sold as a Christian University, that is just a front. They admit it has had military connections since at least 1958, and a big film school opened in 1996, when the spooks took over the university *in toto*. It now has strong links to Hollywood and through them to the Pentagon and Langley. A few years later the Rodgers Center for Holocaust Education was opened as well, telling you who took it over. Explaining why Chapman was involved in this latest hoax. That was funded by Barry Rodgers of BFM Aerospace, formerly Lear Siegler, the big defense contractor. Otherwise he is a ghost, with no presence on the internet. Also interesting concerning Chapman is what I was told by other reader, who informed me he had been at a big conference there in the early 1990s on psychedelics, led by the usual cadre of spooks including Ram Dass, Tim Leary, and Dennis McKenna. So, just what I expected going in.

But are the two David Zedecks related? It would explain the promotion of Nicole, wouldn't it? And it would explain why she went to Los Angeles for school. As we dig on that, we find Nicole's grandfather Murray Zedeck, and we can definitely link him through his locations to the Murray Zedeck, [retired COB of TransCapital Bank](#). Since bought out by Power Financial. So that's a palpable hit. Nicole's aunt Gina is married to Shane Stansbury, who just happens to be a senior lecturer in law at Duke University, previously a federal prosecutor. He is a distinguished fellow at their Center for Law, Ethics, and [National Security](#). So we are really getting somewhere now. I guess you see how that ties in here? In his profile we find that among many others, he prosecuted

**Minh Quang Pham, a former associate of [Anwar al-Awlaki](#) and key operative for al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, for terrorism offenses;**

Oho, you mean [the Anwar al-Awlaki I have proved was a big fake?](#) [See p. 3, there] Remember this, from that paper:

**Al-Awlaki (real name Nasser) graduated from [Colorado State University](#), which he illegally attended on a foreign student's visa, claiming to have been born in Yemen. While still at CSU, he (allegedly) went to Afghanistan to train with the mujahideen, where he was allegedly radicalized. Seems like he would have needed to have been radicalized before he went, but we aren't told how this rich boy was radicalized in Colorado. Despite being a radical, he then went to George Washington University to work on his PhD in education. As radicals and imams do.**

The usual BS we are sold by the Intel communities. This indicates Nicole's uncle Stansbury is a spook working fake court cases, like many others we have blown the cover of.

Shane T.  
Stansbury

50

Durham, NC  
New York, NY  
Raleigh, NC  
San Diego, CA  
Baytown, TX  
Princeton, NJ  
Campbellsville, KY  
Arlington, VA

Steffani Polasek  
Carol Stansbury  
Glen Stansbury  
Janet Stansbury  
Christina Wyatt  
Gina Zedeck



OPEN REPORT

Note the Arlington, VA, there, along with all the other locations.

But let's return to the Zedecks. The Hollywood David Zedeck's parents are listed as still alive in Islip, Jack and Lorraine. . . Finally, I found a link. These Zedecks of Central Long Island (Islip, Babylon), related to the David Zedeck of Beverly Hills, also have links to Parkland, FL. See for example Maurice Zedeck, 88. Well, Nicole also has links to Parkland through her Zedecks, see her cousins Jordan and Benjamin. That's because her (great?)uncle Leonard is from there, as well as Jupiter. We are told Leonard worked with Murray Zedeck the big banker in a large real estate company in that area (or actually many of them). So we now have the two Zedecks with family in the same town, strongly indicating they are related. Murray's father is given as Benjamin in one of his bios, and we find a [Benjamin Zedek](#), later Zedeck, in Albany, and his Geni page is managed by Murray. Our Zedecks are also from Albany, with some of them having the locations of Ballston Lake and Clifton Park. Benjamin is not listed with a son Murray, but that is because Murray is still alive. They don't list living relatives. At any rate, these Zedecks of New York are not just Jewish, they are **HaKohens**. Of the high priestly class. So that fits in here like buttered fingers in a glove. It also allows us to link Nicole's Zedecks back to New York, as well as to give us a second town match with Albany. So we now have a probable match based on locations that Nicole is related to the big talent agency/music festival guy in Hollywood. That would start to explain why they used a music festival in this current fake event. Otherwise it is inexplicable. Now we just need to link to a paragliding company, to explain that.

Speaking of which, [one of my French readers just sent me this link](#), about EU Ambassador Sven **Kuhn** von Burgsdorff, who paraglided in July in Gaza to "show the way" to the Palestinians. Remember, Kuhn=Kohen, so we have the usual telegraphing of an event.

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And in other news, it is being reported that the Red Cross is AWOL, refusing to check on the "hostages" in Gaza. That just confirms again this is all a fraud, though nobody but me is reading it in the logical way. How can the Red Cross check on hostages that don't exist? You would think the CIA would be able to bring the Red Cross under the hoax umbrella, but I guess they forgot to write them into the script.

President of Israel Isaac Herzog is quoted today as saying all Palestinians are now war targets, "all responsible", but that somehow that is not against international laws of warfare. Israel is ordering the evacuation of huge areas and cutting off their water and electricity and food supplies. UN High Commissioner Volker Turk has admitted all that is strictly illegal, since a country cannot target civilian populations in that manner. All this has been illegal since the time of the US Civil War and before, which is just one reason our treatment of the Natives was seen as so heinous. So even if you believe the mainstream story of the "war" so far, you should be shocked at Israel's response. They appear to be using it as an excuse for genocide.

And these people can't figure out why they aren't liked. The Jews seem to be trying to use this manufactured conflict to generate sympathy for themselves, but as usual they are shooting themselves in the foot high caliber. We are finding out the left in the US was already sympathetic to Palestine, and though places like Breitbart and Gateway Pundit want you to believe Israel has strong support from the right, that isn't true, either. It has the support of Republican political leaders and the military, but almost no support from voters on the right. The only conservatives in the US who support Israel are conservative Jews and some fundamentalist Christian sects who are philoSemitic. The rest of us are sick to death of the whole subject. We wish these people would colonize the Moon and leave us be of their fake projects and conjobs.

So the timing and form of this latest fraud is the worst possible *for them*. It not only puts eyes on them, generating more revolutionary fervor at the grassroots, it hurts the Republican party and these conservative voices like Breitbart, Gateway Pundit, and all the rest. People are ditching those sites in droves, due to this alone. And it undercuts support for Trump and any other conservative candidates talking about supporting the new war in Israel. I have news for you: the American people don't support ANY new war. They are sick to death of the Old World Order of constant fake wars, draining the treasuries and stealing taxes, and they do not support a New World Order that does the same. They can see that as bad as the Old World was, the New World is even worse.

The only good news, if you could call it that, is that Infowars has seen the writing on the wall here and is already pulling back quickly from its early support of this narrative. Today it is leading with stories on the ADL using this event to crack down on free speech, and the Isaac Herzog story—admitting that Israel's over-reaction is shocking and even suspicious. Except that, in another lead story, they are still selling the Peace Party massacre as real and selling newer fake films of Hamas taking hostages and setting houses on fire. So they have a long way to go. This is to be expected, since Infowars' main job is to keep fear levels high. The manner isn't so important, and they can even appear to be revolutionary as long as the message is fear and division. And if their message is contradictory and garbled, both pro-Israel and con, so much the better: it keeps your mind properly stirred, so you can't figure out anything and therefore cannot act.